PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE CULT OF THE VIRGIN IN LATE ANTIQUITY

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PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE CULT OF THE VIRGIN IN LATE ANTIQUITY

HOMILIES 1-5, TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

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For Robin Darling Young

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*
AHC	*Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CANT	*Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, ed. M. Geerard (Turnhout, 1992)
CCSG	*Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
CPG	*Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard, 5 vols (Turnhout, 1974–1987); cf. Geerard and J. Noret, eds., *CPG Supplementum* (Turnhout, 1998)
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DP	*Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*
GNO	*Gregorii Nysseni Opera*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
JANESCU	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	*Loeb Classical Library*

LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, rev. H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1968)
MGH: AA	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*
Muséon	*Le Muséon*
NPNF	*The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
ODB	*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*
OrChr	*Oriens Christianus*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PGL	*A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961)
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols, ed. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, (Cambridge, 1971 and 1980)
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
REArm	*Revue des Études Arméniennes*
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RHE	*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*
RHPR	*Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Réligieuses*
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
RSPT	*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*
RSR	*Revue de Science Religieuse*
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes*
SP	*Studia Patristica*
ST	*Studi e Testi*
SynaxCP	*Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902)
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

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INTRODUCTION

Proclus of Constantinople (*sed.* 434–46) was an outstanding pulpit orator who indulged in lavish praise of the Virgin Mary. When, in a series of controversial sermons, his bishop Nestorius banned the use of the popular Marian epithet 'Theotokos,' Proclus moved to unseat him. Proclus' defense of the Virgin was closely intertwined with his emphasis on a unity of subject in Christ that alone could explain her 'giving birth to God.' Upon his subsequent elevation to the see of Constantinople, Proclus became the first native of the newly-founded Byzantine capital to attain that city's highest ecclesiastical office. From his position as archbishop, Proclus worked avidly to promote the rising cult of the 'God-bearing' Virgin, and continued to develop the idea of a single incarnate person, or 'hypostasis,' in Christ, which his successors conveyed to the Council of Chalcedon. Proclus' theologically brilliant conception of the Theotokos, which is inseparable from his christology, profoundly and lastingly influenced the rhetoric and rationale of the Byzantine cult of the Virgin Mary.

This study of Proclus of Constantinople and the cult of the Virgin in late antiquity is organized around three major focal points: history, philology, and theology. The centerpiece is a critical edition of five of Proclus' most important festal sermons on Christ and the Theotokos, framed by a historical introduction and a study of Proclus' signature images of the Virgin Mary. Chapters 1–3 provide a detailed introduction to the life of Proclus, situating him within the intellectual and historical milieu of fifth-century Constantinople. Critical moments in Proclus' career, and in the development of his christology, took place on the eve of the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), and, again, in the period between the Council of Ephesus and the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). When compared to the Councils themselves, these periods have received relatively little scholarly attention, but are here explored in depth. As will be seen, the supposed historical margins and theological peripheries are no less fascinating and formative than the celebrated events to whose shadows they have commonly been relegated.

Chapter 1 deals with Proclus' early life and education, the question of his relationship to John Chrysostom, and his central role as a young priest in the administration of his predecessor, Atticus of Constantinople. Chapter 2 chronicles events leading up to the Council of Ephesus, where Mary was officially proclaimed 'Theotokos,' that is, the one who 'gave birth to God.' Within the general framework of those events, the initial focus will be on Proclus' ordination to the episcopal see of Cyzicus, and thereafter on his opposition to Nestorius' attempted suppression of the cult of the Theotokos in Constantinople. That opposition came to its climax in Proclus' celebrated homiletical duel with Nestorius, embodied in his magnificent panegyrical sermon on the Theotokos (Homily 1), which will be studied here in detail.

The historical narrative concludes with chapter 3, which concentrates on Proclus' tenure as archbishop of Constantinople, a twelve-year period during which he was deeply absorbed in the political and theological aftermath of the Council of Ephesus. In the wake of that Council, Proclus endeavored to bolster the precarious 'Union of 433,' a theological settlement designed to heal the divisions which the Theotokos controversy had introduced within the eastern churches. At the same time, Proclus continued to pursue his own theological agenda, which included a concerted effort to condemn Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was at once the most highly-revered theologian of the School of Antioch, the teacher of Nestorius, and the alleged source of 'Nestorianism.' Although ultimately unsuccessful in this effort, Proclus' struggle proved to be the beginning of a larger controversy (the so-called 'Three Chapters Controversy') which, after protracted quarreling, eventuated in the condemnation of Theodore at the Fifth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, A.D. 553). At its point of origin in the fifth century, the debate about the bishop of Mopsuestia was instigated by critical developments in the church of Armenia, and these will provide the primary focus for the second half of chapter 3. The invention of the Armenian alphabet in the early fifth century inaugurated a series of major translation projects and stimulated intensive theological interaction between Greek, Syrian, and Armenian Christian culture. Impelled by an internal dispute over the translation of Theodore's christological writings, delegates from the Armenian church approached Proclus for his direction and support. Proclus' response came in the form of his *Tome to the Armenians*, an important and skillfully balanced statement of orthodox christology that is here closely examined in terms of its historical context and theological content.

The second part of this study (chapter 4), provides critical editions and English translations for five of Proclus' homilies on the incarnation and the virgin birth. Numbered 1–5 in the Proclan corpus, these homilies constitute an integral cycle of Proclus' most important sermons on Christ and the Theotokos. Homily 1, mentioned above, is not only Proclus' most celebrated sermon on the Mother of God, but is perhaps the most famous such sermon in the history of Christianity. With its rhythmically lilting phrases, vertiginous profusion of innovative Marian images, and enthrallingly dramatic narrative structure, Homily 1 is a veritable masterpiece of patristic literature and theology. Homily 2 approaches the incarnation through key images from the Old Testament, including the music of the Psalter, the figure of Adam as a type of Christ, and an extended commentary on Zechariah's vision of the golden lampstand, which Proclus interprets as a type of the Virgin's womb ablaze with the 'immaterial light made flesh.' Homily 3, the shortest in the cycle, is a soaring song in praise of the great feasts of the church, culminating in joyfully exuberant praises of the advent of God through Mary. Homily 4, a sermon for the feast of the Nativity, contains some of Proclus' most remarkable images of the incarnation, including that of the Virgin's womb as a 'textile loom' which weaves the body of God incarnate, a fascinating metaphor that also figures prominently in Homily 1. In Homily 5, Proclus stages a spirited contest between a procession of male saints and Mary the Theotokos, against whom even the most illustrious from among the former prove to be no match. Their female counterparts, on the other hand, fare somewhat better. On account of Mary, 'all women are now blessed,' and Proclus concludes with a pageant of powerful women drawn from the pages of the Bible. Here, too, however, the crown of victory belongs to Mary.

The critical editions of Homilies 2–5 which appear below are based on my collation of twenty Greek manuscripts which range in date from the ninth to the seventeenth century. These manuscripts are for the most part voluminous collections of patristic sermons delivered on the various feast days of the ecclesiastical year. Over a period of many centuries, Proclus' sermons were copied and compiled by Byzantine scribes who arranged them according to their appointed place in the liturgical calendar. Homily 1, while likewise anthologized in Byzantine collections of patristic sermons, nevertheless has an additional, and rather different history of transmission and dissemination. Appended to the official proceedings of the Council of Ephesus, Proclus' Homily

1 is extant in the manuscript collections of that Council, and as such was critically edited by Eduard Schwartz in the first volume of his monumental *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927). Schwartz's edition remains the definitive reading of Homily 1, and it is his text which is reproduced below. The editions of Homilies 2–5, here critically edited for the first time, are introduced by descriptions and discussions of the various manuscripts, the indirect witnesses, and the principles of their collation. All five homilies are accompanied by a critical apparatus, an English translation, and are supported by notes and commentary.

Chapters 5 and 6 deal with a number of theological themes pertaining to the christology of Proclus and to key aspects of the cult of the Virgin in late antiquity. These chapters are organized around two of Proclus' signature Marian images inspired by Luke's narrative of the Annunciation, the sole scriptural source for Mary's momentous encounter with the Word of God. Chapter 5 takes up the question of Mary's virginal conception, which according to Proclus occurred through her 'sense of hearing' (δι' ἀκοῆς). This seemingly peculiar notion is in fact the expression of a larger theological consensus that was solidified in the fifth century, largely due to the preaching of Proclus and his followers. Chapter 5 takes a broad look at the Virgin's *conceptio per aurem*, and situates Proclus' doctrine within the history of patristic and Byzantine speculation on the phenomenon of parthenogenesis *ex auditu*. Within this trajectory, Mary's 'conception through hearing' stems from a typological connection between the seduction of Eve by the words of the serpent (Gen. 2.2–7) and the pregnancy of Mary through the words of an angel (Lk. 1.26–38). "Through ears that disobeyed," Proclus asserts, "the serpent poured in his poison; but through ears that obeyed, the Word entered to form a living temple." When detached from the dialectical moorings of typological exegesis, the symbolism of Mary's ear also served as an apologetical response to those who were perplexed by the doctrine of a pregnancy without physical intercourse. Moreover, in both exegesis and apologetics, the appropriation of hearing as a theological category required an imaginative charting of the body and its senses, the formation of a distinctly hierarchical topography with stratified zones of higher and lower. In Mary's *conceptio per aurem*, the ambivalent logic of the lower, bodily material zone was relocated to the highest levels of sense perception and intellection, thereby desexualizing the conception of Christ and distinguishing it from divine abductions of women in Greek mythology. Pro-

clus' theological transformation of Mary's ear was a grand evocation of the patristic doctrine of the 'spiritual senses,' here given consummate expression in the form of attentive virginal hearing.

Conceived through a sacred whisper enunciated in the ear of Mary, God the 'Word' was subsequently measured and fitted in the garments of human flesh. Chapter 6 therefore deals with Proclus' metaphor of the Virgin's womb as a 'textile loom' on which the flesh of God incarnate was woven together and wrapped around the bodiless divinity, giving it physical form and texture. This striking image, at once mythical and mundane, is, among other things, closely interlaced with the Biblical exegesis of cloth and clothing, contemporary changes in the manufacture and symbolism of fabrics and textiles, and the vocabulary of ancient Greek gynecology and histology (the study of human tissue). In this complex tapestry of influence, the primary thread may have been provided by the empress Pulcheria, who modeled herself decisively on the image of Mary. Closely aligned with Proclus in his defense of the Theotokos, Pulcheria had taken public vows of virginity and converted her palace into a convent where she and her sisters spent much of their time spinning and weaving. Women's workrooms, especially those where yarns were spun and woven, were the favored sites for the fabrication of stories and aphorisms, and I argue that Pulcheria and her circle of high-born weavers may have been the principal authors of Proclus' image of the textile loom. The symbolism of clothing and dress, moreover, was particularly well suited to express the mystery of the incarnation both as a drama of divine metamorphosis unfolding across a protean threshold of self-disclosure and concealment, and as a redemptive discovery of new identity through a radical exchange of otherness.

The contribution of Proclus to the rise of the Virgin's cult and to her canonization as 'Theotokos' were part of his larger involvement in the christological controversies of the fifth century. In advancing the belief that Mary 'gave birth to God,' Proclus sought to guarantee both the divine subjectivity of the Christian savior and the redeeming presence of divinity throughout the various stages of human life and experience: from conception and birth, through death and resurrection, to a place of glory at the right hand of the Father. Thus Proclus' attention to the 'Mother of God' is not interest in Mary for her own sake, but rather a critical corollary of his christology and soteriology. Homily 1 and the *Tome to the Armenians* are perhaps Proclus' most enduring contributions to the development of orthodox christology, and these two works are

considered here in detail. In order to extend and enrich discussion of those works, this study closes with an 'Appendix' which surveys the major technical terms in Proclus' christological vocabulary.

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All references to and translations from the Old Testament are taken from Lancelot Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (London, 1851; repr. Peabody, Mass., 1990). The Greek of the Septuagint was not the Greek of fifth-century Constantinople, and my use of Brenton's somewhat archaic English translation is intended to convey something of the linguistic and auditory texture that Proclus' homilies presented to their original audience. Translations from the New Testament are generally those of the New Revised Standard Version.

CHAPTER ONE

PROCLUS, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, AND ATTICUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Sources and Background

By the time of his death in 446, Proclus had, in various capacities, served the Great Church of Constantinople for more than forty years. In recognition of his tireless efforts on behalf of the Theotokos, the Byzantine church canonized him a saint, honoring his memory on 20 November, a day when it also celebrated the 'Forefeast of the Virgin's Entry into the Temple.' This was a fitting honor indeed for a man who had dedicated himself so ardently to the establishment and propagation of the Virgin's cult. However, Proclus never found a biographer, and what little is known about him must be carefully gleaned from a small number of brief notices in the works of late-antique ecclesiastical historians. Despite important notices concerning Proclus' early career as a young lector, deacon, and priest, contemporary church histories unfortunately tend to break off sometime before, or begin just after, the period of his tenure as archbishop of Constantinople. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Theodoret, for example, draws to a close with the accession of Theodosius II in 408, while those of Sozomen and Socrates end in 425 and 439 respectively. Evagrius Scholasticus, whose church history covers the years 431–594, provides only a brief notice on Proclus. The lacunae in the ecclesiastical sources are further widened by similar gaps in contemporary secular historiography which have regrettably left the closing years of the Theodosian house shrouded in obscurity.[1]

The writings of Proclus himself are for the most part elaborately wrought panegyrical sermons delivered on the major feast days of the

[1] The sources for the period in question are discussed in Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (1986), 1:170–73. There is an older survey in Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (1969), 22–27. Among the more helpful monographs on the period are Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* (1967); Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme Byzantine* (1971); Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (1984); and Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (1982). See also, Al. Cameron, "Empress and the Poet" (1982); and the popularizing account of Grant, *From Rome to Byzantium* (1998).

nascent Byzantine church, and as such are of rather little value for the historical reconstruction of the life of their author. In accordance with the homiletical and rhetorical conventions of the day, Proclus' sermons are almost entirely devoid of any contemporary historical details and contain virtually no autobiographical references. The Proclan corpus itself, moreover, is still being assembled, and the relatively small core of Proclus' genuine works is surrounded by a large and shifting penumbra of the spurious and the doubtful.[2]

This situation makes it rather difficult to compose a biographical portrait of Proclus with any great refinement, or to frame such a depiction within a richly detailed historical landscape. As a result, the eminent Proclan scholar F. J. Leroy concluded that "Proclus is one of a number of church fathers about whom we know very little … given the lack of virtually any biographical material, as well as the relatively small number of texts at our disposal, it is probably pointless to attempt to sketch the literary portrait of a preacher who was active as a bishop for a period of twenty years."[3] Despite this discouraging assessment, the salient features of a *vita Procli* can nevertheless be retrieved from a cluster of contemporary and generally reliable sources. In addition, there are a number of indirect sources which have not been fully tapped. Foremost among these is the literary and historical 'portrait' of Proclus' predecessor, Atticus of Constantinople, which is, in effect, a palimpsest beneath whose surface the features of Proclus have been deeply inscribed. However, when and to the extent that such evidence is lacking, this study will seek to situate Proclus tentatively within one or another of the recognizable social and cultural patterns of his day.

For Proclus, these patterns find their matrix in the city of Constantinople and its institutions, which, during the first half of the fifth

[2] Proclus' works are published in J.-P. Migne, *PG* 65 (1864), 679–888, which contains twenty-five homilies (including fragments, dubia, and material preserved in Latin); fragments of letters (only one of which survives in the original Greek); and the *Tome to the Armenians*. Modern scholarship has added around fifteen new items, cf. *CPG* 5822–36; *CPG Supplementum*, 5800–916; and 'Proclus' under 'Sources' in the Bibliography. Problematically, Marx, *Procliana* (1940), alleged that scattered throughout the Ps.-Chrysostomica were to be found no less than eighty-nine homilies by Proclus. Several of Marx's attributions have been substantiated by subsequent scholarship, and, while further confirmations are not unlikely, the majority of Marx's attributions cannot be upheld, cf. Leroy, *L'Homilétique* (1967), 257–72. In what follows, Marx's attributions are signaled for their important literary parallels to the genuine works of Proclus, and not necessarily as arguments in favor of authorship.

[3] Leroy, ibid., 23, 157.

century, assumed many of the features that they would bear throughout the remainder of the Byzantine period. Beginning with Theodosius II (*sed.* 402–50), Constantine's new city became the permanent residence of the emperor who, together with the members of his court, played a critical role in the affairs of the capital church. This is partly evidenced in the *Codex Theodosianus* which contains many fifth-century laws protecting the church in general, and privileging the church of Constantinople in particular. The imperial administration was also responsible for the foundation in 425 of the 'Higher School' (the so-called 'University of Constantinople') which attracted a diverse group of students and scholars from across the empire and had a profound impact on the intellectual life of the city. At the same time, imperial and aristocratic patronage for an ambitious range of activities and projects insured the increasing prominence of Constantinople as a thriving and influential center of learning and the arts. Such patronage also provided for a large-scale municipal building program that gave the newly established capital its definitive physical form and configuration.

The growth of Constantine's new city was matched by the growth of his new church, for the first half of the fifth century was a period in which the archbishops of Constantinople vigorously expanded their jurisdictional authority throughout the neighboring dioceses of Asia Minor and Illyricum. The external administrative expansion of the Byzantine church was richly complemented by the development of new liturgical traditions, including the first official feast in honor of the Virgin Mary. Woven into the cycle of celebrations for the feast of the Nativity, the new feast exalted the virtues of virginity and reflected the increasing prominence of the Virgin in the development of christology and the doctrine of the incarnation. In addition, numerous churches and shrines were constructed to house the flow of relics and other sacred objects that were pouring into the city. The emperor's sister Pulcheria was directly involved in procuring the relics of St. Stephen, for which she also built a shrine, and she is further credited with the construction of three churches dedicated to the honor of Mary, each of which became an important center of devotion to the Mother of God. A large number of monasteries were also founded at this time, and Constantinople was soon crowded with archimandrites and monks who took an active role in the religious and political life of the capital. In this robust and frequently tempestuous religious atmosphere, the botany of theological discourse flowered and flourished, and in learned treatises, letters, pamphlets and sermons, local Christian thinkers began

to formulate a uniquely Constantinopolitan theological tradition, especially in the areas of christology and mariology. These various events and developments furnish, not simply a colorful backcloth for the life of Proclus, but constitute a complex historical and cultural web in which Proclus was both formed and played a formative part. The story of Proclus, therefore, is very much the story of Constantinople in the first half of the fifth century, when a popular preacher's rapturous fascination with the Virgin Mary overtook and transformed an empire.

Birth and Early Life

The most important source for the life of Proclus is the fifth-century *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus (b. ca. 380, d. after 449). A native of the imperial capital and a slightly older contemporary of Proclus, Socrates provides us with the following information:

> Proclus was a reader at a very early age,[4] and assiduously frequenting instructors, became deeply devoted to the study of rhetoric. Upon reaching maturity, he became a secretary to bishop Atticus, with whom he was in constant contact. Having made much progress, Atticus promoted him to the rank of deacon; subsequently being elevated to the presbyterate, Proclus was ordained bishop of Cyzicus by Sisinnius.[5]

Earlier in the *Ecclesiastical History*, Socrates noted that Sisinnius became archbishop of Constantinople on 28 February 426, but only after a heated struggle for succession in which Proclus himself had been put forward as a candidate.[6] That was the first of Proclus' three unsuccess-

[4] As Socrates suggests, the age for admission into minor orders was not uniform. Earlier in the century, the Council of Carthage prescribed the age of fourteen, although Justinian later raised the age to eighteen, mentioning with disapproval an earlier age requirement of eight (*Basilica*, 3.1.25 = *Novels*, 123.13, ed. Scheltema, Wal, and Holwerda, *Basilicorum Libri* [1955], 1:92, lines 7–11). In what may be an instance of hagiographical exaggeration, Euthymius was said to have been tonsured a reader at the unlikely age of two (*vita Euthymii*, ed. Schwartz [1939], 10); cf. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια* (1970), 87–91; Leclercq, "Lectorat," in *DACL* 8:2247–69; Quacquarelli, "Alle origini del lector" (1959); and Duval, *Recherches archéologiques à Haïdra* (1975), where among the five readers mentioned, two are six years old, and one is five.

[5] Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 7.41.1 (ed. Hansen, *GCS* 1 [1995], 390, lines 7–12; note that I do not follow all of Hansen's proposed emendations). All translations from the *H.E.*, with some alterations, are those of Zenos in *NPNF* (1890), 2:1–178. On the date of the *H.E.*, see Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories* (1986), 175, n. 1; cf. Harries, "Sozomen and Eusebius" (1986); Leppin, *Von Constantin dem Grossen zu Theodosius II* (1996); and Bäbler and Nesselrath, *Die Welt des Sokrates* (2001).

[6] Socrates, ibid., 7.26.1 (ed. Hansen, 375, lines 12–14).

ful candidacies for the archbishopric of the capital city.[7] It is also the first event in his life that can be dated with any accuracy. On the basis of canonical age requirements for promotion to the episcopacy, some scholars have deduced a date of around 390 as the year of Proclus' birth. For example, F. X. Bauer writes that, "at that time, the minimum age established by canon law for ordination to the episcopacy was thirty, or perhaps thirty-five. We can, therefore, and with considerable certainty, conclude that Proclus of Constantinople was born around 390."[8] However, Bauer does not cite the canons in question and ignores a ruling of the *Apostolic Constitutions* which states that a bishop 'must be at least fifty years old.' The *Constitutions* were not unknown in late-fourth-century Constantinople, where they were also highly esteemed, but as Bauer's equivocation suggests, canonical age requirements for ordination were generally understood to embody theoretical ideals that were readily ignored in the face of popular enthusiasm or urgent need.[9]

Others have been more cautious: O. Bardenhewer, J. Quasten, B. Altaner, and B. Baldwin do not hazard a possible birth-date.[10] Nonetheless, the birth-date of ca. 390 continues to find adherents.[11] Although a date of ca. 390 is not inconsistent with the overall chronology of Proclus' life, it would make him only fifty-six at the time of his death in 446, and one might therefore be inclined to posit a date of 380 or even 375 as the provisional year of Proclus' birth.[12] An earlier birth-

[7] A situation which prompted Bardy to style Proclus 'l'éternal candidat,' in Fliche and Martin (1937), 4:201; cf. Simonetti, "Proclus," *DP* 2:2910.

[8] Bauer, *Proklos von Konstantinopel* (1919), 6.

[9] *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2.1 (ed. Metzger, *SC* 336 [1987], 145). A Constantinopolitan synod of 394 presided over by Nectarius of Constantinople, and attended by Theophilus of Alexandria and Flavian of Antioch, cites these canons with great deference, cf. Nautin, "Canoni Apostolici," *DP* 1:576. Later legislation (e.g., Justinian, *Bas.*, 3.1.8 = *Nov.*, 137.2.3; ed. Scheltema, Wal, and Holwerda, 1:83, lines 15–16) makes no mention of canon 2.1, prescribing instead a minimum age requirement of thirty based on the traditional age of Christ when he began his public ministry. Bauer may have had in mind the eleventh canon of the council of Neoceasarea (ca. A.D. 315), as well as Jerome, ep. 82.3 (*PL* 22.737–38); and id., *Comm. in Ezechielem*, 50 (*PL* 25.465), all in favor of age thirty.

[10] Bardenhewer, *Patrology* (1908), 369; Quasten, *Patrology* (1984), 3:521; Altaner, *Patrology* (1961), 395; Baldwin, "Proklos," *ODB* 3:1729.

[11] E.g., Simonetti, "Proclus," *DP* 2:2910.

[12] Note that Byzantine iconography depicts Proclus as an old man with a long white beard. See, for example, the three illuminations in the tenth-century 'Menologium of Basil II' (*Vat. gr.* 1613), fols. 65 ('St. Proclus and the Revelation of the Thrice-Holy Hymn'); 136 ('Repose of St. Proclus'); and 353 ('St. Proclus translates the relics of Chrysostom to Constantinople'). The first of these illustrates an episode in which

date would additionally support the widespread tradition that Proclus was the personal secretary of John Chrysostom, who served as archbishop of Constantinople from 26 February 398, to 20 June 404. Celebrated in hagiography, hymnology, and iconography, and reiterated in the chronicles of later Byzantine historians, this tradition intriguingly links a future opponent of Nestorius with a leading figure from the school of Antioch. As we shall see below, however, Proclus appears at a rather young age in the company of Chrysostom's second successor, Atticus of Constantinople (*sed.* 406–25), an association which would tend to sustain the later birth-date of ca. 390.

Apart from major dates and episodes relative to Proclus' ecclesiastical career, Socrates provides us with no information about Proclus' family origins or social class, although a young reader of the church who was an avid student of rhetoric is likely to have come from a relatively prosperous Christian family.[13] Other sources suggest that the name 'Proclus' had some currency in late-antique Byzantium. In pre-Christian Constantinople, for example, a 'Proclus' is attested among the funerary inscriptions discovered in the Byzantine necropolis.[14] In addition, the *Synaxarion* of the church of Constantinople preserves a notice on a certain martyr named Proclus, who died in Asia Minor in the second century and whose memory was celebrated in the capital on 12 July. In the fifth century, the name is found only rarely in Constantinople and then, somewhat predictably, among high-ranking elites

Proclus, during an earthquake of 438, led the people out of the city to the Hebdomon to pray. There, a child was raised to heaven where it heard the 'Thrice-Holy Hymn' chanted by angels. When the people joined in the song, the tremors subsided, after which Proclus inserted the hymn into the Divine Liturgy; cf. Croke, "Byzantine Earthquakes" (1981), 126–31; Vercleyen, "Tremblements de terre" (1988); Janeras, "Les byzantins et le trisagion" (1967); and Proclus, Homily 1.IX, 152–53, below, p. 156. See also the eleventh-century lectionary (*Vat. gr.* 1156, fol. 268v) which depicts an aged Proclus in conjunction with the Virgin's 'Entry into the Temple.' The 'Princeton Index of Christian Art' lists several depictions of a Proclus *senex* in a series of tenth-century Cappadocian cave churches: Göreme, Tokali Kilisse (New Apse); Gulli Dere, Chapel 4 (North); and Qeledjilar, south aisle; as well as in the fourteenth-century churches of St. George (Staro Nagoričino), and the Savior (Žiča). For images of Proclus as a youth in the service of Chrysostom, see below, n. 61.

[13] There is a passage in Proclus, hom. 35 (ed. Rudberg, 312, lines 34–39), which may have some social and autobiographical resonance: "The infant becomes a child and is given over to the care of servants. As a youth, he is given to teachers in order to learn the art of speech. He is lazy, he is beaten, he labors, but he learns. Advancing by degrees, he becomes accomplished in speech, attains celebrity, and is brilliant in all forms of public discourse."

[14] Firalti, *Stèles funéraires de Byzance Gréco-Romaine* (1964), 68, no. 65 (2115).

(who had the means to insure the preservation of their names), such as Proclus, the son of the praetorian prefect, and Proclus, the proconsul of the diocese of Asia. Perhaps the most famous instance of the name in the fifth century is the Constantinopolitan born Neoplatonist philosopher Proclus Lycius Diadochus (ca. 412–85), who is not known to have had any contact with his Christian namesake.[15]

The Intellectual World of Fifth-Century Constantinople

As Socrates notes, Proclus, while engaged in the service of the church as a young reader, devotedly studied rhetoric under teachers in Constantinople.[16] At that time, the capital was home to numerous scholars working in both private and municipal centers of instruction. These establishments, which Socrates calls *paideuteria*,[17] were typically organized around a single teacher and tended to specialize in only one particular subject or skill, such as law, rhetoric, or philosophy.[18] This physical separation of the curriculum had characterized Mediterranean education since antiquity. However, an event took place in the second decade of the fifth century which redefined the very nature and purpose of classical education. That event was the foundation by imperial edict of the 'Higher School' or 'University' of Constantinople on 27 February 425.[19]

[15] On the martyr Proclus, see the *SynaxCP* 813–14. On Proclus the proconsul, see *ACO* II, 1, 1, 73. See also the nine listings under "Proclus" in *PLRE* 2:915–19; Dagron, *Naissance*, 268; and Fraser and Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (1987), 1:388. Adler's edition of the *Suidae Lexicon* (1935) does not include an entry on Proclus of Constantinople. To these one should add Proclus, the second-century sophist from Naucratis memorialized by Flavius Philostratus, *Vitae sophistarum*, 21 (trans. Wright, *LCL* [1922], 259–63).

[16] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.41.1 (ed. Hansen, 390, lines 7–8).

[17] Ibid., 3.1.9 (ed. Hansen, 188, line 4).

[18] See below, n. 19: Bréhier, "Notes," 83–84; and Fuchs, "Schulen," 1–2. See also Downey, "Education in the Christian Roman Empire" (1957); and Moffatt, "School Teachers in the Early Byzantine Empire" (1972).

[19] *CTh* 16.9.3 (ed. Mommsen [1905], 787; trans. Pharr [1952], 414–15). On the University, see Schemmel, "Die Hochschule von Konstantinopel" (1908); Bréhier, "Notes sur l'histoire de l'enseignement" (1926–1927); id., "L'enseignement classique et l'enseignement religieux" (1941); Beck, "Bildung und Theologie" (1966); Kyriakides, "The University" (1971); and Lemerle, *Humanisme Byzantin*, 63–64. For the classical background, see Marrou, *History of Education in Antiquity* (1956); Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (1971); and Hadot, *Arts libéraux et philosophie* (1984). On the later history of the University, see Fuchs, "Schulen von Konstantinopel" (1926); and Speck, "Die Kaiserliche Universität" (1974).

Sources of a somewhat legendary character suggest that the inspiration behind this novel idea was the empress Eudokia-Athenais (ca. 400–60), the wife of Theodosius II. Born to an Athenian philosopher, the empress was unusually well educated, and her aim, we are told, was that the university of Constantinople surpass all those of the ancient world.[20] Whatever the case, it is certainly true that, unlike the older private schools, the new institution was to be completely maintained and controlled by the state. As such, it appears to have been an expression of the universalist ideology and pretensions of the imperial court. The new school was marked by an encyclopedic program of studies that organized all of the arts and sciences within a single institution and edifice. The traditional classical education, hitherto fostered in the schools of Antioch, Alexandria and Athens, now emerged in Constantinople reorganized, expanded, and marked with a distinctly Christian stamp.[21]

The new school attracted philosophers and rhetors from throughout the empire who were lured by the prestige of a professorial chair, the security of a government salary, and the intellectual freedom of the cosmopolitan capital. Among the teachers already present in the city was the celebrated rhetor Themistius; the sophist and statesman Troilus; the grammarian Helladius; and the philosopher Ammonius, under whom Socrates himself had studied. Others were soon to follow: the medical doctor and philologist Agapios; the jurist Leontius; the Greek sophists Martinus, Maximus, and Nicholas; the Latin grammarian Theophilus; and the Greek grammarians Leonas, Olympiodorus and Syrianus.[22]

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[20] Fuchs, ibid., 3. On Eudokia's connection with the University, see Holum, *Empresses*, 126; and Al. Cameron, "Empress and the Poet," 285–89. On the empress, who was baptized and christened 'Eudokia' by Atticus (cf. Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.21.9 [ed. Hansen, 368, lines 8–10]; Theodore Lector, *H.E.*, 316 [ed. Hansen, *GCS* 54 (1971), 93, lines 16–17]), see *CPG* 6020–25; *PLRE* 2:408–409; Gregorovius, *Athenaïs* (1892); Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (1932), 4:126–30; Livrea, "Eudocianum" (1994), 141–45; and the popular account in Diehl, *Byzantine Empresses* (1963), 22–43.

[21] Bréhier, "Notes," 84; Holum, ibid.

[22] Socrates, *H.E.*, 5.16.8–9 (ed. Hansen, 290, lines 13–16). On Troilus, see "Troilus, 1," *PLRE* 2:1128; On Helladius, see "Helladius, 4," ibid., 1:412, and "Helladius, 2," ibid., 2:534 (the same person); on Ammonius, see "Ammonius, 3," ibid., 1:55. On Agapios, see "Agapios, 2," ibid., 2:32; on Leontius, see "Leontius, 7," ibid., 2:669; on Martinus, see "Martinus, 2," ibid., 2:730; on Maximus, see "Maximus, 8," ibid., 2:745–46; on Nicholas, see "Nicolaus, 2," ibid., 2:783; on Theophilus, see "Theophilus, 4," ibid., 2:1109; on Leonas, see "Leonas," ibid., 2:666; on Syrianus, see "Syrianus, 2," ibid., 2:1050.

Many of these figures were recent arrivals from Alexandria. According to Socrates, Ammonius, a 'priest of the Ape,'[23] together with his colleague Helladius, a priest of Zeus, fled Alexandria in the wake of the violence that followed the seizure of the great temple of Serapis in 392.[24] Although they were persecuted in Alexandria, these men were welcomed in the new capital where they were instrumental in disseminating the religious and intellectual traditions of their native city. It is thus no coincidence that Socrates himself, a Constantinopolitan native and student of Ammonius, was well read in Plato, Plotinus, and especially Origen, for whom he had the greatest sympathy.[25] Although largely unacknowledged by historians, the direct influence of Alexandrian thought in the formation of the Constantinopolitan christological tradition should not be underestimated. "Wherever Alexandrian thought has penetrated," according to Grillmeier, "the picture of Christ has been lastingly influenced by it."[26] As will become clear in subsequent chapters, the compass points of the Alexandrian intellectual tradition would largely determine the course navigated by Proclus and other Constantinopolitan theologians throughout the christological controversy.

It is onto this general backcloth that one should project the information provided by Socrates regarding the education of Proclus. Although Proclus did not attend the Higher School of Constantinople, which was established on the eve of his elevation to the episcopacy, he manifestly did not escape its influence, or that of the Alexandrian teachers who

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[23] Socrates, ibid., 5.16.9 (ed. Hansen, 290, line 16). The ape (or baboon) was a symbol of the Egyptian god Thoth who was identified with the figure of Hermes Trismegistus. During the Ptolemaic period, Thoth was equated with the Platonic Logos, and came to personify the mind of God. He was considered the founder of science, literature, rhetoric, the arts, magic, and the patron of all intellectual pursuits; cf. Bénédite, "Scribe et Babouin" (1911); Boylar, *Thoth: the Hermes of Egypt* (1922); Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians* (1969), 1:400–415; Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (1973); Fowden, *Egyptian Hermes* (1986), 22–31, 177–95; and Preus, "Thoth and Apollo" (1998).

[24] Socrates, ibid., 5.16.2–3 (ed. Hansen, 289–90, lines 25–27/1–2). On the destruction of the Serapeum in 392 instead of 391, see Bauer and Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik* (1905), 69, cited in Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (1990), 59, n. 17. See also O'Leary, "Destruction of Temples in Egypt" (1938); and Rémondon, "L'Égypte et la suprême résistance" (1952).

[25] Socrates counted among his personal acquaintances several Constantinopolitan Origenists who were well read in Plato and Aristotle, cf. ibid., 6.13.9–12; 7.6.7–9 (ed. Hansen, 334–5, lines 28–29/1–7; 352, lines 11–18); and Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 175–98.

[26] Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* (1975), 1:133.

directly contributed to the intellectual life of the great city. Socrates writes that "Proclus assiduously frequented instructors, and became deeply devoted to the study of rhetoric."[27] From this it seems clear that Proclus studied at the schools of rhetoric that had grown up around the celebrated orators of the city and their students. At these schools, Proclus would have progressed through a literary curriculum focusing on the canonical authors of classical antiquity.[28] Although many teachers of rhetoric in Constantinople at this time were decidedly non-Christian Greeks, the classical canon was nevertheless increasingly subject to deep structural revisions dictated by the requirements of Christian liturgy and discourse.[29] Some of the results of these revisions can be seen in the writings of Proclus, who represents the first generation of ecclesiastical orators who studied and trained in the new capital. By the time of his service to bishop Atticus, Proclus had become an accomplished rhetorician and his surviving homilies are elegantly definitive examples of fifth-century Greek Christian rhetoric.[30]

Christianity and Hellenism

The influence of Christianity upon an originally Greek system of culture and education reinforced the influence which Christian thinkers were acquiring in public discourse and ideological development. In the first half of the fifth century, the struggle for control of institutional power had not yet ended, and throughout the writings of Proclus one encounters a strong polemic against Greek religion and culture. In his *Tome to the Armenians*, for example, Proclus contrasts the enlightened

[27] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.41.1 (ed. Hansen, 390, lines 7–8); cf. Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.14: "Byzantium, the imperial city of the East, for it was distinguished by the eminence of its rhetoricians and philosophers" (ed. Bernardi, *SC* 384 [1992], 146, lines 1–3); and Libanius, *Or.* 1.279, who complains about the loss of Antioch's finest teachers to the "city in Thrace (i.e., Constantinople), which runs fat on the sweat of other cities" (ed. Martin [1979], 202, lines 10–11).

[28] The education available in these schools has not always been characterized favorably, as in Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 2:1003–4; but see the more nuanced view of Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (1973), 27–62.

[29] See Av. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire* (1991), 189–221.

[30] On the preaching and rhetoric of Proclus, see Bauer, *Proklos*, 131–41; Marx, *Procliana*, 1–8; Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (1909), 2:855–58; Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, 4:202, 204–206; Amand, "Une homélie grecque" (1948), 254–60; Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 157–72; Olivar, *Predicación Cristiana* (1991), 153–55; and Barkhuizen, "Proclus of Constantinople" (1998), 179–200. See also Fedwick, "The Charisma of the Leader of the Word," in id., *Church and Charisma* (1979), 77–100.

mind of the Christian with the grim obscurity of its Greek counterpart. The Greek philosophers, Proclus asserts, "touched only the fluctuating and fleeting nature of things that are seen, but were blind with respect to the eye of contemplation (θεωρία)." For Proclus, that theoretical blindness eventuated in moral decadence so that even the "virtues" of the Greeks "creep along low to the ground, and squirm about the earth falling short of the vault of heaven."[31] Lacking true content, Greek philosophy resorted to empty aestheticism, seducing its adherents by the beauty of its forms: "Those Greeks who imagine themselves to be wise (cf. Rom. 1.22) teach nothing of use or value, but by abusing the beauty of speech they deceive those who listen to them."[32]

In a letter to the bishops of Illyricum, Proclus refutes traditional Greek notions of astrological fatalism by means of three arguments. In the first, Proclus denies the existence of a cosmic principle that would compel human beings to act contrary to nature and truth. Nor, he adds, can actions contrary to nature be determined by any principle within nature. Instead, both good and evil are freely chosen by the activity of the human will which, although weakened by sin, nevertheless preserves its essential liberty. In the second argument, Proclus contends that if human behavior is determined by an external cosmic force, then human beings would not be responsible for their actions and, as a result, God would be rendered an unjust judge. Finally, Proclus points out that it is philosophically untenable for a single principle or cause, such as fate, to contain within itself two opposite causes, such as good and evil.[33]

Perhaps Proclus' strongest condemnation of Greek religion occurs in his recently-discovered *Baptismal Mystagogy*. Elucidating the significance

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[31] Proclus, ep. 2, *Tomus*, 1.3 (*ACO* IV, 2, pp. 187–88).

[32] Proclus, hom. 22 (*PG* 65.837D), a passage indebted to Cyril of Alexandria, *Quod unus sit Christus* (ed. Durand, *SC* 97 [1964], 302–304); cf. Liebaert, "Cyrille et la culture antique" (1955); and Aubineau, "Emprunts de Proclus de Constantinople à Cyrille d'Alexandrie" (1985).

[33] Proclus, ep. 18, *Epistula uniformis*, 9–11 (*ACO* IV, 2, pp. 66–67). See also Grumel, *Les regestes* (1972), 1/1:72–73, no. 91; and Lumpe, "Epistula Uniformis" (1971). For the general context of Proclus' arguments see Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté* (1945); Riedinger, *Heilige Schrift* (1956); and Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars* (1991). Proclus' *Epistula uniformis* bears comparison with the *Contra fatum* of Gregory of Nyssa (ed. McDonough, *GNO* 3.2 [1987], 31–63), which the latter wrote in response to an extreme form of astrological determinism that he encountered among Greek philosophers in Constantinople; cf. Basil, *Hex.*, 6.5–7 (ed. Giet, *SC* 26 [1968], 348–70); and Potter, *Prophets and Emperors* (1994), 12, n. 33.

of the baptismal exorcisms to a group of recent initiates to Christianity, Proclus explains that the ritual renunciation of Satan is in fact a symbol for the renunciation of traditional Greek culture and society. Greek gods, myths, and the cult of idols, along with Greek sexual mores, the theater,[34] chariot races, and the slaying of animals for sport, are all to be vigorously swept aside by the neophytes as they embrace the Christian faith.[35] For Proclus, the institutions of Greek culture, much like the 'vain and bombastic babblings of the philosophers,' are nothing more than a 'seductive lure' concealing the 'devil's deadly fish-hook.'[36] In Proclus' *Encomium on All Saints*, Satan himself appears in the guise of a Greek sophist scheming but ultimately unable to deceive the saints.[37]

These and similar sentiments voiced by Proclus are of course resonant with conventional rhetorical traditions of invective and abuse. However, they should not be summarily dismissed as stock anti-pagan *topoi*. As the result of such rhetoric, prominent Greeks residing in fifth-century Constantinople increasingly found themselves the object of pointed public denunciations. Initially welcomed by the state, they were less hospitably received by the leadership of the church. Moreover, in both the European and Asiatic suburbs beyond the city walls, the population was still predominantly pagan, as it was in much of the surrounding regions.[38] In response to this situation, fifth-century Christians composed a formidable array of anti-pagan tracts. Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. 393–466), for example, refuted paganism in three of his treatises, the *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos*, the *De providentia*, and the *Graecarum affectionum curatio*.[39] Cyril of Alexandria (378–444)

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[34] See Wiemken, *Der griechische Mimus* (1972); French, "Christian Emperors and Pagan Spectacles" (1985), 176–223; ead., "Maintaining Boundaries" (1998); and Cramer, *Baptism and Change* (1993), 9–129.

[35] Proclus, hom. 27.2 (ed. Leroy, 188–89). Similarly, Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.22–23 (ed. Hansen, 368–72), notes that Theodosius II was praised for discouraging bouts with wild beasts and other public spectacles; cf. Pasquato, *Gli spettacoli in S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (1976).

[36] Proclus, ibid. See also Kelly, *Devil at Baptism* (1985).

[37] Proclus, hom. 34.6 (ed. Leroy, 256, lines 20–22). For additional references critical of Greek religion, see Proclus, hom. 3.III (below, p. 205); hom. 9.3 (*PG* 65.776AC); hom. 14.1 (*PG* 65.800C; 801A; 895A); hom. 18.2 (*PG* 65.820CD); hom. 19.3 (*PG* 65.825BC); and hom. 23 (ed. Martin, 40, line 3; cf. 41, lines 8–11).

[38] On the anti-pagan laws, see Gaudemet, *Histoire du droit* (1958), 3:646–52; and below, n. 44. On paganism in the suburbs, see the *vita Hypatii* (ed. Bartelink, *SC* 177 [1971], 30, lines 1–2; 43, lines 11–13; 45, lines 1–8); and Dagron, *Naissance*, 367–87.

[39] *Quaestiones* (*PG* 6.1249–400; but cf. *CPG* 6285); *De providentia* (*PG* 83.556–773); *Graecarum affectionem curatio* (ed. Canivet, *SC* 57 [1958]).

published a lengthy rebuttal of the emperor Julian's *Contra Galilaeos*.[40] Aeneas of Gaza (d. after 538) refuted pagan philosophical conceptions in his treatise *Theophrastus*, as did Zacharias of Mitylene (ca. 465–536) in his work *De immortalitate animae et mundi consummatione*.[41] Neilus of Ancyra (d. ca. 430) and Isidore of Pelusium (ca. 365–433) both wrote treatises 'against the Greeks' that have been lost.[42] Even the empress Eudokia-Athenais, mentioned above, who was herself a Greek convert to Christianity, included a critique of Greek religious beliefs in a poem that she wrote about the conversion and martyrdom of St. Cyprian.[43] These literary efforts were not without political and legislative import. By the death of Theodosius II in 450, all pagan temples had been formally closed and the entire imperial bureaucracy was at least nominally Christian.[44]

In counterpoint to these developments, it should be noted that Proclus' sharp denunciations of religious Hellenism are somewhat mitigated by his exegesis of certain scriptural passages that evince a more charitable attitude toward the 'gentiles.'[45] Moreover, even though there are no direct citations from classical authors in the writings of Proclus, the language of ancient Greek literature was deeply embedded within the fabric of his culture, as a letter to him from Cyril of Alexandria suggests.[46] Like many Christian thinkers, Proclus' negative attitudes toward

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40 Cyril, *Contra Iulianum* (ed. Burguière and Évieux, *SC* 322 [1985], 110–318); cf. Malley, *Hellenism and Christianity* (1978).

41 *Theophrastus* (*PG* 85.872–1003); *De immortalitate* (ed. Boissonade [1836]).

42 On Neilus and the Greeks, see Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus* (1897), 16–79; on the lost treatise of Isidore, see his letters 2.137 and 2.228 (*PG* 78.580; 664–65).

43 *De martyrio s. Cypriani* (ed. Bevgeni [1982], 258–61); cf. Deun, "Poetical Writings of the Empress Eudocia" (1993); and Usher, *Homeric Stitchings* (1998).

44 See Boyd, *Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code* (1905), 15–32; Luibheid, "Theodosius II and Heresy" (1965); Frantz, "From Paganism to Christianity" (1965); Kaegi, "Twilight of Byzantine Paganism" (1968), 266, who states that "Theodosius II encouraged the strenuous efforts of Patriarch Proclus to convert the pagans in the capital"; Blair, *Ecclesiastical Law in the Theodosian Code* (1969), 9–17; Fowden, "Bishops and Temples" (1978); Harl, "Sacrifice and Pagan Belief" (1990); and Gemmiti, *La Chiesa privilegiata* (1991).

45 The scriptural passages in question emphasize the universality of the Christian Gospel. See, for example, Proclus' use of Rom. 2.14 (the 'natural law' of the gentiles) in hom. 2.XI, 162–65, below, p. 174; Tit. 2.11 (the universality of salvation) in hom. 7.2 (*PG* 65.760B); Jn. 12.21 (on the Greeks who approached Christ) in hom. 9.3 (*PG* 65.776AC); and the protreptic to baptism based on types of the church taken from the Old Testament in hom. 28.4.22–28 (ed. Leroy, 199).

46 Cyril, ep. 72.5, exposing those whose concern over the condemnation of Nestorius was but a pretense for their deeper devotion to Theodore of Mopsuestia, quotes a verse

Greek religion did not prevent him from drawing eclectically on the legacy of classical philosophy. For example, Proclus' use of syllogistic logic[47] generally follows the rules of inference established by Aristotle in his *Prior Analytics*.[48] Similarly, Proclus' elemental and cosmological theories are reminiscent of passages in Aristotle's *Physics* and *On the Heavens*.[49] Proclus' treatment of these ideas, however, does not seem to be based on a direct reading of Aristotle, and his purpose in employing them is not philosophical. Instead, these and similar passages are attested in Basil of Caesarea's *Hexaemeron* where they were subjected to an authoritative Christian theological interpretation, and from where they could have easily been appropriated by Proclus.[50] In addition to Aristotle, Proclus seems to have also been familiar with some traditional elements of Platonic philosophy, if only by way of anthologies. Bauer has suggested

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from Homer: "They mourned in semblance for Patroclus, but really each one mourned her own sorrows" (= *Iliad*, 19.302), ed. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus* (1927), 18, lines 33–35. See also the Ps.-Chrysostomic sermon, *In oraculum Zachariae*, ascribed to the hand of Proclus (cf. under 'Proclus' in the Bibliography), which alludes in part to the riddle of the Sphinx: ἀντὶ τρίτου ποδὸς βακτηρίαν βαστάζω (*PG* 50.788A).

[47] See, for example, Proclus, hom. 1.V, 70–81; 1.IX, 141–44, below, pp. 140, 144; *Tomus*, 29 (*ACO* IV, 2, pp. 191–192); *Epistula ad occidentos*, 11 (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 67); cf. Lumpe, "Epistola," 19, n. 24.

[48] Aristotle, *Analytica prioria*, 24b18–25b32; cf. Patzig, *Aristotle's Theory of the Syllogism* (1968). Proclus' use of these categories may have been prompted by the work of his Nestorian opponents. Baumstark, *Aristotle bei den Syrern* (1900), 1:139–56, notes that Probas of Antioch and Ibas of Edessa had translated the *Eisagoge* of Porphyry into Syriac and exploited its formal principles in their defense of Nestorianism; cf. Justinian, *Contra Anthimum*: "It is forbidden to possess books by Porphyry, just as (it is forbidden to possess) those of Nestorius, for our imperial predecessors reckoned that the things said by the former … are like unto (ὅμοια) the teachings of Nestorius" (ed. Amelotti and Zingale [1977], 50 [121], lines 22–24); a reference to the edict of 16 February 448 which ordered the burning of 'Nestorian works' along with those by Porphyry (extant in the *Codex Iustinianus*, 1.1.3 = *Bas.*, 1.1.3; ed. Scheltema, Wal, and Holwerda, 1:1, lines 16–22). Alternatively, Siddals, "Logic and Christology in Cyril of Alexandria" (1987), demonstrates that Cyril utilized Aristotelian and Porphyrian logic in his christology, exegesis, and soteriology.

[49] Compare Proclus' remarks in hom. 2.III, 38, below, p. 166 with Aristotle, *De caelo*, 2.13; 294b13 (that air supports the earth); and *Physica*, 1.5; 188b28 (on the four elements). The use of Aristotle by Greek patristic writers has not been fully studied, cf. Runia, "Festugière Revisited" (1989); and Elders, "Greek Christian Authors and Aristotle" (1990). For the use of Aristotle by some of Proclus' contemporaries, see Coleman-Norton, "Chrysostom and the Greek Philosophers" (1930); Datema, "Classical Quotations in Cyril of Alexandria" (1982); and Siddals, above, n. 48.

[50] *Hex.*, ed. Giet, 118, 122 (that air supports the earth); 149 (notion of cosmic harmony); 342, 346 (on the moon and stars). Proclus refers to Basil as an authority on matters of the faith (e.g., *Tomus*, 33 [*ACO* IV, 2, p. 195]), and in hom. 2.I reproduces *verbatim* passages from Basil, *Hom. in Ps.* 1, see below, p. 180.

that Proclus' arguments against fatalism in his letter to the bishops of Illyricum are directed against the determinism of contemporary Neoplatonic teaching.[51] While this is not entirely supported by the overall context in which these arguments appear, the proof against the union of opposites, noted above, is clearly indebted to Plato's *Phaedo*.[52] In the same way, Proclus' definition of the cardinal virtues in the *Tome to the Armenians* is obviously Platonic, although, again, it does not seem to be a direct quotation.[53]

If the search for precise correspondences between the works of Proclus and those of ancient Greek writers yields rather meagre results, it would be incorrect to conclude that Proclus' debt to the classical tradition was narrow or limited, or that he had somehow succeeded in creating a Christian discourse *ex nihilo*. On the contrary, the relationship of Greek speaking Christians to their non-Christian Greek heritage was understandably complex and often contradictory, ranging from the rhetoric of demonization and outright rejection to slavish imitation and creative improvisation. This study of Proclus has thus far provided instances of both deep aversion to religious Hellenism as well as comfortable familiarity with a miscellany of Greek philosophical commonplaces. This is perhaps not terribly surprising in a man who was socialized with one foot in the cathedral of Holy Wisdom and the other in the rhetorical schools of the Greeks. However, in addition to his vituperative and vulgar uses of Hellenism, Proclus also delivered himself of brilliant improvisations on classical symbols, themes and images. These occur primarily in his galaxy of remarkable metaphors for the Mother of God, a subject to which we shall return in detail below.

Finally, Proclus' personal dealings with his religious rivals are uniquely revealed in a passage from the *Life of Melania the Younger*.[54] In 437, during Proclus' tenure as archbishop of Constantinople, Melania's uncle, the distinguished pagan official Rufius Antonius Agrypnius Volusianus, traveled from Rome to Constantinople in order to assist with arrangements for the marriage of the western emperor Valentinian III to the eastern princess Eudoxia. The *vita* reports that Melania desired to see her uncle in order to 'save his soul' from the paganism that he still

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[51] Bauer, *Proklos*, 109, n. 3.

[52] *Phaedo*, 102a–104b.

[53] *Tomus*, 3 (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 188); cf. hom. 26.8 (ed. Leroy, 183, line 31); Plato, *Republic*, 442b-d; *Protagoras*, 329b.

[54] *Vita Melaniae Junioris*, 50–53; ed. Gorce, *SC* 90 (1962), 224–32; trans. Clark, *Life of Melania the Younger* (1984), 62–66.

espoused. In a passage that suggests some of the dynamics in what was described above as the struggle for control of institutional power, Melania initially sought to win her uncle over to Christianity by 'taking the matter to the emperors.'[55] However, through the agency of 'certain highly-ranked persons,' Melania took the matter to Proclus who "came to Volusianus and benefited him greatly by speaking at length about his salvation." In the end, Proclus' powers of persuasion prevailed and Volusianus agreed to accept Christian baptism.[56] After his conversations with Proclus, Volusianus is reported to have told Melania that "If we had three men in Rome like Proclus, no one there would be called a Greek."[57]

Proclus and John Chrysostom

As Socrates notes, Proclus was employed in the service of the church of Constantinople from a very young age, having already advanced to the lectorate before his formal studies.[58] Based on this notice, the eighteenth-century church historian Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont placed Proclus in the service of Nectarius (*sed.* 381–97), the unbaptized *praetor* of Constantinople who was chosen by Theodosius I to succeed Gregory Nazianzus as archbishop of the capital city.[59] Writing somewhat before Tillemont, and faithfully following a tradition enjoying almost universal acceptance in Byzantine ecclesiastical sources, Vincent Riccardi placed Proclus under the tutelage of John Chrysostom,

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[55] *Vita*, 53 (ed. Gorce, 232; trans. Clark, 65).

[56] It is not clear if Proclus was associated with Melania's international circle of semi-Origenist intimates. The need for high-level intermediaries between the two figures suggests otherwise, although it is not unlikely that she was present during Proclus' catechism of Volusianus.

[57] *Vita*, 53 (ed. Gorce, 232; trans. Clark, 66). Clark, ibid., 130, interprets this remark as a "scarcely veiled slur on Roman bishops of the day." See Martain, "Volusien" (1907); Chastagnol, "Sénateur Volusien" (1956); Gaudemet, "Transformations de la vie familiale" (1962); the commentary and notes of Clark, ibid., 129–34; Brown, "Aspects of Christianization" (1961), 7–8; and Matthews, *Western Aristocracies* (1975), 285–86, 353, 359.

[58] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.41.1 (ed. Hansen, 390, lines 7–9); cf. above, n. 4; and Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.38 (*PG* 146.1185C).

[59] Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique* (1709), 14:704. This hypothesis not only requires an extremely early birth date for Proclus but has no foundation in either contemporary or later sources. On the career of Nectarius, see Grumel, *Les regestes*, 2–12.

making him first his student, then his secretary and personal friend.[60] Among Riccardi's earliest sources for this tradition was the ninth-century *Chronicle* of George Monachos, which notes that "Chrysostom had as his students the bishops Proclus, Palladius, Brissonas, and Theodoret, and the ascetics Mark, Neilus, and Isidore of Pelusium" (a notion reiterated by subsequent Byzantine historians). Similarly, an anonymous *vita Chrysostomi* calls Proclus the 'spiritual son' of Chrysostom, while the twelfth-century *Chronicle* of John Zonaras styles him the 'student of Chrysostom.' The fourteenth-century *Ecclesiastical History* of Xanthopoulos reports that "from a very young age, Proclus followed Chrysostom, copied his homilies and treatises, and was his personal servant." Moreover, Xanthopoulos maintains the existence of a 'school of Chrysostom,' in which Proclus was a junior member.[61]

The testimony of these later writers is difficult to reconcile with sources written in the fifth-century, which say nothing of any contact between Proclus and John Chrysostom. Although one might have expected such a relationship to emerge in the accounts of Proclus' translation of Chrysostom's remains to Constantinople, no mention of such is made by Sozomen, Theodoret, or Palladius who, in his *Dialogue on the Life of Saint John Chrysostom*, introduces many friends and supporters of the Goldenmouthed archbishop. Further, Chrysostom's numerous letters from exile to friends in the capital make no mention of a Proclus. The silence of Socrates on this matter is particularly striking. While Socrates notes that Philip of Side was in 'frequent contact' with

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[60] Riccardi, *Procli Analecta* (1630), 18. Bauer, *Proklos*, 11–12, provides a list of scholars who followed the arguments established by Riccardi. Bauer was the first modern scholar to refute such a link.

[61] George Monachos, *Chronicon*, 4.17 (ed. de Boor [1904], 1:599, line 4); cf. George Cedrenus, *Comp. hist.* (ed. Bekker [1838], 1:581, line 7); anonymous *vita* cited in Bauer, ibid., 12, n. 5; Zonaras, *Chron.*, 13.22 (*PG* 146.1189CD); Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.38 (*PG* 146.1185C). George of Alexandria, *vita Chrysostomi*, 27 (ed. Halkin [1977], 142–48); followed by Leo the Wise, *Laudatio s. Chrysostomi* (*PG* 107.256D–257C); Simeon Metaphrastes, *v.Chrys.*, 23 (*PG* 114.1104B–1108B); John Mauropous, *In magnas festorum tabulas*, 13 (*PG* 120.1134–35); and Xanthopoulos, ibid., note that Proclus, peering through the key-hole of Chrysostom's study on three consecutive evenings, saw the Apostle Paul whispering into the archbishop's ear and explaining to him the meaning of his Epistles. This episode was depicted in a number of Byzantine miniatures and wall paintings, recently catalogued by Mitchell, *Heavenly Trumpet* (2000), 488–95; cf. 436–39; to whose bibliography should be added Metsanis, "Τὸ ὅραμα τοῦ Πρόκλου" (1991). The literary and iconographic tradition connecting Proclus to Chrysostom also appears in the hymns for the feast day of Saint Proclus on 20 November, for which see the *Μηναῖον τοῦ Νοεμβρίου* (Athens, 1960), 134, 137, 141.

Chrysostom, he makes no such statement regarding Proclus. In fact, Socrates uses virtually the same expression to describe Proclus' relationship with Atticus, who was Chrysostom's second successor.[62] This pattern is further solidified by the fact that, while Chrysostom ordained Philip to the diaconate, Proclus was so ordained by Atticus. To the testimony of Socrates (admittedly an argument from silence), one should add a letter from John of Antioch to Proclus regarding Theodore of Mopsuestia. In this letter, the archbishop of Antioch presents his Constantinopolitan colleague with a list of ecclesiastical writers that includes the names of both Chrysostom and Atticus. However, in the course of establishing Proclus' relationship to these writers, John of Antioch explicitly refers, not to Chrysostom, but to Atticus as Proclus' 'father.' Given the context of this letter, which will be considered below, if Proclus had indeed been the intellectual progeny of Chrysostom, it would have been to John of Antioch's advantage to have pointed this out, but the overall tendency of the letter is to establish Proclus as the heir of native Constantinopolitan, and not Antiochene, teachers.[63]

Thus despite the unanimity of the later ecclesiastical tradition, there are no contemporary sources linking Proclus of Constantinople with John Chrysostom. Not only do the remarks of Socrates and John of Antioch all but deny such a link, Proclus' 'father' Atticus was a bitter enemy of Chrysostom. How then is one to explain the emergence and popularity of the later tradition? While it is not impossible that as a child Proclus sat at the feet of Chrysostom, it is also likely that Proclus' intimate association with Atticus was disagreeable to later ecclesiastical historians for whom the subsequent tradition fulfilled certain apologetic and ideological requirements. Though he later recanted, Atticus' ruthless opposition to Chrysostom was no doubt embarrassing to the official ecclesiastical establishment.[64] It was also counterintuitive to place Pro-

[62] Compare Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.27.2 (ed. Hansen, 376, line 5): (Φίλλιπος) τὰ πολλὰ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰωάννῃ συνῆν, with ibid., 7.41.1 (390, lines 8–9): (Πρόκλος) τὰ πολλὰ παρῆν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀττικῷ.

[63] The letter survives only in Latin and may be found in Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, 8.3–7; the quotation ('beatum Atticum tuum patrem') is at 8.6, lines 53–54 (ed. Clément and Plaetse, *CCSL* 90 A [1974], 228–29). On the historical context, see below, p. 118. Note that passages from Chrysostom, Atticus, and Proclus appear, in that order, in a christological florilegium adopted by the Council of Chalcedon (*ACO*, II, 1, p. 474, nos. 9–11).

[64] A similar situation obtains between Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria who, after the tenth century, were depicted concelebrating the liturgy in the lower register of the sanctuary apse. Byzantine tradition had resolved their personal differences by

clus within the camp of the great archbishop's calumniators, for Proclus not only excelled at ecclesiastical oratory, but was personally responsible for the translation of Chrysostom's relics to Constantinople and the subsequent rehabilitation of his memory. But despite the pious wishes of later ecclesiastical ideologues, Proclus first appears on the historical scene in close connection, not with John Chrysostom, but with the latter's fierce opponent, Atticus of Constantinople.

Proclus and Atticus of Constantinople

Atticus of Constantinople was born in Sebastia of Armenia during the second half of the fourth century.[65] During his adolescence, he is said to have entered a 'Pneumatomachian' (i.e., Eustathian) monastery.[66] He received his formal education during his novitiate, which appears to have been limited to the doctrines of the semi-Arians and various philosophical and theological commonplaces. Atticus struggled throughout his later years to amend these deficiencies, but with respect to the highly valued gift of rhetoric, he does not seem to have risen above the level of an acceptable mediocrity. In addition, his spoken Greek may have been inflected by the vestiges of an Armenian accent with the result that his homilies, according to Socrates, "were not such as to be received with much applause, nor to deserve to be committed to writing."[67]

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means of a clever subterfuge, cf. Ph. Kontoglou, *ΕΚΦΡΑΣΙΣ* (Athens, 1960), 1:131–36; Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.28 (*PG* 146.1149–52); and Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries* (1999), 15–36.

[65] On Atticus, see Ceillier, "Atticus" (1861); *DHGE* 5:161–66; Brière, "Une homélie inédite d'Atticus" (1933–1934), 160–64; Papadopoulos, "Ἀττικός," (1964); Kazhdan, "Attikos," *ODB* 1:230; and Thomson, "Slavonic Translation" (2000), 5, n. 1. See also Duchesne, "Atticus and Cyril" (1910); Bardy, "Atticus de Constantinople et Cyrille d'Alexandrie," in Fliche and Martin, 4:149–62; and Grumel, *Les regestes*, 28–37.

[66] On Eustathian monasticism, see Frazee, "Anatolian Asceticism" (1980); Garsoïan, "Nerses le Grand" (1983); and Dagron, "Les moines et la ville" (1970), 246–53. See also Amadouni, *Des hiéromoines arméniens* (1958), 279–305. Eustathian monasticism was marked by strong charitable concerns, which may partly explain Atticus' commitment to a policy of social welfare and relief, evidenced in his *Ad Calliopium* preserved in Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.25.5–8 (ed. Hansen, 373, lines 6–17).

[67] Socrates, *H.E.*, 6.20.3; 7.2.7 (ed. Hansen, 344, lines 20–22; 349, lines 6–7); cf. Sozomen, *H.E.*, 8.27.6 (ed. Bidez, *GCS* 4 [1960], 388, lines 9–10); and Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 13.29 (*PG* 146.1024–25). Fifty years later, Armenian bishops can be heard to apologize for their linguistic 'barbarisms,' cf. the *Ep. ad Leonem imperatorem*: "nos igitur, uenerabilis imperator, in ultimo mundi loco degimus multo spatio a regia ciuitate distantes, sed uestrae potentiae in nullo diuissis fauore circa fidem equidem rec-

Atticus eventually made his way to Constantinople where he abandoned his semi-Arian beliefs and was ordained to the priesthood. Despite his oratorical infelicities, he distinguished himself by his native intelligence, political moderation, and personal charm. Socrates, whose *Ecclesiastical History* otherwise abounds in embarrassing anecdotes and often caustic criticism of prelates, writes that

> Atticus not only united those of the household of the faith, but also by his prudence he called forth the admiration of the heretics … Besides this, he was affable and entertaining in conversation and ever ready to sympathize with the afflicted. To sum up his excellences in the Apostle's saying: 'He was made all things to all men' (cf. 1 Cor. 9.22).[68]

However, there was one man for whom neither Socrates nor Atticus had any sympathy whatsoever, namely, the popular preacher John Chrysostom who had been brought to Constantinople from Antioch. While a priest at the Great Church, Atticus opposed John Chrysostom and played a significant role in his downfall and deposition.[69] Aligned with the party of Arsacius and Theophilus of Alexandria, Atticus appeared as one of the seven witnesses who testified against Chrysostom at the 'Synod of the Oak' in August of 403.[70]

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tam sententiam possidemus, ad sermones uero contentionem linguas habemus segnes; cohabitamus enim circa Armenios barbaros, fideles quidem, sed recte Romano eloquio non utentes, breui quodam ab eis spatio, magis autem intercessione Eufratis fluminis separati, et propter frequentem barbarorum permixtionem longos nequimus proferre sermones" (*ACO* II, 5, p. 71, lines 28–34).

[68] Socrates, ibid., 7.2.2–5 (ed. Hansen, 348–49, lines 19–20/1–2).

[69] Kazhdan, above, n. 65, suggests that Atticus' unpopularity as a preacher fueled his hatred of Chrysostom.

[70] For Socrates' criticisms of Chrysostom, see *H.E.*, 6.3–4 (ed. Hansen, 315–16). Palladius, *Dialogus*, 11 (ed. Malingrey, *SC* 341 [1988], 216, line 32), remarks that Atticus was the 'architect of all the machinations against John,' cf. Theodore Lector, *H.E.*, 297 (ed. Hansen, *GCS* 54, p. 90, line 16): "Atticus, a presbyter of the church of Constantinople, was one of those who plotted against John." On the Synod of the Oak, see Socrates, ibid., 6.15 (ed. Hansen, 336–38); Sozomen, *H.E.*, 8.17.1–10 (ed. Bidez, 371–72); Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 59 (ed. Henry [1959], 1:52–57); and Palladius, ibid., 8 (ed. Malingrey, 168–76, lines 145–255). According to Photius, Atticus accused Chrysostom of selling valuable liturgical objects from the cathedral, as well as a shipment of marble intended by his predecessor Nectarius for the church of the Anastasia (ed. Henry, 53, lines 4–7). Meyer, *Palladius* (1985), 187, n. 388, notes that Chrysostom maligned Atticus in his *Liber ad eos qui scandalizati sunt*, 20 (*PG* 52.521–22), although Atticus is not mentioned in this work by name. Is this *liber* the συκοφαντικὸν βιβλίον κατὰ τοῦ κλήρου mentioned in the Synod's eighth charge? See Photius, ibid., (ed. Henry, 53, lines 13–15); Liebescheutz, "Friends and Enemies of Chrysostom," (1984); id., "The Fall of Chrysostom" (1985); and id., *Barbarians and Bishops* (1990), 208–16.

Also among the enemies of Chrysostom were the often unruly monks of Constantinople whose activities Chrysostom had attempted to check. The place of the monk, Chrysostom insisted, was behind the walls of a cloister, and not in the streets and squares of the city, a view which the activist monks of Constantinople interpreted as Origenistic. Under the leadership of the powerful archimandrite Isaac, whom Chrysostom had once tried to depose, the monks began to sway public opinion against the archbishop. At the Synod of the Oak, Isaac appeared with a list of seventeen accusations against Chrysostom. These were in addition to the twenty-nine counts of misconduct already on the Synod's agenda. Atticus, himself a former monk and now a priest of the cathedral, seems to have worked closely with Isaac in forging an alliance between the secular clergy of the capital and the local monastic communities. When Isaac later died during the episcopacy of Atticus, the latter personally confirmed the monk Dalmatius as Isaac's successor.[71]

After his final exile in 404, Chrysostom was succeeded by Arsacius, the brother of Nectarius, who had been Chrysostom's immediate predecessor. Although Sozomen goes to great lengths to acquit him, Arsacius appears to have been a creature of the imperial party and failed to oppose the violent suppression of Chrysostom's followers.[72] However, the aged Arsacius died after a few months and early in 406 was succeeded by his old accomplice Atticus.[73] Having survived unscathed both the deposition of John Chrysostom and the subsequent struggle for episcopal succession, Atticus found himself by a fortuitous turn of

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[71] For the charge of Origenism, see Dagron, "Les moines," 260. Atticus' sympathy toward the monks of Constantinople may have been due to their common links with the Eustathian tradition. See also the *Synaxarion* notice for Saint Dios, the founder of a monastery in Constantinople that bore his name, and whom Atticus pressed into the service of the church (*SynaxCP* 830). On the monk Isaac, see Sozomen, ibid., 8.9.4–6 (ed. Bidez, 362, lines 7–20); Palladius, ibid., 6; 8 (ed. Malingrey, 126, line 16; 176, line 220); Dagron, ibid., 262–65; and Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*, 210–13. On the accession of Dalmatius, see Grumel, *Les regestes*, 28, no. 34a.

[72] The episode is described in Sozomen, ibid., 8.23 (Bidez, 379–80). See also the 18 November 404 edict of Arcadius (*CTh* 16.4.6) directed against Chrysostom's adherents: "Persons who dissent from communion with Arsacius, Theophilus, and Porphyrius … shall undoubtedly be driven from the church" (ed. Mommsen, 854–55; trans. Pharr, 450). Palladius, ibid., 11 (ed. Malingrey, 218, lines 38–41) reproduces this section of the edict, but substitutes 'Arsacius' with 'Atticus.'

[73] Arsacius was enthroned on 27 June 404. According to Palladius, ibid. (ed. Malingrey, 216, lines 22–23), the new archbishop, who was 'more silent than a fish and more inert than a frog,' served for fourteen months, and died in July or August of 405. Socrates, however, dates Arsacius' death to 11 November 405 (*H.E.*, 6.20.1; ed. Hansen, 344, lines 15–17).

events not only the head of the church of Constantinople, but at the very helm of imperial power. In 408, the second year of Atticus' episcopacy, the emperor Arcadius died leaving behind a son, Theodosius II, and three young daughters, Pulcheria, Arcadia and Marina. Although he bore the title of Augustus, Theodosius II was only seven years old at the time of his father's death. As a result, the affairs of the empire were administered by a regency government headed by the praetorian prefect Anthemius; the sophist and university professor Troilus; and the new bishop of the capital city, Atticus of Constantinople.[74]

Atticus served as archbishop at a time of prosperity and relative peace for both the church and the empire. The city of Constantinople grew in size day by day, and in 412 the old walls of Constantine were demolished and a new enclosure was erected to protect the prosperous suburbs that had grown up around the new capital.[75] Churches, shrines, and monasteries were built throughout the city and its environs, perhaps the most celebrated being that of the *Akoimetoi*, or 'Sleepless' (Monks), founded early in the fifth century. More were to follow.[76] The Great Church of the Holy Wisdom, destroyed by fire in 404, was rebuilt and rededicated at a service presided over by Atticus in 415.[77] At the court, Atticus was held in high regard and exercised considerable influence over the royal family. This was especially true with respect to the young princesses for whom he served as confessor and spiritual director. For their edification, the archbishop composed a special treatise entitled *On Faith and Virginity*.[78] This work, now lost, probably contributed to the princesses' decision to embrace a life of virginity and asceticism after which, according to Socrates, daily life in the imperial palace was 'rendered no different from a monastery' (ἀσκητή-

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[74] Duchesne, "Atticus," 201; Socrates, ibid., 7.1.1–3 (ed. Hansen, 348, lines 1–15); Sozomen, *H.E.*, 8.27 (ed. Bidez, 387–88). On Troilus, see above, n. 22.

[75] On the city at this time, see Emereau, "Constantinople sous Théodose le Jeune" (1925); Dagron, *Naissance*, passim; Mango, *Développement urbain* (1985); and id., "Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre" (1986). On the walls, see Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (1899); and Tsangadas, *Fortifications and Defense of Constantinople* (1980). Krischen, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, vol. 1 (1938) contains photographs of the (then) remaining land-walls along with detailed architectural renderings.

[76] Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, 1/3 (1969), passim, notes the foundation of over thirty churches and monasteries at this time.

[77] Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople* (1971), 14.

[78] The treatise is mentioned by Gennadius of Marseilles (ca. A.D. 470), *De viris illustribus*, 52 (*PL* 58.1088), who notes that "Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, wrote to the princess daughters of the emperor Arcadius *On Faith and Virginity*, a most excellent work, in which he attacks by anticipation the Nestorian doctrine."

ϱιον).[79] Moreover, Atticus maintained a number of political connections far beyond the immediate vicinity of Constantinople. When, for example, the Egyptian prefect Orestes was accosted in his chariot by a band of 'about 500' Nitrian monks, he defended himself by declaring that he was a 'Christian' and had been 'baptized by bishop Atticus.' The monks, however, were unimpressed and responded by throwing rocks that struck the prefect in the head.[80]

With respect to religious affairs within the capital, Atticus endeavored to appease the so-called 'Johannites,' that is, the zealous followers of John Chrysostom who, despite their beloved bishop's death in exile on 14 September 407, continued in a state of schism.[81] The Johannites were supported by the general population of the city which remained devoted to the memory of Chrysostom. They also had the sympathies of the bishops of Rome and Antioch, as well as the attention of the government, which was interested in maintaining peace within the capital. Atticus, whose damaging testimony at the Synod of the Oak was perhaps dictated more by political ambition than personal dislike, ultimately relented and restored Chrysostom's name to the diptychs thus bringing the unfortunate affair to a close.[82]

Atticus acted with relative tolerance toward the Johannites, as he did toward the Novatians,[83] and, to a lesser extent, the Pelagians.[84]

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[79] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.22.4 (ed. Hansen, 368, lines 24–25); cf. Sozomen, *H.E.*, 9.1, 3 (ed. Bidez, 390–91; 394–95). Socrates further notes that, under the similarly ascetical regime of Theodosius II, "all of Constantinople was transformed into a church" (ibid., 7.23.12; ed. Hansen, 372, lines 6–7); cf. Harries, "Pius Princeps" (1994). According to Sozomen (ibid., 9.3.2 [395, lines 7–8]), Pulcheria, in 412 or early 413, took public vows of virginity, cf. Holum, "Family Life in the Theodosian House" (1976); and below, chap. 6, p. 349.

[80] The incident is described in Socrates, ibid., 7.14.1–6 (ed. Hansen, 359–60); cf. Borowski, "Pulcheria" (1974), 74–76.

[81] Socrates, ibid., 6.18 (ed. Hansen, 341–43). See also above, n. 72.

[82] On the diptychs, see Socrates, ibid., 7.25.1–3 (ed. Hansen, 372–73). For an exchange of letters on this matter between Atticus and Cyril of Alexandria, see McEnerney, *Cyril, Letters 51–110* (1987), 83–91 (= ep. 75–76). This incident provides the first detailed information on the function of the diptychs in the ancient church. With the affair of Chrysostom, the diptychs, formerly episcopal notices of church communion and memorials for the dead, became public touchstones of religious orthodoxy. See the studies of Cabrol, "Diptychs," *DACL* 4:1045–94; Stegmueller, "Diptychon," *RAC* 3:1138–49; Honigmann, "Eusebius Pamphilii" (1953); and Taft, *Diptychs* (1991).

[83] Socrates, ibid., 7.25.15–19 (ed. Hansen, 374, lines 8–26). The Novatians were a rigorist party that emerged in the aftermath of the Decian persecution of the third century and held in high regard by Socrates, cf. ibid., 1.10.1–4; 4.9.1–7; 5.10.8; 6.22.1–12 (ed. Hansen, 41; 236; 283; 345–46).

[84] On Atticus' dealings with the Pelagians, cf. Grumel, *Les regestes*, 28, no. 35; 29, nos.

However, the activities of the Messalians in and around Constantinople compelled Atticus to adopt more rigorous measures. Messalianism was a heresy without a specific founder and without particularly distinct contours.[85] The Messalians seem to have taught, among other things, that the soul was substantially united to a demon which could be expelled only by ceaseless prayer. Expulsion of the demon, they claimed, was followed by a sensuous vision of God. From their probable origins in Mesopotamia, the Messalians spread to Syria, Asia Minor, and Thrace, and thus found themselves directly within the sphere of influence of the capital church. At the suggestion of Amphilocius of Iconium (ca. 340–95), the Messalians were initially condemned by an edict of Theodosius I dated 8 May 381. Ten years later, they were again condemned at a council held in Antioch in 390, and again shortly afterwards at a council in Side in Pamphilia.[86] Despite the latter condemnation, Atticus found it necessary to issue encyclicals to the Metropolitan of Side and his clergy urging them to drive the Messalians out of Pamphilia. In Constantinople, the Messalian monk Alexander caused considerable unrest by dividing the populace from the clergy and convincing large numbers of the faithful to abandon the official church in favor of Messalian-sponsored gatherings. Atticus was forced to intervene, although Alexander and his disciples were expelled from the city only after Atticus' death.[87]

36–36a; and 33, no. 42. Although none of the documentation survives, it seems that, in 417, Atticus expelled the Pelagian Celestius from Constantinople (no. 35), apprised his episcopal colleagues of the situation (no. 36), although, for reasons that are unclear, waited until 419 before formally condemning Celestius in writing (no. 42). See also Wickham, "Pelagianism in the East" (1989).

[85] On the Messalians, see Kmosko, *Liber Graduum* (1926), cxvii–cxxxix; Dörries, *Symeon von Mesopotamien* (1941); Gribomont, "Le monachisme en Asie Mineure" (1957); id., "Le dossier des origines du Messalianisme" (1972); Riggi, "Il movimento messaliano" (1985); and Stewart, *Working the Earth of the Heart* (1991), 12, who notes that in the "420s and 430s there is the most intense period of anti-Messalian activity, directed by Asian bishops and ratified at the highest levels of ecclesiastical authority."

[86] For the edict, see *CTh* 16.5.7 (ed. Mommsen, 857–58; trans. Pharr, 451–52). On the council of Side, see Photius, *Bib.*, 52 (ed. Henry, 1:36–40); and Theodoret, *H.E.*, 4.11 (ed. Parmentier, *GCS* 5 [1998], 229–31). See also Amphilochius' treatise *Contra haereticos* (i.e., *Περὶ ψευδοῦς ἀσκήσεως*) (ed. Datema, *CCSG* 3 [1978], 181–214). Quasten, *Patrology*, 3:298, notes that this treatise was part of the great campaign which Amphilocius conducted against the 'puritanical and ecstatic cults of the East.' See also Stewart, ibid., 24–42.

[87] On the letters of Atticus, see Photius, ibid., 52 (ed. Henry, 1:38); on Alexander, see Dagron, "Les Moines," 252–53. Messalianism continued to trouble church authorities. Atticus' successor Sisinnius (*sed.* 425–27) was obliged to convene a synod in Con-

In addition, adherents of Arianism continued to disturb the church, and Atticus may have been in the capital when a group of Arians burnt down Nectarius' episcopal palace.[88] Perhaps even more troubling were the complex fusions of Arianism and Apollinarianism which continued to surface in and around Constantinople. These christologies reaffirmed the basic Arian notion that the Word of God was a creature capable of mutation and change. In terms of the incarnation, the person of Christ was said to be a kind of super-angelic spirit who endured a cosmic *descensus* in order to inhabit a human body. Through that *descensus*, the Savior acquired his ultimate definition as a mediator, a hybrid mixture of divinity and humanity, but having only the appearance of a body and thus suffering death and resurrection in his celestial nature.

In his *Letter to Eupsychius*, Atticus responds to three such christological assertions that were brought to his attention by the letter's addressee, a priest who is otherwise unknown.[89] Atticus expresses his sorrow over the 'germinations of falsehood' which have 'sprouted up impiously within the church,'[90] and he acknowledges the difficulty of investigating matters more subtle than the "couplings of body and soul, of mortal and immortal, and of visible and invisible." Eupsychius had apprised Atticus that within his congregation were some who taught that 'at the time of the passion, God suffered with the body,' and that 'God became incarnate as a man without a soul,' and that 'the Lord did not take his body from Mary, but from elsewhere.'[91]

In response, Atticus rejects the notion that 'God suffered with the body' as the product of an illicit mixture of divinity and humanity in

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stantinople in 426 in order to anathematize the Messalians yet again. The synod's sentence was based on the investigation of a Messalian work, the *Asceticon*. Two years later, Sisinnius' successor Nestorius (*sed*. 428–31) requested that the emperor republish the anti-Messalian law of 381 (*CTh* 16.5.65; ed. Mommsen, 878–79; trans. Pharr, 462–63). Three years later, the Council of Ephesus reiterated the decrees of the synod of 426 and condemned eighteen propositions culled from the *Asceticon*, cf. Schwartz, *Neue Aktenstücke* (1920), 34–35; Stewart, ibid., 42–52.

88 Socrates, *H.E.*, 5.13.6 (ed. Hansen, 287, lines 29–31).

89 The text of the *Ad Eupsychium* was published by Brière, "Une lettre inédite d'Atticus" (1933–1934). The letter survives only in Syriac, but a number of Greek and Syriac fragments have been preserved in the *acta* of Chalcedon, in the works of Philoxenus, and in Theodoret's *Eranistes*, on which see Geerard and Roey, "Les fragments grecs et syriaques de la lettre Ad Eupsychium" (1975).

90 Cf. Proclus, *Tomus*, 1: "Our soul was greatly confused while our mind was grieved by the report of the budding tares of deceit that the enemy of human nature has recently sown in your land" (cf. Mt. 13.24) (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 187, lines 3–5).

91 Briere, "Une lettre inédite," 405–406.

which each form of existence loses its integrity in the ensuing christological alchemy. Instead, Atticus affirms a paradox of unity within duality according to which Christ is neither 'solely God,' nor 'merely man,' but rather the 'self same' (ὁ αὐτός) is both 'God and man.'[92] In support of this position, Atticus adduces a number of scriptural passages, including 1 Cor. 2.8 ('They crucified the King of glory'), a violent juxtaposition of opposites which, Atticus states, is not the result of a 'mixture' or a 'confusion' like that of 'wine mixed with water,' but the outcome of a 'union' preserving the 'natural characteristics of each nature.'[93]

Endeavoring to establish irreducible distinctions between the immutable divinity and the mutable human body in which it has become incarnate, Atticus gestures toward the appropriation (and subsequent technological transformation) of natural materials which do not, as a result, lose their basic natural properties. The 'wool sheared from the backs of sheep,' Atticus argues, and the 'purple dye of the sea-shell,' have the 'same value and function throughout the world.' However, when these same materials are brought together and fashioned into royal robes 'destined for use by kings,' they receive "new names, and new usages, on account of the majesty of those who are clothed with them." In the same way, the flesh assumed by Christ became like a royal garment, sharing in the 'same glory of the one who was clothed in it' without a 'change of nature.' As a result, the "self same is both a king, clothed in royal purple, and an offense to the king, suffering due punishment."[94]

To the second proposition, that 'God became incarnate as a man without a soul,' Atticus responds with anti-Apollinarian arguments reminiscent of the christology of his predecessor Gregory Nazianzus, who had written to Nectarius of Constantinople in 387, exhorting him

92 Ibid., 406–408; cf. Proclus, hom. 1.II, 27–28: "He was born of woman, God but not solely God, and man but not merely man … the self same (ὁ αὐτός) is in the Father's bosom and the Virgin's womb," and the discussion on p. 64.

93 Ibid., 410–11. Atticus notes that christological 'errors' are like 'blows inflicted upon the body of Christ,' who is thereby subjected to ongoing 'crucifixions,' because heretics 'do not understand' (cf. 1 Cor. 2.8) the meaning of Paul's words.

94 Ibid., 412–13; and the extensive Greek fragment in Geerard and Roey, "Les fragments grecs et syriaques," 78; cf. Proclus, hom. 3.V, 45: "Who ever saw a king assume the appearance of a condemned man? See also Proclus' notion of the incarnation as an 'exchange' or 'sharing' of the properties of divinity and humanity, e.g., hom. 1.VIII, 126–27: "It was there (i.e., in the Virgin's womb) that the awesome contract was concluded. He gave spirit and took flesh." On the Marian symbolism of the shell, and on Proclus' clothing imagery, see chaps. 5 and 6 respectively.

to enlist the aid of the government in repressing the local Apollinarians.[95] In addition, Atticus undertakes an exegesis of Jn. 1.4, arguing that the word 'flesh' in that passage is the equivalent of the word 'human being,' and is thus inclusive of soul.[96]

The third and final argument, that the 'Lord did not take his body from Mary, but from elsewhere,' illustrates the extent to which Christ and Mary were largely inseparable within the framework of the burgeoning christological controversy. In this regard, Atticus' letter bears comparison with Athanasius' *Letter to Epictetus*, a work which figured prominently in the christological debates of the period.[97] In his defense of Christ's true humanity, Athanasius foregrounds the figure of Mary, who is presented as the guarantee of that true humanity. 'If the Word is coessential with the body,' Athanasius argues, then Mary would be 'superfluous, inasmuch as Christ's body could have existed before Mary.' Indeed, "what need was there even of the Word coming to us, to put on what was already coessential with himself? … this is why Mary is truly presupposed."[98]

Like Athanasius, Atticus stresses the importance of Mary for a proper understanding of orthodox christology, and the *Letter to Eupsychius* develops a theology of the virgin birth largely derived from the Gospel of Luke. Atticus begins by contrasting the sterility of Elizabeth with the virginal fecundity of Mary (cf. Lk. 1.7, 18, 34–35). By means of human seed, the womb of Elizabeth became a 'temple conceiving a prophet,' but by means of 'divine power' (cf. Lk. 1.35), the womb of Mary, 'like heaven, receives God.' Similarly, Atticus draws attention to the peculiar fact that, while Gabriel announces the news of Elizabeth's conception to her husband Zechariah (cf. Lk. 1.11–13), the archangel

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95 See, for example, Gregory Nazianzus, ep. 101–102, 202 (ed. Gallay, *SC* 208 [1974]); cf. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 1:329–60. Gregory's appeal to Nectarius occurs in ep. 202.22 (Gallay, 94, lines 10–15), and may have resulted in the publication of *CTh* 16.5.14, dated 10 March 388, banning all Apollinarians from Constantinople, and denying them the right of legal appeal to the emperor (ed. Mommsen, 860; trans. Pharr, 453).

96 Briere, "Une lettre inédite," 414–17; cf. Proclus' exegesis of the Johannine prologue in hom. 15 (*PG* 65.800–805); and the same interpretation of Jn. 1.14 in the *Tomus* (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 190, lines 1–16); cf. the 'Appendix,' pp. 365–66.

97 Athanasius, *Ad Epictetum* (*PG* 26.1049–70). Epiphanius reproduces the entire text of the *Ad Epictetum* in his refutation of Apollinarianism (*Panarion*, 77.3–13; ed. Koll, *GCS* 37 [1933], 417–27). Theodoret cites extensive passages from the letter in the florilegia of his *Eranistes*, cf. Ettlinger, 9 (no. 1); 11 (no. 41); 14 (nos. 23–24); 20 (nos. 24–26).

98 Athanasius, ibid., 4–5 (*PG* 26.1057, lines 9–10; and ibid., lines 24–25), trans. Robertson, *NPNF*, 4:571–72.

has no such contact with Mary's husband Joseph, but instead presents himself directly to Mary (cf. Lk. 1.26–28). This curious asymmetry is said to be determined in each instance by the respective 'cause' of conception, namely, the paternity of Zechariah, and the will of Mary by the 'power of God' (cf. Lk. 1.35). Atticus proceeds to an interpretation of Mary's encounter with Elizabeth, in which the sound of Mary's greeting causes Elizabeth's unborn child to 'leap in her womb' (cf. Lk. 1.39–45). For Atticus, those embryonic movements are prophetic attestation to (and thus proof of) the conception and growth of the divine Word within the body of Mary. Christ is the veritable 'fruit of her womb' (cf. Lk. 1.42), and Mary is in truth the 'Mother of the Lord' (cf. Lk. 1.43). Mary's pregnancy, Atticus concludes, was not a 'hallucination.' The circumcision (Lk. 2.21) was not an 'illusion.' The child truly grew in 'grace and wisdom' (cf. Lk. 2.52). The soldiers' hands did not strike an 'appearance,' neither did the lance pierce the side of an 'imaginary body.' Redemption was not revealed through the 'imagination,' the 'economy' of salvation is real.[99]

The *Letter to Eupsychius* is an important witness to the persistence and vitality of Arianism and Apollinarianism in Constantinople during the tenure of Atticus. The particular form that these rival christologies had acquired, along with their cosmological frameworks, may have owed something to the Alexandrian intellectual refugees then resident in the capital. Whatever their source, these christologies advocated an anthropologically minimalist notion of Christ reminiscent of the radically truncated christologies of docetism and gnosticism. The presence of these christologies in fifth-century Constantinople, as well as their pronounced interest in the person of the Virgin, would soon meet with a violent response from Nestorius, and anticipate the extreme monophysitism promulgated by the Constantinopolitan abbot Eutyches two years after the death of Proclus.[100] The *Letter to Eupsychius* also demonstrates that questions regarding the person and nature of Christ and the

[99] Briere, "Une lettre inédite," 421–23; cf. Proclus' use of Lk. 2.52 in the *Tomus* (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 194, line 2). More generally, Atticus' interpretation of Luke bears comparison with the Ps.-Chrysostomic sermon *In oraculum Zachariae redditum* (*PG* 50.785–88), which Marx, *Procliana*, 38–39, no. 26, correctly ascribes to Proclus (cf. 'Proclus' in the Bibliography). See also below, chap. 5, for Proclus' interpretation of the Annunciation narrative.

[100] On Eutyches (ca. 370–454), see Draguet, "La christologie d'Eutychès" (1931); and May, "Das Lehrverfahren gegen Eutyches" (1989).

Virgin did not cease to exercise the faith and imagination of the Christian community, while at the same time perplexing church authorities, who struggled to articulate orthodox views.[101] In this regard, Atticus' letter is remarkable for its insightful and creative interpretation of the infancy narratives in the Gospel of Luke, as well as for its sophisticated christological understanding of Mary. Atticus is therefore to be reckoned among the earliest Byzantine champions of the cult of the Virgin, and, according to contemporary witnesses, he espoused and endorsed the Marian epithet 'Theotokos' long before its official canonization at the Council of Ephesus.[102] Finally, the *Letter to Eupsychius* is an important milestone in the history of Christian doctrine for Atticus largely anticipated the doctrinal position which the see of Constantinople would adopt during the approaching christological controversy. As such, the letter was recognized by the Council of Chalcedon which included excerpts from it in its official minutes.[103]

Throughout all of the endeavors described above, Atticus did not act alone. The administration of the premier see of the empire required a large and competent staff. As a former priest of the cathedral, Atticus had no doubt come to know first-hand the majority of the local clergy from whose ranks he was able to draw the members of his chancery. He seems to have been particularly impressed by the talents of the young lector Proclus who, according to Socrates, was 'constantly at Atticus' side.' When Proclus reached the appropriate age, he was ordained

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[101] For an example of the christological model with which Atticus and Eupsychius had to contend, see Liébart, "Deux homélies anoméennes" (1964). The context and argumentation of the *Ad Eupsychium* is remarkably similar to Basil, ep. 261 (ed. Courtonne [1966], 3:115–19), which condemns a form of Apollinarianism merged with Valentinian and Anomean cosmological speculation.

[102] Cyril, ep. 14, *Ad Acacium*: "For I find the renowned bishop, Athanasius, very often in his writings naming her 'Theotokos,' and our blessed father, Theophilus, and many other holy bishops also in their days did so, Basil and Gregory, and blessed Atticus himself" (*ACO* I, 1, 1, p. 98, lines 14–17; trans. McEnerney, 73–74); cf. idem., *Oratio ad Arcadiam et Marinam augustas de fide*, 11, which cites a passage from a sermon by Atticus (which does not mention the title 'Theotokos') at the beginning of an extensive florilegium, concluding with (ibid., 19): "Look and see how all our wise fathers call the Holy Virgin 'Theotokos'" (*ACO* I, 1, 5, 66, lines 22–30; 68, lines 31–32). Cyril cites the same passage in his *Apologia XII Capitulorum* (*ACO* I, 1, 7, 45, lines 10–15).

[103] *ACO* II, 1, p. 474, lines 17–22. Embedded in the writings of Cyril, the Council of Ephesus also preserves an unidentified fragment from a lost work by Atticus (*ACO* I, 1, 7, p. 95, lines 9–18), as well as fragments from his *Homilia in nativitatem* (*ACO* I, 1, 5, p. 66, lines 25–30; cf. *ACO* I, 1, 7, p. 45, lines 10–15; p. 94, lines 19–24).

by Atticus to both the diaconate and the priesthood, having already been promoted to the influential position of Atticus' 'personal secretary' (ὑπογραφεύς).[104]

What exactly were Proclus' responsibilities as 'personal secretary' to Atticus? Though scanty, the information provided by Socrates on this point repays close scrutiny. Following standard usages, A. C. Zenos translated the word ὑπογραφεύς as 'secretary,' that is, a scribe in the sense of someone who takes simple dictation.[105] More recently, however, K. G. Holum has rendered the same term as 'ghost writer.' Although Holum's translation is not well-attested, it is in this case accurate.[106] As mentioned above, Atticus' formal education left much to be desired. His rhetorical talents were unremarkable, and there is evidence to suggest that his knowledge of scripture was similarly weak.[107] Thus when Socrates discreetly notes that Proclus was "constantly at the side of Bishop Atticus, having become the ὑπογραφεύς of his sermons," there is good reason to believe that Proclus' work went beyond the mere mechanical transcription of notes and texts. This suspicion was confirmed by the work of J. Lebon who, having carefully compared the literary remains of Atticus with those of Proclus, concluded that Atticus' extant writings are in effect the work of Proclus. According to Lebon, Proclus was

> a devoted secretary who was cultivated to work side by side with a bishop who was rather lacking in the gift of eloquence … critical analysis of their respective writings should not seek to determine if they are the works of 'Atticus or Proclus,' but should affirm instead that they are the works of 'Atticus edited by Proclus,' and thus acknowledge their close collaboration.[108]

[104] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.41.1 (ed. Hansen, 390, lines 9–10).

[105] Zenos, above, n. 5; cf. *LSJ* 1877; and *PGL* 1146.

[106] Holum, *Empresses*, 141. This interpretation was already suggested by Tillemont, *Mémoires*, 14:705: "(Proclus) qui se servit de lui (Atticus) pour écrire ses sermons."

[107] According to the admittedly hostile Palladius, *Dialogus*, 11 (ed. Malingrey, 216, lines 35–36), who describes Atticus as 'ignorant of sacred scripture.'

[108] Lebon, "Discours d'Atticus" (1933), 175. See also the comments of Brière, "Une homélie inédite," 160–86; and Thomson, "Slavonic Translation" (2000), who cites some, but by no means all of the parallels between Atticus' *Hom. in nativitatem* and the writings of Proclus. See also the introduction to the text of Proclus, Homily 5, below, pp. 253–54. To Lebon's inventory should be added a fragment attributed to Atticus (*ACO* I, 1, 7, p. 95, lines 9–18) which finds a close parallel in Proclus, hom. 1.II, 34–35; as well as the various parallels noted above in the analysis of Atticus' letter to Eupsychius.

We are therefore justified in reading the record of Atticus' tenure as archbishop of Constantinople as a kind of palimpsest beneath whose surface the features of Proclus have been deeply and indelibly inscribed. As the archbishop's personal secretary and confidant, Proclus would have worked closely with Atticus in virtually all areas of his archiepiscopal office. He would, for example, have accompanied Atticus on his pastoral and diplomatic visits to the imperial palace. It was probably in the course of such visits that Proclus began to forge what would become a lasting relationship with the imperial family, especially with the empress Pulcheria, who was a prominent supporter of the new devotions to Mary and played a significant role in the christological controversy. Proclus also seems to have impressed the young emperor Theodosius II who, in 434, personally appointed Proclus to the see of Constantinople.

Proclus may have also been at Atticus' side when the latter received a delegation of Armenian clergymen sometime before 425. These clergymen may have learned that Atticus was a native Armenian who might perhaps be inclined to facilitate their reception and requests. Their encounter is described in an exchange of letters between Theodosius II, Atticus, and the Armenian Catholicos Sahak, and suggests that the purpose of the visit was to secure approval for use of the recently invented Armenian alphabet by Armenians residing within imperial territory. While these letters are of dubious authenticity, they are consistent with Sahak's general preoccupation to cultivate and maintain close ties with his colleague in Constantinople.[109] The letters also reflect the growing Persian and Syrian influence in the church of Armenia as well as the alarm that this influence occasioned in Constantinople.[110] This volatile

[109] The letters are preserved in the eighth-century chronicle of Moses Khorenatś'i, *History of the Armenians*, 3.57, trans. Thomson (1978), 326–30; the Armenian alphabet is mentioned on p. 327. There is an earlier French translation of these letters in Langlois, *Collection des Historiens* (1869), 2:164–66. On their authenticity, see Grumel, *Les regestes*, 35, no. 40; Sarkissian, *Council of Chalcedon* (1965), 225–26; and Winkler, "Obscure Chapter in Armenian Church History" (1985), 91–92. Peeters, "Origines de l'alphabet arménien" (1929), 211, has doubts about the historicity of this episode and is inclined to see it as a confusion with the 435 Armenian delegation to Proclus (as below, chap. 3); but cf. Garsoïan, *L'Église Arménienne* (1999), 70–71.

[110] In his letter to Sahak, Theodosius writes that "we greatly blamed you for supporting heathen kings, and that, disdaining the learned men of our city, you have sought scholarly inventions from certain Syrians" (a reference to the Armenian alphabet, originally developed in Syria), Thomson, *History*, 329; cf. the letter of Atticus to Sahak,

situation did not cease with the departure of the delegation. Ten years later, the Armenians returned to Constantinople, this time seeking an audience with Proclus.

With the assistance of Proclus, Atticus served as the head of the church of Constantinople for almost twenty years. Despite his role in the affair of John Chrysostom, Atticus' administration was marked by relative toleration toward heretics and by close cooperation with the government. For much of Atticus' episcopal tenure, Proclus served as Atticus' chief confidant assisting him in his rule over the increasingly powerful imperial church. Alongside Atticus, Proclus would have celebrated the liturgy, helped in pastoral work, assisted in the management of church property, and organized works of charity, in short, assisting the archbishop in the overall administration of the church of Constantinople.[111]

When Socrates writes that 'Atticus often spent whole nights diligently studying the writings of the ancients,'[112] one may suppose that he was often assisted in these undertakings by his talented secretary Proclus. Moreover, it is unlikely that such investigations were either purely devotional or narrowly academic. Instead, they would have had specific reference to the pressing doctrinal matters of the day such as Pelagianism, Messalianism, Arianism and Apollinarianism, or to questions of ecclesiastical order and administration, as in the affair of John Chrysostom, the monk Alexander, or that of the Armenian delegation. No less important was Atticus' contribution to the early Byzantine cult of the Virgin Mary Theotokos. Here, too, he had the ghostly assistance of his devoted secretary Proclus, who would continue to develop the mariological insights that he crafted initially as supports for his rhetorically enfeebled archbishop. In their commitment to the rising cult of the Theotokos, both men enjoyed the uninterrupted patronage and support of the empress Pulcheria, who provided a critical link between their respective administrations. The close and sustained collaboration of Atticus and Proclus, reflected in the similarity, and perhaps identi-

"We are amazed that you neglected the fountain of the church (i.e., John Chrysostom) and wished to quench your thirst at torrential waters," Thomson, ibid., 329–30, n. 17, identifies the 'torrential waters' with the 'teachings of Theodore (of Mopsuestia),' while Winkler, ibid. 92, takes this as a reference to the city of Edessa.

[111] On the organization and activities of the Constantinopolitan clergy at this time, see Dagron, *Naissance*, 488–95.

[112] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.2.3 (ed. Hansen, 348, lines 22–24).

fication, of their respective literary output, speaks clearly of a jointly-held, or shared episcopacy. As deacon and then presbyter in the service of Atticus, Proclus, in the words of an ancient Christian text, occupied a special position as his bishop's 'ear and mouth, heart and soul.'[113] It is the voice of Proclus that one hears in the words of Atticus.

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[113] *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2.44 (ed. Metzger, 284, line 4).

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CHAPTER TWO

PROCLUS BISHOP OF CYZICUS

The Death of Atticus

Not long after a premonition of death, Atticus of Constantinople died on 10 October 425. The choice of his successor precipitated a division in the church of Constantinople which lasted for five months, a period of time indicative of an acute crisis. On one side of the divide was the laity, and on the other were two different factions of the local clergy. One of these factions, probably composed largely of clerics who had profited from the administration of Atticus, enthusiastically supported Proclus. As the former archbishop's secretary and a well known figure at the court, Proclus emerged as a strong candidate in the protracted struggle for succession. However, whatever his hopes and those of his supporters may have been, they were soon disappointed.[1] Socrates records the events of the pivotal winter of 425:

> After the death of Atticus, there arose a great struggle (πολλὴ φιλονεικία) over the ordination of his successor, some insisting upon one person, and some another. One party insisted on the presbyter Philip (of Side), while the other insisted on Proclus, who was also a presbyter. However, the common desire of the people was that the archbishopric be conferred upon Sisinnius.[2]

Proclus and Sisinnius of Constantinople

As the above passage indicates, the increasing prominence of Constantinople as a primatial see was paralleled by an intensification of rivalry among its various episcopal candidates and their supporters.

[1] On Atticus' premonition, see Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.25.20 (ed. Hansen, 375, lines 1–7); on Proclus' candidacy, see ibid., 7.26.1 (375, lines 12–15); and Dagron, *Naissance*, 492. On the ordination of the higher clergy at this time, see Ganshof, "Note sur l'élection des évêques" (1950).

[2] Socrates, ibid., 7.26.1–2 (ed. Hansen, 375, lines 12–15); cf. ibid., 4.30.1–2 (266, lines 2–7) where the same language is used to describe the election of Ambrose of Milan. On Philip of Side, see below, n. 6.

Socrates apologetically notes that, in view of the 'contentiousness' (φιλονεικία)[3] of many such aspirants, he was constrained to include in his *Ecclesiastical History* sections on purely secular matters so that the "minds of the readers might not become satiated with the repetition of the contentious disputes of bishops and their insidious designs against one another."[4] As mentioned above, a powerful factor in such disputes was the will of the people, and both Proclus and Philip of Side were ultimately rejected by the population of the city in favor of an elderly presbyter called Sisinnius. Sisinnius served a parish in suburban Elea and was untainted by any association with the city's warring clerical factions, for which there seems to have been considerable resentment. He had also given much of his wealth to the poor. As a result, on 28 February 426, Sisinnius was elevated to the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople.[5] Philip of Side was offended by the outcome and wrote bitterly of Sisinnius in his now lost *Christian History*.[6] Proclus, on the other hand, quickly befriended the new archbishop. Feigned or not, Proclus' amicability was soon rewarded by Sisinnius who determined

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3 See Athanasius' remark about Eusebius of Nicomedia 'casting envious eyes' (ἐποφθαλμία) upon the see of Constantinople, *Historia Arianorum*, 7.2 (ed. Opitz [1935], 186, line 13); and Socrates, *H.E.*, 6.20.2 (ed. Hansen, 344, lines 17–18). For struggles over succession, see ibid., 6.2.2 (312, lines 6–8) (= after the death of Nectarius in 397); ibid., 7.29.1 (377, lines 10–11) (= after the death of Sisinnius in 427); ibid., 7.35.1 (384, lines 5–9) (= after the deposition of Nestorius in 431); and ibid., 7.46.1 (393, lines 4–6) (= after the death of Paul, the Novatian bishop of Constantinople in 438). These passages are closely related and bear the formal marks of a literary *topos*. See the complaints of Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.27 (ed. Bernardi, *SC* 384 [1992], 186–88); and John Chrysostom, *De sacerdotio*, 4.1–2 (ed. Malingrey, *SC* 272 [1980], 224–48). See also the study of Gryson, "Les élections episcopales" (1979), which studies canonical theory in the light of popular concerns and practice.

4 Socrates, *H.E.*, introduction to Book 5 (ed. Hansen, 276).

5 Socrates, ibid., 7.26.3 (ed. Hansen, 375, lines 20–22): "All of the laity were warmly attached to this man (i.e., Sisinnius) because he was famous for his piety, and especially because he was diligent in the care of the poor, even beyond his means." Holum, *Empresses*, 148, suggests that "Sisinnius may have been acceptable among the powerful mainly because his advanced age or peaceful nature guaranteed that he would be ineffectual." On Sisinnius, see Grumel, *Les regestes*, 38–39. According to Photius, *Bib.*, 52 (ed. Henry, 1:38, lines 11–18), Sisinnius was enthroned by Theodotus of Antioch who had been summoned to Constantinople for that purpose.

6 Socrates, ibid., 7.26–27 (ed. Hansen, 375–76). On Philip of Side, see Honigmann, "Philippus of Side" (1953). The extant fragments of the *Historia christiana* are catalogued in *CPG* 6026. In his brief review of this work, Photius notes that "He (i.e., Philip) violently attacks Sisinnius in his *History*, because, while both filled the same office (of presbyter) and Philip was considered the more eloquent, Sisinnius was elevated to the episcopal throne," *Bib.*, 35 (ed. Henry, 1:21, lines 2–5).

to elevate Proclus to the episcopacy. All that was needed was a vacant see, and when the bishop of Cyzicus in Asia Minor died later that same year, Sisinnius immediately consecrated Proclus as the new incumbent.[7]

This was no trivial appointment, nor was it an attempt to remove a former and perhaps still potential rival from the capital. To be confirmed as a candidate for church office and ordained by an important metropolitan put both the new bishop and his church in that metropolitan's debt. It made the local bishop his dependent, and in a very practical sense, a kind of client with traditionally understood obligations of loyalty and support analogous to classical concepts of patronage. Moreover, Cyzicus, with its venerable history and impressive monumental architecture, was one of the premier cities of Asia Minor. The city possessed considerable wealth and was a major center of commerce, shipping, and agriculture.[8] Cyzicus was also the metropolitan see of the Hellesponte province and, in the diocese of Asia, its bishop had the first rank (πρωτόθρονος) after the metropolitan of Ephesus. Thus, the appointment by the archbishop of Constantinople of a Constantinopolitan cleric to the see of Cyzicus reflects not only the interest of the capital church in the affairs of its neighbors, but suggests rather strongly the degree of confidence in which Proclus was held by Sisinnius.[9]

However, the newly-named bishop of Cyzicus was never to occupy his throne. As Proclus and his entourage made ready to set sail across the Propontis,[10] the residents of Cyzicus elected their own bishop, a local ascetic called Dalmatius. Socrates notes that this was done in defiance of a law forbidding episcopal elections there without the sanction of the bishop of Constantinople. But the residents of Cyzicus maintained (incorrectly, according to Socrates) that the law in question was a privilege granted only to Atticus, and was thus abrogated upon his

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[7] Socrates, ibid., 7.28.1 (ed. Hansen, 376, lines 26–27); Grumel, *Les regestes*, 38–39, no. 49a; Greenslade, "*Sede Vacante* Procedure" (1961). The name of the bishop of Cyzicus at this time is unknown.

[8] Janin, "Cyzique," *DHGE* 13:1191–96; Hasluck, *Cyzikus* (1910); Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1890), 153–64; Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1983), 36, 86–87, writes that "Cyzicus, on the neck of the Arctonnesus, was the most important (urban and commercial) foundation of the Hellesponte." Sozomen, *H.E.*, 5.15.6 (ed. Bidez, 214, lines 15–16), reports that Cyzicus was the site of an imperial mint and a state-run wool industry.

[9] Dagron, *Naissance*, 461–73; Maximos, *Oecumenical Patriarchate* (1976), 124–28; and Karlin-Hayter, "Activity of the Bishop of Constantinople Outside his Paroikia" (1988).

[10] See Guilland, "Ports de Byzance sur la Propontide" (1953; repr. 1969).

death.[11] Proclus had no choice but to return to Constantinople.[12] For reasons that are unknown, Sisinnius did not pursue his claim over Cyzicus, although Proclus continued to be honored and addressed as the titular metropolitan of that city. For the sake of good order, ecclesiastical laws limited the authority of titular bishops, but they were not denied the right to officiate at the altar or to preach. Proclus, therefore, with the blessing and patronage of Sisinnius, remained in Constantinople where he acquired increasing celebrity as a popular preacher. In the words of Socrates, "Proclus, unable to take up the presidency of his own church, remained (in the capital) where he flourished brilliantly as a preacher."[13] Indeed, such virtuosic preaching had not been heard in the churches of Constantinople since the exile of John Chrysostom more than two decades earlier.

Even though only a small number of Proclus' homilies can be dated with any accuracy, there are a few that can be assigned to this period (426–34) with relative certainty. The first of course is Proclus' Homily 1, delivered in December of 430, which will be discussed in detail below. According to information provided by the manuscript tradition, Homilies 3, 7 and 13 should also be assigned to this period. Homiles 12 and 17 have been securely dated to some point after 429, and thus may have been delivered while Proclus was the bishop of Cyzicus. On the basis of Proclus' evolving christological terminology, Michel Aubineau has argued that Homilies 23 and 24, along with two Ps.-Chrysostomic sermons (*CPG* 4560 and 5068), belong to a period before the winter of 430. While there is some evidence to suggest that homilies 2, 4, and 12 should also be assigned to the years 426–34, it is not necessarily compelling.[14]

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[11] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.28.2 (ed. Hansen, 376–77); Theodore Lector *H.E.*, 325 (ed. Hansen, *GCS*, 54, p. 94, lines 22–24). The law in question seems to have been an imperial law that Atticus obtained from Theodosius II. Dalmatius of Cyzicus signed the *acta* of Ephesus in 431 (*ACO* I, 1, 2, p. 62, no. 171).

[12] Socrates, ibid., 7.28.3 (ed. Hansen, 377, lines 1–4).

[13] Socrates, ibid. For an example of Proclus' popular preaching, see ibid., 7.43.1–7 (ed. Hansen, 391–92).

[14] On the chronology of Proclus' homilies, see Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 156–59. On hom. 1, see below, pp. 67–68; on hom. 3, see below, pp. 194–95. Leroy, ibid., 96–7, n. 115, and p. 157, notes that the lemma preceding hom. 7 in a thirteenth-century manuscript ascribes the text to 'Proclus of Cyzicus.' Similarly, Leroy, ibid., 118–19, and p. 157, notes that the lemmata preceding hom. 13 in both a seventh-century Armenian florilegium and an eighth-century Coptic manuscript ascribe the text to 'Proclus, Bishop of Cyzicus,' adding that the homily was delivered in the church of St. Anthimus in Constantinople. On homilies 12 and 17, cf. Aubineau, "Ps.-Chrysostome,

Proclus was not to enjoy the new archbishop's patronage for long. Sisinnius, less than two years after his installation, died on 24 December 427. On his episcopal tenure, Socrates writes that:

> For his temperance, integrity of life and benignity to the poor, he was deservedly eminent; he was moreover singularly affable and guileless in disposition, and this rendered him rather averse to business, so that by men of active habits he was accounted indolent.[15]

Once again, the vacant episcopal throne prompted a struggle for succession which, after a dead-lock of about four months, provoked the intervention of the emperor. The sharp division of the clergy after the death of Atticus had not been mitigated by the passage of nearly two years, and with the death of Sisinnius the same two factions re-emerged to vie for control. On one side were arranged the partisans of Philip of Side, and on the other those who favored Proclus of Cyzicus, both of whom were candidates in 425. This was now Proclus' second bid for the archbishopric of Constantinople. This time, however, the struggle seems to have taken on a particularly ruthless intensity. No doubt determined to avoid the humiliation of a second defeat, the two parties committed themselves to a fierce election campaign which scandalized the imperial family and prompted the decisive intervention of the emperor himself. Ultimately, neither Proclus nor Philip survived the abuse that the supporters of each heaped upon the other.[16] This is how Socrates describes the matter:

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in S. Stephanum" (1989). On homilies 23 and 24, cf. id., "Citations de l'homélie de Proclus" (1991), 213–15. On homilies 2, 4, and 12, see Leroy, ibid., 158.

[15] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.28.5 (ed. Hansen, 377, lines 8–9).

[16] See Driver and Hodgson, *Bazaar of Heracleides* (1925), 2/1:274–75, where, with respect to the episcopal campaign of 427–28, Theodosius II is made to say: "Have I spoken of their zeal, their running about, their gifts, their promises and their oaths, seeking to become bishops by purchase? Each was glorifying the one chosen by himself and speaking evil of the one chosen by the others. The monks disagreed with the clergy, nor had the clergy one purpose, and the bishops were divided, and the people were likewise divided. Therefore I decided that none from the capital would be made bishop, lest there should be enmity against him and he should be hated; for you were all hating one another and were hated of one another, seeing that you were all zealous about this affair." According to Nestorius, ibid., 274, the archimandrite Dalmatius was also put forward as a candidate, a position which he is said to have refused, but see Dagron, "Les Moines," 268, n. 184. On the text of the *Bazaar*, cf. L. Abramowski, *Untersuchungen zur Liber Heracleides* (1963), who questions the authenticity of the first 125 pages, and the opposing view of Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso* (1974), who suggests that the disputed section is a reworking of a lost dialogue by Nestorius, known as the *Adversus Theopaschitas* (*CPG* 5752).

> After the death of Sisinnius, on account of the spirit of ambitious rivalry displayed by the ecclesiastics of Constantinople, the emperors resolved that none of that church should fill the vacant bishopric, notwithstanding the fact that many eagerly desired to have Philip ordained, and no less a number were in favor of the election of Proclus. They therefore sent for a stranger (ἔπηλυς) from Antioch.[17]

The 'stranger' who arrived in the capital in April of 428 was a priest from Antioch called Nestorius. Born in Germanicia in Syria Euphratensis, as a young man Nestorius made his way to Antioch, where he studied rhetoric and theology. There, he fell under the influence of the Antiochene school in exegesis and christology, perhaps as a student of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who died in the same year that Nestorius was called to the Byzantine capital. Drawn to a life of asceticism, Nestorius entered the monastery of Euprepius where he was ordained to the diaconate. Upon his ordination to the priesthood, Nestorius was assigned to serve on the staff of the cathedral of Antioch. Contemporary accounts credit him with a brilliant gift for oratory, reports of which reached the emperor Theodosius II in Constantinople, who thereupon directed that Nestorius be brought to Constantinople.[18]

Proclus and Nestorius of Constantinople

Having been escorted to the capital by Dionysius, the *magister militum* of the East, Nestorius was installed as the archbishop of Constantinople on 10 April 428. With his ascetic training, celebrated rhetorical virtuos-

[17] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.29.1–2 (ed. Hansen, 377, lines 10–13); and Driver and Hodgson, ibid., 2/1:275: "I (i.e., Theodosius II) wanted a stranger who was not known by those here and knew them not." Socrates' choice of the pejorative ἔπηλυς may stem from contemporary parlance. The clergy of Constantinople, who hoped for promotion from within their own ranks, may have resented the importation of a foreigner, especially one who arrived, as Nestorius did, with his own staff.

[18] The literature on Nestorius and the heresy that bears his name is vast and varied. For a conspectus of his extant works, see *CPG* 5665–766. For bibliography until 1958, see Quasten, *Patrology*, 3:514–19. For works published after 1960, see Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon* (1983), 394–95; for the years 1970–79, see Halton and Sider, "A Decade of Patristic Scholarship" (1982). See also the bibliography appended to Mar Aprem, *Nestorian Theology* (1980), 157–74; and id., *Nestorian Bibliography* (1982). The articles of Braaten, "Modern Interpretations of Nestorius" (1963); and Turner, "Nestorius Reconsidered" (1975), survey some of the more important modern studies. For a more exhaustive survey of twentieth-century scholarship on the teaching of Nestorius, see Grillmeier, "The Nestorius Question in Modern Study," in id., *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 1:559–68; and De Halleux, "Nestorius" (1993).

ity, and the personal support of the emperor signaled by the high-level military escort, Nestorius initially appealed to a wide array of interests. Moreover, the external features of his life drew inevitable comparisons to the person of John Chrysostom, the vivid memory of whom had not been effaced by the passage of nearly two decades.[19] However, the new archbishop did not fulfill the hopes that the emperor and his advisors maintained. In fact, as the bishop of Constantinople, Nestorius failed miserably. For some of those present at Nestorius' inaugural address, his failure came as no surprise, for it was there, according to Socrates, that certain alarming flaws in his character were exposed:

> Those who possessed any discernment were able to perceive the nature of his disposition from his first sermon, in which he immediately uttered those famous words, before all the people, in addressing the emperor, "Give me, my prince, the earth purged of heretics, and I will give you heaven as a recompense. Assist me in destroying heretics, and I will assist you in vanquishing the Persians." Now those who were skillful in predicting a man's character from his expressions did not fail to detect his levity of mind, and his violent and vainglorious temperament.

Socrates concludes these remarks with the warning that "for the unbridled license of speech in which he indulged himself, Nestorius would suffer great punishment."[20] A mere five days after his installation, Nes-

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[19] On the military escort, see Callinicus Monachus, *vita Hypatii*, 32.1 (ed. Bartelink, 208–209); and Brière, "La légende syriaque de Nestorius" (1910), 18. On comparisons to Chrysostom, see John Cassian, *De incarnatione*, 7.30.2 (ed. Petschenig, *CSEL* 17 [1888], 388, lines 13–26); Driver and Hodgson, *Heracleides*, 2/1:283; 2/2:377; and John Rufus, *Plerophoriae*, 94 (ed. Nau, *PO* 8.1, 163, lines 22–24). There is a lively account of this period in Holum, *Empresses*, 147–74.

[20] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.29.7 (ed. Hansen, 377, lines 28–29); Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.31 (*PG* 146.1157); Brière, "La Légende," 19. Barhadbešabba, *H.E.*, 20 (ed. Nau, *PO* 9.5 [1913], 521, lines 12–14), who records the same statement, notes that 'the hearers were divided, some calling him an apostle, others arrogant.' The *vita Hypatii*, 32.2–4 (ed. Bartelink, 209–210) records yet another ominous sign connected with the installation of Nestorius. Theodore Lector, *H.E.*, 327 (ed. Hansen, *GCS*, 54, p. 95, line 2), likewise attributes the fall of Nestorius to 'conceit.' Constantinopolitans seem to have paid close attention to episcopal inaugural addresses in the belief that they disclosed the character of the incumbent; cf. Socrates, ibid., 2.43.12–15 (181, lines 12–20), on the first sermon of Eudoxius of Constantinople. On the sensitivity of the Byzantines to personal deportment and demeanor, see Kazhdan, *People and Power in Byzantium* (1982), 59–75. See also Winkelmann, "Der Laos und die kirchlichen Kontroversen" (1991). That Nestorius was somewhat vain and enjoyed applause is attested by Theodoret, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, 4.12 (*PG* 83.433BC; note that the authenticity of this chapter has been questioned); Evagrius Scholasticus, *H.E.*, 1.7 (ed. Bidez and Parmentier, 14); and Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, 53 (*PL* 58.1959).

torius embarked upon a violent persecution of, among others, the Arians, Apollinarians, Eunomians, Macedonians, Novatians, Messalians, Quartodecimans, Gnostics, and Manichaeans.[21] In the words of Socrates:

> Nestorius burst forth into such vehemence without being able to contain himself for even the shortest space of time; to quote the proverb, 'Before he had tasted the water of the city' he showed himself to be a furious persecutor.[22]

Had Nestorius tasted these waters, he could have learned that the Arian chapel that he ordered torn down was the place where Gothic military officials (the imperial σπαθάριοι)[23] worshipped, or that the Novatian bishop Paul was held in high regard by the emperor. Nestorius' persecution of the Quartodecimans of Asia Minor produced public unrest, rioting, and the subsequent loss of numerous lives. His persecution of the Macedonians through the agency of Anthony the bishop of Germa resulted in the latter's assassination. In retaliation, Nestorius placed the 'guilty' churches under interdiction and forced the Macedonians to accept the Creed of Nicaea.[24]

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[21] Holum, *Empresses*, 149–50. Nestorius' immediate predecessors, Sisinnius, Atticus, Nectarius, and to a certain extent even John Chrysostom, were disinclined to persecute heretics. Both Socrates, *H.E.*, 5.10.6–11 (ed. Hansen, 282–82) and Sozomen, *H.E.*, 7.12.1–12 (ed. Bidez, 314–16) mention that Nectarius was 'complaisant' in his attitude toward the heterodox. Although there were numerous and rather draconian laws against heresy, they were not strictly enforced, because, according to Sozomen, ibid., 7.12.12 (316, lines 13–15), the emperor 'had no wish to persecute his own subjects.'

[22] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.29.7 (ed. Hansen, 377–78), and the letter of Nestorius to Cosmas, in Nau, *Le Livre d'Héracleides* (1910), 363. Perhaps in response to the promises made by Nestorius in his inaugural sermon, the emperor granted imperial sanction for the persecutions, embodied in a lengthy constitution (*CTh* 16.5.65; ed. Mommsen, 878–89; trans. Pharr, 462–63) issued on 30 May 428, perhaps dictated by Nestorius himself. In addition to the heretics named above, the constitution mentions the Sabbatians, Montanists (or Priscillians), Phrygians, Marcionites, Donatists, Audians, Hydroparastatans, Tascodrogitans, Photinians, Paulinists, and Marcellians.

[23] Noted in Nau, ibid., 151, n. 23.

[24] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.29.8–12; 31.1–6 (ed. Hansen, 378, lines 1–16; 379, lines 9–27). The Arian Goths, primarily due to their important position in the army, were permitted to worship beyond the columns that marked the walls of Constantine, which now functioned as a religious frontier, cf. Socrates, ibid., 6.6; 8.1 (317–21; 325, lines 1–2); and Sozomen, *H.E.*, 8.4; 8.1 (ed. Bidez, 354–57; 360, lines 18–19). On the Goths, see Shaeferdiek, "Der germanische Arianismus" (1970); Albert, *Goten in Konstantinopel* (1984); Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (1988), 117–39; Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*, passim; and Heather, *Goths and Romans* (1992).

Nestorius' domestic policies were equally unpopular. In his efforts to suppress the circus bouts with animals, athletic games, and the theater of mimes,[25] Nestorius succeeded only in antagonizing the populace. By attempting to regulate the affairs of the monasteries in his archdiocese, Nestorius alienated the monks who exerted considerable influence over their pious clientele. In Constantinople, the monks constituted a distinct socio-political group and their hostility to Nestorius may have been motivated by their failure to control the recent election. As they had once moved against John Chrysostom, they now began to move against Nestorius. In a symbolic statement of their contempt, the monk Hypatius removed Nestorius' name from the diptychs of the church of the Apostles located in one of the suburbs. Within the city, Nestorius was loudly derided in mid-sermon by the monk Basil, apparently with the full support of the congregation.[26]

The new archbishop fared no better in his relations with his episcopal colleagues in the sees of Rome and Alexandria. He offended the former by interfering in the diocese of Illyricum and by warmly receiving Julian, the deposed Pelagian bishop of Eclanum and his followers, whom the bishop of Rome had recently condemned and exiled. That Nestorius cared little for the opinion of the bishop of Rome is further confirmed by the haughty tone evidenced in his extant letters to that see.[27] In a breach of traditional protocol, Nestorius neglected to send his Alexandrian colleague Cyril the expected gifts and greetings that were offered by new bishops to their peers as a sign of respect

[25] See above, p. 18, n. 34; cf. McGuckin, "Nestorius and the Political Factions" (1996).

[26] On the suppression of popular entertainments, see Barhadbešabba, *H.E.*, 20 (ed. Nau, *PO* 9.5, 522–23); Nestorius, *Ad Cosmam*, 3, in Nau, *Héracleides*, 363; Brière, "La Légende," 19. On the excommunication of the monks, see Barhadbešabba, ibid., 21 (ed. Nau, 528–29); and Dagron, "Les Moines," 253–61. On Hypatius, see the *vita Hypatii*, 32.11 (Bartelink, 212–13). On Basil, see John Rufus, *Plerophoriae*, 35 (ed. Nau, *PO* 8.1, 78–81); and Dagron, *Naissance*, 266.

[27] On Nestorius' interference in (East) Illyricum (i.e., Macedonia), see *ACO* I, 1, 5, pp. 30–33. On the exiled Pelagians, see Marius Mercator, *Commonitorium adversum haeresim Pelagii et Coelestii* (*ACO* I, 5, 1, pp. 3–70); Weyman, "Marius Mercator und Julian von Aeclanum" (1916), 77–78; Schwartz, *Die sogennanten Gegenanathematismus des Nestorius* (1922); and Wickham, "Pelagianism" (1989). In 429, Mercator submitted a brief anti-Pelagian memorandum written in Greek (the *Commonitorium super nomine Coelestii*) to Theodosius II who, upon reading it, ordered the Pelagians removed from the capital. For Nestorius' letters to Rome, see *CPG* 5655, 5667–68, 5670; Young, *Nicaea to Chalcedon*, 234; Amann, "L'affaire de Nestorius vue de Rome" (1949–1950); and Grillmeier, "The Case of Nestorius at Rome," in id., *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 1:467–72.

and a token of friendly relations. Whether the omission was a simple oversight, which seems unlikely, or a symbolic statement of policy, the bishop of Alexandria took offense. This relatively minor infraction was further exacerbated when Nestorius decided to re-open the case of a group of Alexandrian clerics who had already been condemned by their own bishop. Cyril naturally interpreted Nestorius' decision as a pretension to seniority and superior jurisdiction.[28]

Although Nestorius must have realized that his continued political survival depended on the favor of the court, he does not seem to have cultivated his relationships in that quarter. Like Chrysostom before him, Nestorius criticized prominent women of the capital, including the empress Pulcheria, a consecrated virgin whom he charged with adultery. Although he does not seem to have made these charges public, he is said to have refused to commemorate the empress as the 'bride of Christ' in his public prayers, effaced a special portrait of her that had been placed in the sanctuary, and removed her robe from the altar table where it had served as a covering. It is unlikely that the symbolic import of these actions was lost on the congregation. Moreover, Nestorius and Pulcheria are said to have publicly clashed after the latter, as was her custom, made her way into the altar to receive communion on Easter Sunday. Following a heated verbal exchange, Nestorius drove her from the chancel screen back into the nave. Not surprisingly, the empress soon aligned herself with the enemies of Nestorius and would be directly instrumental in his downfall.[29]

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[28] On the breach of protocol, see the statement of Nestorius in Driver and Hodgson, *Heracleides*, 1/3:100: "Long since he (i.e., Cyril) had been wounded by me; and he was in need of an excuse, because he had not been helped with what are called 'blessings'." On the condemned clerics Victor, Sophronas, and Chairemon, see Cyril, ep. 2 (*ACO* I, 1, 1, pp. 23–25), and ep. 10 (ibid., pp. 110–12); Wickham, *Cyril of Alexandria* (1983), 3, n. 2; and Schwartz, *Cyril und der Mönch Viktor* (1928), 3–51.

[29] The content of the exchange is given in chap. 5, below, p. 287, based on the account in Nestorius, *Ad Cosmam*, 5–8 (ed. Nau, *Héracleides*, 363–64); cf. Brière, "La Légende," 20; Barhadbešabba, *H.E.*, 27 (ed. Nau, *PO* 9.5, 565–66); and the *Suidae Lexicon*, s. v. "Pulcheria" (ed. Adler, 4:183, lines 1–21). These events have been studied in detail by Holum, *Empresses*, 147–74. It is of course curious that Socrates and other local contemporary writers make no mention of these dramatic occurrences, but cf. the statement of Nestorius in Driver and Hodgson, ibid., 1/3:96–97: "(Pulcheria) was a contentious woman who fought against me because I was not willing to be persuaded by her demand that I should compare a woman corrupted of men to the bride of Christ." On Pulcheria, see Teetgen, *Life and Times of Pulcheria* (1907); Borowski, "Pulcheria Empress of Byzantium" (1979); Angelidi, *Pulcheria* (1996), and below, chap. 6, pp. 347–50.

It is not difficult to imagine the mixture of both distaste and satisfaction with which Proclus and Philip of Side viewed Nestorius' actions. If Nestorius' performance was distasteful to them, as it undoubtedly was, they must have realized that such extremes would inevitably lead to his removal and the subsequent vacancy of the episcopal throne. However, they were as yet unable to intervene directly. Their opportunity came when Nestorius stumbled into a doctrinal quarrel over christology and mariology. It was at that point that Nestorius' real troubles began, for now the members of the local clergy came to question the orthodoxy of their bishop's beliefs.

As an expositor of the views of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius was imbued with the Pauline idea of Christ as the 'second Adam' (cf. Rom. 5.14; 1 Cor. 15.21–22, 45–49).[30] If it was true that sin and death appeared in the world through the actions of one man, namely, the 'first Adam,' then it was equally true that salvation and life appeared through the actions of another man, Jesus Christ, the 'second Adam.' From this point of view, the figure of Christ is not only the particular locus of divine intervention in the world, but the universal locus and source of humanity's conquest of sin. Thus the story of Christ is not the passion of God made flesh, but the exculpation and victory of a representative human being before God. These and similar concerns led Nestorius to an extreme emphasis on the human life and behavior of Christ. At times, Nestorius' rhetoric on this question reached such a pitch that he seemed to be postulating two completely different subjects within the one Christ: the transcendent Word of God, and the mortal man Jesus in whom the Word was pleased to dwell. Moreover, Nestorius' emphasis on the human nature of Christ did not entail a great degree of devotion to Mary, the source and guarantee of that human nature. This was partly due to the restricted place of women within Antiochene theology, who were not, for example, said to participate in the 'image of God' (Gen. 1.26).[31] It was this doctrinal and

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[30] The fragments of Diodore have been edited by R. Abramowski, "Nachlass der Diodor" (1949); and Brière, "Quelques fragments syriaques de Diodore" (1946); cf. Greer, "Christology of Diodore" (1966). On Theodore of Mopsuestia, see Swete, *Theodori Mopsuesteni* (1880–1882); Staab, *Pauluskommentare* (1933), 113–72; and Norris, *Manhood and Christ* (1963). On Christ as the 'second Adam' in the thought of Nestorius, see Driver and Hodgson, ibid., 1/1:69–72, 63–66, esp. 1/3:182–83, and 2/1:213–14. See also Nestorius, hom. 9 (ed. Loofs, 250–64).

[31] For a detailed study of this question, see Harrison, "Women, Human Identity, and the Image of God" (2001), who notes (p. 247) that both Diodore and Theodore identify the "divine image of Gen. 1.26–27 with authority and interpret this text in

cultural framework that Nestorius brought to Constantinople when he became archbishop of that city. There, however, Nestorius (much like his predecessor Atticus) encountered a tendency toward Arianism and Apollinarianism which truncated the fullness of Christ's human nature. Moreover, it seems that the adherents of such views had interpreted the Marian title 'Theotokos' in such a way as to suggest that the whole of Christ's being began with her, or that in her a divine being with a mutable nature had found its ultimate definition. This, in any case, is how Nestorius would later defend his actions.[32]

Toward the end of 428, Nestorius and his retinue, in their ongoing war against heresies, began to preach against the propriety of calling Mary the 'Theotokos.' Socrates relates that

> Nestorius had an associate whom he had brought from Antioch, a presbyter called Anastasius. For this man he had the highest esteem, and consulted him in the management of his most important affairs. Preaching in the church one day, Anastasius warned his hearers that "No one must call Mary 'Theotokos,' for Mary was but a human being and it is impossible that God could be born from a human being."[33]

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terms of 1 Cor. 11.7 to show that women lack authority and therefore also lack the image of God." See also Burghardt, *Image of God* (1957), 126–40, who draws the same conclusion, noting (p. 139) that the "Antiochene orientation is not the approach of Cyril, who discovers the image of God in every human being regardless of sex."

[32] Driver and Hodgson, *Heracleides*, xxx, and 1/3:98–101, 174–175, 185, and 1/1:26: "Anything which results in the extinction of human nature and not its preservation is not named an incarnation." See also the letter of Nestorius to Celestine (*ACO* I, 2, pp. 12–14; Loofs, 165–68, no. 24): "We have found a great corruption of orthodoxy among some here (i.e., Constantinople). It is no small error, but similar to the corruption of Apollinarius and Arius, blending the Lord's appearance as man into a kind of confused combination—so much so that some of our clergy openly blaspheme God the Word consubstantial with the Father, as if he took his beginning from the 'Christ-bearing' Virgin … they even say that his flesh … was changed into the nature of the Godhead … They even dare to include the Christ-bearing Virgin in the topic of theology, for they do not scruple to call her 'Theotokos'."

[33] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.32.1–2 (ed. Hansen, 380, lines 1–3); Evagrius, *H.E.*, 1.2 (ed. Bidez and Parmentier, 7–8). Because of conflicting evidence the origins of the controversy are not entirely clear. Although Socrates makes no mention of it, Nestorius claimed that he found the controversy already existing in the capital, see above, n. 32; and the letter of Nestorius to John of Antioch (*ACO* I, 1, 4, pp. 4–6; Loofs, 185). According to Cyril of Alexandria, the first attack on the Theotokos was made in Constantinople by Dorotheus of Marcianople, a friend of Nestorius. Cyril, who had informants in the capital, insists that Dorotheus did this with the knowledge and consent of Nestorius, cf. Cyril, ep. 8.1, 2 (*ACO* I, 1, 1, p. 109); ep. 11.4, 8 (*ACO* I, 1, 5, pp. 10–12); see also ep. 14.1 (*ACO* I, 1, 1, p. 98); and ep. 48.5 (*ACO* I, 1, 4, p. 32). It is not impossible that Cyril exaggerated the incident.

Although these words caused great turmoil in the capital, Nestorius proceeded to defend the position of Anastasius in a series of controversial sermons. According to Socrates, Nestorius failed not only to vindicate Anastasius but, by

> totally rejecting the epithet 'Theotokos' he acquired the reputation among the masses of asserting the blasphemous dogma that the Lord is a 'mere man,' and attempting to foist upon the church the dogmas of Paul of Samosata and Photinus.[34]

In an interesting aside, Socrates points out that the alarm which Nestorius sounded over the Theotokos exposed the archbishop's lack of familiarity with the writings of the fathers and the tradition of the church, which "scrupled not to style Mary 'Theotokos'."[35] Although Constantinople did not have a theological 'school' of its own, from at least the time of Gregory Nazianzus (*sed.* 380–81) the bishops of the capital city seem generally to have accepted the title Theotokos. Unlike the abstract technical term *homoousios* which was introduced into theology to distinguish the Arians from the Orthodox, the title Theotokos was a word that belonged to the evocative language of liturgy and devotion. If it is true that the word Theotokos had, in certain circles, become subject to heretical interpretation, it had nonetheless long since made its way into the religious consciousness of the people of Constantinople who were deeply offended by their archbishop's teaching.[36]

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[34] Socrates, ibid., 7.32.5–6 (ed. Hansen, 380, lines 19–20). Socrates may have learned of the comparisons with Paul of Samosata from the anonymous propaganda sheet that was posted in Constantinople, see below, n. 39. The comparison of Nestorius with Paul of Samosata was apparently damaging and considered important enough for Ibas of Edessa to mention in his brief account of the controversy to Mari (*ACO* II, 1, 3, p. 32). Cyril of Alexandria also introduces the name of Photinus in his *Oratio ad Theodosium*, 6.17 (*ACO* I, 1, 1, p. 45), as does Theodotus of Ancyra in a homily delivered at the Council of Ephesus (*ACO* I, 1, 2, p. 75 = hom. 2). Photinus was a fourth-century bishop of Sirmium who taught that Christ was a 'mere man' upon whom the Word of God rested; cf. Socrates, ibid., 2.18.7; 29.1–5 (112, lines 7–9; 140–41, lines 9–19/1–5), who notes that 'Photinus held the heresy of Sabellius the Libyan and Paul of Samosata.' The Photinians were formally condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 381.

[35] Socrates, ibid., 7.32.14 (ed. Hansen, 381, lines 12–13). To substantiate his position, Socrates cites two precedents for use of the title 'Theotokos.' One is from Origen (381, lines 21–23), in certain respects a precursor of Arianism, and the other is from one of Origen's admirers, Eusebius of Caesarea (381, lines 16–20), a semi-Arian. This rather dubious pedigree would have come as no surprise to Nestorius, who was convinced that the title was used by Apollinarius, Arius, and Eunomius, cf. Loofs, 300–301.

[36] See Schwartz, "Vorgeschichte des ephesinischen Konzils," 249–50. For the history and use of the term Theotokos prior to the Nestorian controversy, see Söll, "Mariologie der Kappadozier" (1951); Clement, "Theotokos avant 446" (1928); Laurentin, "Les

Opposition formed quickly. The first volley was fired by a certain lawyer (ῥήτωρ)[37] called Eusebius who was later ordained the bishop of Dorylaeum. While Nestorius stood in the pulpit of his cathedral preaching against the Theotokos, Eusebius drowned out the archbishop's sermon "crying out loudly that the pre-eternal Word had indeed undergone a second birth in the flesh through a woman." At this, the congregation burst forth in applause. The effect was contagious and similar protests were echoed in the women's galleries of the Great Church. In the church of St. Irene, Nestorius was soon greeted by indecorous shouts of 'We have an emperor, but not a bishop!'[38] It is almost certain that Eusebius was also the author of an anonymous propaganda sheet, the so-called *Contestatio* (*Διαμαρτυρία*), which soon afterwards was posted in Constantinople. The strongly-worded document juxtaposes six heretical statements of Paul of Samosata (a third-century bishop condemned for denying the divinity of Christ) with six similar statements of Nestorius. The conclusions to be drawn from this exercise in comparative christology were obvious. The *Contestatio* closes with an excerpt from the Creed of Antioch together with a quotation from Eustathius of Antioch (*sed.* ca. 323–29), both intended to show that Nestorius stood condemned even from the point of view of his own local christological tradition.[39]

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origines de titre Theotokos," in id., *Court traite sur la Vierge* (1968), 170–71; Inhof and Lorenz, *Maria Theotokos* (1981); Saxer, "Testimonianze mariane" (1987); Starowieyski, "Le titre Theotokos" (1989); Hevelone-Harper, "Theotokos" (1999); and "Theotokos" in *PGL* 639–41. Note that among the temples of pre-Christian Constantinople was a shrine dedicated to the 'Mother of the Gods,' on which see Güngerich, ed., *Dionysii Byzantii* (1958), 21, line 52.

[37] A lawyer may be considered a rhetor (or sophist) in virtue of his polished forensic rhetoric, see Bowersock, *Greek Sophists* (1969), 12–15; 56–57.

[38] According to Evagrius, *H.E.*, 1.9 (ed. Bidez and Parmentier, 17, lines 5–7), 'Eusebius, while still a rhetor, was the first to denounce the blasphemy of Nestorius,' variously repeated by Theodore Lector, *H.E.*, 328 (ed. Hansen, *GCS*, 54, p. 95, lines 6–7); and Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.32 (*PG* 146.1160BC). For Eusebius' public outburst and the statement by Nestorius that caused it, see Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Nestorium*, 1.5 (*ACO* I, 1, 6, pp. 25–26). By 448, Eusebius had been made the bishop of Dorylaeum, and in the same year led the attack on Eutyches at the home synod of Constantinople. Eusebius was deposed and exiled at the *latrocinium* of Ephesus in August of 449, but was reinstated at the Council of Chalcedon where he assisted in drafting that council's definition of faith. For the protests from the women's galleries, see John Rufus, *Plerophoriae*, 36 (ed. Nautin, *PO* 8.1, 81–82); for the uproar in the church of St. Irene, see *ACO* I, 1, 5, p. 8.

[39] The text of the *Contestatio publice proposita* may be found in *ACO* I, 1, 1, pp. 101–102; cf. Loofs, 49–51. Eusebius was the first to draw the parallel between Nestorius and

In his attacks on Nestorius it is not likely that Eusebius acted on his own initiative. With forces in the capital increasingly divided over the question of the Theotokos,[40] Eusebius appears to have been part of a growing alliance of prominent Constantinopolitans who had joined forces against Nestorius. Foremost among the lay members of this alliance was the empress Pulcheria, along with Droseria, Marcella, and Olympia—influential women in the train of Pulcheria's aristocratic retinue—followed by learned figures like Socrates, and those whose views he represented. Another prominent layman, the Italian Marius Mercator, lent his support to the alliance by translating into Latin the anti-Marian sermons of Nestorius, which he then dispatched to Rome.[41]

On the ecclesiastical side were the volatile monks of Constantinople who rallied behind the anti-Nestorian archimandrite Dalmatius. Like their counterparts among the laity, the monks could count on the support of Pulcheria, who was a great patron of the local monasteries. Just as the monks had once moved against Chrysostom for intruding into their affairs, they were now rebuffing similar attempts by Nestorius. However, now that Nestorius had apparently fallen into heresy, their intrigues against him took on the character of a public crusade.[42] Squarely confronted in his residence by the monastic deacon Basil together with a band of hostile monks, the threatened archbishop called in the police who had the intruders flogged and imprisoned. Upon their release, Basil and his comrades submitted a formal letter of complaint to the emperor. The letter, which openly brands Nestorius a heretic and calls for the summoning of a general council, provides an arresting view of the widespread public unrest surrounding the still-

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Paul of Samosata. For the historical significance of the *Contestatio*, see Tetz, "Zum Streit zwischen Orthodoxie und Häresie" (1961). The parallel to Paul of Samosata is also drawn by Marius Mercator, *Commonitorium adversum haeresim Pelagii et Caelestii*, 18 (*ACO* I, 1, 5, p. 28). Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.32.9–10 (ed. Hansen, 380, lines 27–29), reports the same charge, but denies its validity.

[40] Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.32 (*PG* 146.1160D), writes that, "because this matter had become a cause of concern among all … there was a division (διαίρεσις) in the church."

[41] On Pulcheria's retinue, see Holum, *Empresses*, 180. On Marius Mercator, see above, n. 27.

[42] The role of Dalmatius in the deposition of Nestorius was acknowledged by the Council of Ephesus which formally recognized him as the 'archimandrite' and 'father' of all the monks in the city, *ACO* I, 1, 7, pp. 10–11. For Nestorius' impressions of Dalmatius, see Driver and Hodgson, *Heracleides*, 2/1:272–78. On the monks, who may have numbered some fifteen thousand, see Dagron, "Les Moines," 266–70. On Pulcheria and the monks, cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia* (ed. de Boor [1883], 1:126, lines 15–18; 164, lines 14–19); and Holum, *Empresses*, 134–35.

nascent controversy. In addition to the monks, the ecclesiastical arm of the anti-Nestorian resistance was completed by members of the local clergy. Although initially reserved, many withdrew from communion with their archbishop and began to preach against him. Among these latter was the canonical bishop of Cyzicus, Proclus.[43]

Proclus, Homily 1: On the Holy Virgin Theotokos

The random shouts of laymen in church, although certainly an affront to episcopal authority, were not terribly uncommon during this period and therefore probably limited in their psychological and religious impact on the local congregations. The official homiletic activity of Nestorius and his followers in their campaign against the Theotokos could be adequately countered only by a similar public display of ecclesiastical and oratorical strength. It was in this way that Proclus, most likely in concert with the dissidents, and perhaps with the encouragment of the empress herself, joined the ranks of Nestorius' opponents. An opportunity to challenge and refute Nestorius' attacks against the Theotokos, and to place him on trial, as it were, before a large public audience, presented itself on the occasion of a feast day recently established in honor of the Virgin. Although such a celebration might have provided Nestorius with an ideal platform from which to denounce the rising veneration of Mary, it was an opportunity of which he did not avail himself. Instead, he unwittingly chose to yield the pulpit to the bishop of Cyzicus, inviting him ('urging him,' according to one source), to deliver the homily before the expectant crowds.[44] Thus it was that Proclus, in the presence of Nestorius and his entourage, boldly ascended the pulpit

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[43] The confrontation is recorded in the complaint of ill-treatment, *ACO* I, 1, 5, pp. 7–10. On the dissident clerics, see *ACO*, I, 2, 5, p. 8, where it is stated that "members of the pious presbytery even now shrink from communion with him (i.e., Nestorius); others secretly avoid communion with him." See also Cyril of Alexandria, ep. 17 (third letter to Nestorius) (*ACO* I, 1, 1, pp. 33–42), where Cyril notes that "we are all in communion with all the laity and clergy excommunicated or deprived by your Piety on account of the faith." This may be an allusion to Philip of Side, cf. *ACO* I, 1, 7, pp. 171–72. On the growing influence of the monks, see Bacht, "Die Rolle des orientalischen Mönchtums" (1953).

[44] That Proclus was invited to speak by Nestorius is indicated by the lemma of a Latin manuscript from the collection of Marius Mercator (*San Marco gr.* 584, fol. 77), and by *Vat. gr.* 1431, fol. 7, which notes that Proclus was 'urged by Nestorius' (προτραπεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ), a phrase repeated by Theophanes and Cedrenus (below, n. 47); cf. Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.32 (*PG* 146.1164C). On the manuscripts, cf. Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 61; and Esbroeck, "Jalons pour l'histoire," 157, n. 44.

of the Great Church of Constantinople and delivered a spectacularly rousing panegyric on the Virgin Mary Theotokos. The sermon proved to be much more than what the dissidents, or even Proclus himself, could have possibly hoped for, for it is perhaps the most famous homily on the Virgin Mary in all of Christian history.[45]

Before turning to the text of the sermon, it should be noted that Proclus' celebrated panegyric raises important questions for the history of liturgy in general, and for a feast day of the Virgin Mary at Constantinople in the early fifth century in particular. Because Proclus' sermon is the earliest indication that such a feast existed at this time, it is probable that it was added to the liturgical calendar by one of Nestorius' immediate predecessors in the see of Constantinople. Thus the new feast may have been instituted under Sisinnius (426–427), or by Proclus' mentor Atticus (406–425), who was known throughout the Byzantine world for his devotion to the Theotokos. However, if the extant sources enable us to determine with some certainty the historical period in which the new feast was established, its precise location within the liturgical calendar has proven to be somewhat more elusive. The assertion of Schwartz that Proclus' panegyric was composed for the feast of the Annunciation on 25 March is anachronistic. What only later came to be known as the 'Annunciation' was in fifth-century Constantinople a 'Commemoration of Mary,' a 'Virginal Festival' celebrated in conjunction with the feast of the Nativity. By the middle of the sixth century, the Marian festival had evolved into a distinct and separate feast day, at which point it was detached from the Nativity cycle and relocated to March, exactly nine months from the day of Christ's birth on 25 December. Proclus' sermon was therefore delivered not on 25 March, but within the cycle of celebrations surrounding the Nativity, although its exact location within that cycle is not entirely clear.[46] The eighth-century historian Theophanes reports that Proclus'

[45] The homily, reckoned first in the Proclan corpus, has been preserved in a large number of manuscripts in almost every language of the ancient Church: Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, Georgian, and Slavonic, cf. Bauer, *Proklos*, 24, n. 1; Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 44–46; and *CPG Supplementum*, 5800. Less than one year after its delivery, the homily was appended to the official minutes of the Council of Ephesus (*ACO*, I, 1, 1, pp. 103–7), thereby granting it canonical status. On the Homily's *Nachleben*, see below, p. 128–29.

[46] For Schwartz' dating, see *ACO* I, 8, p. 7. On the development and date of the feast, see Baumstark, "Einfuhrüng des Weinachtsfestes in Konstantinopel" (1902); Jugie, "La première fête Mariale" (1923); but cf. id., "La fête de la Dormition" (1943), in which he modified some of his earlier arguments; Botte, *Les origines de la Noël* (1932); Capelle, "La

sermon was delivered 'on a Sunday' (ἐν μιᾷ δὲ κυριακῇ) without mentioning the liturgical season or time of year.[47] While it is not impossible that Proclus' sermon was delivered on the Sunday before (or perhaps after) the feast of the Nativity on 25 December, sources closer to the text suggest that the new feast, and thus Proclus' sermon, should be dated to 26 December, a day on which the Byzantine church continued to celebrate a 'synaxis' in honor of the Theotokos. 26 December is also the date attested for Proclus' Homily 3, a work which may correspond to a stage of development when the new feast had not been fully distinguished from the celebration of the Nativity. Similarly, the short sermon *in Christi natalem diem*, rightly ascribed to the hand of Proclus, seems also to have been written with the new Marian feast in view, and its opening declaration that '*Today* the sun of righteousnes has risen' would seem to rule out delivery at any point prior to 25 December.[48] Finally, the December in question was most likely that of the year 430, and thus on the eve of the Council of Ephesus, a subject to which we shall return after an analysis of Proclus' sermon and Nestorius' response to it.[49] If the precise chronology of the new Marian feast remains difficult to determine with certainty, there can be no doubt that the establishment of the feast, and its enthusiastic promotion by Proclus, mark an

fête de la Vierge" (1943), 22–27; Fletcher, "Three Early Byzantine Hymns" (1958), 58–62; Wenger, "Foi et piété mariale à Byzance" (1959); Delius, *Geschichte der Marienverehrung* (1963); Scheer, "Aux origines de la fête de l'Annonciation" (1977); and Aubineau, "Une fête rattachée au cycle de la Nativité?" in id., *Homélies festales* (1978), 132–34.

[47] Theophanes, *Chronographia* (ed. de Boor, 1:88, lines 22–25); an account reproduced by the twelfth-century historian George Cedrenus, *Comp. hist.* (ed. Bekker, 593, lines 10–14), both of whom assert that Proclus' sermon marked a critical turning point in the controversy, after which Nestorius was 'despised by all.'

[48] An important manuscript witness, *Vat. gr.* 1431 (= R in the apparatus below) indicates that Homily 1 was delivered at a 'Synaxis in honor of Holy Mary' (εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν συνάξεως οὔσης). On the sermon *in Christi natalem diem* (*PG* 61.737–38 = Marx, no. 18), cf. 'Proclus' in the Bibliography. This sermon provides a clear index of the Marian feast's intimate connection with the Nativity, which it soon outgrew, for more than half of the text is devoted to the moment of the 'Annunciation,' including an elaborate seventeen-fold anaphoric repetition of the angel's 'Hail,' cf. below, chap. 5, p. 309, n. 101. For arguments in favor of 26 December, cf. Bardenhewer, *Marienpredigten*, 107; Marx, *Procliana*, 30; Fletcher, "Three Early Byzantine Hymns" (1958), 60; Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 66–67, n. 41; and Aubineau, "Citations de l'homélie de Proclus" (1991), 214, n. 13.

[49] Although Theophanes, *Chron.* (ed. de Boor, 1:88, line 1) gives the year as *anno mundi* 5923 (i.e., 428), it will be argued below that a slightly later date is to be preferred, on which see Richard, "L'introduction du mot 'hypostase'," 256–57; and Esbroeck, "Jalons pour l'histoire," 149, n. 2.

important juncture in the development of the cult of the Virgin in Constantinople. By the middle of the next century, devotion to the Virgin would assume a dominant position in the religious life of the Byzantine empire, transforming the imperial city into a virtual 'Theotokoupolis.'[50]

Turning to the text of Proclus' sermon, it appears from the exordium that the new Marian feast was the occasion of a splendid festival in the capital. Proclus observes that both the 'earth and the sea' have safely transported the large number of pilgrims who were now crowding the Great Church (8–10).[51] That the feast was both in honor of the Virgin Mary and a celebration of female virginity is clear from the homily's opening lines:

> The Virgin's festival, my brethren, summons us today to words of praise … what we celebrate is the pride of women and the glory of the female, thanks to the one who was at once both mother and virgin … Let nature leap for joy and let women be honored! Let all humanity dance and let virgins be glorified! For Holy Mary, the untarnished vessel of virginity, has called us here together (4–8; 10–13).

These words, although generically addressed to the 'brethren,' suggest that the crowds which thronged the Great Church in order to celebrate the 'pride and glory of womanhood' may have consisted largely of women. Their numbers almost certainly included local female ascetics, consecrated virgins, prominent women of the great families, and the female attendants of the court. At the head of this 'lovely gathering' (8) was the empress Pulcheria, together with her maiden sisters Arcadia and Marina.[52] Holum has suggested that the opening words of Proclus' homily reveal Pulcheria's own view of the issues at stake, namely, her quarrels with Nestorius and her rising anger over his attacks on the cult of the Theotokos. According to Holum, the empress not only

[50] On the rise of the cult, see Av. Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople" (1978); and Mango, "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis" (2000). Janin, *La géographie*, 164–253, lists 117 churches in Byzantine Constantinople dedicated to the Theotokos, by far the largest single category.

[51] References to Homily 1 are given as line numbers to the Greek text in this volume (below, pp. 136–47). The English translation is, with some modifications, that of Wiles and Santer, *Documents in Early Christian Thought* (1975), 61–66.

[52] Also in attendance, no doubt, were many of the lay and ecclesiastical devotees of the Theotokos. It is unlikely that they would have absented themselves from the new Marian feast which was also a pivotal moment in their campaign. When Proclus states that 'the present feast has benefits to bestow on those who have gathered together' (τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν) (5), he may be addressing the dissidents. Although the primary meaning of συνέρχομαι is to 'go together,' it can also mean to 'form a league,' or 'meet in battle.'

interpreted those attacks as an affront to the dignity of women in general, but as an attack on her own claim to power, which she had sought to bolster by personally appropriating the dignity of the Virgin Mary.[53] When read as a response to these concerns, Proclus' sermon reverberates with the energy of an unmistakable ambivalence, and at times it is difficult to determine if his lavish praises resound to the glory of Mary, or to the grandeur of Pulcheria. For example, the 'Virgin's (literally, 'virginal') festival' (παρθενικὴ πανήγυρις), which provides the occasion for Proclus' unrestrained rhetorical enthusiasm, is at once the initial utterance of the sermon, and the initial instance of a mode of equivocation in which both the virgin mother and the virgin empress are encompassed, in this case, within the diction of a single indefinite adjective.

In terms of its theological content, Proclus' sermon is well summed up in an eleventh-century scribal comment marginalized within the pages of *Vaticanus Graecus* 1431:

> This sermon demonstrates that the Holy Virgin Mary is the 'Theotokos,' and that the one born from her is neither 'solely God' nor 'merely man,' but 'Emmanuel' (cf. Is. 7.14; Mt. 1.23), who is both God and man without confusion or alteration (ἀσυγχύτως καὶ ἀμεταβλήτως).[54]

This lapidary notation gestures toward a number of critical themes contained within the sermon: the affirmation of the Marian epithet 'Theotokos'; the paradox of unity and duality in Christ; the use of Old Testament passages as proof texts for the incarnation; and a commitment to a particular christological terminology anticipating the language of Chalcedon. These various themes, however, should not be sharply distinguished, for the affirmation that Mary 'gave birth to God,' and the christological paradox of unity in duality are, in the theology of Proclus, two facets of a single mystery. For Proclus, the paradox of the Virgin is an extension of the greater paradox of Christ. The

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[53] Holum, *Empresses*, 156. Although Liebescheutz, *Barbarians and Bishops*, 201–202, is critical of Holum's overall thesis, he does note conversely that "there are plenty of passages in the sermons of Chrysostom which express an extremely restrictive attitude toward women: Their place is in the home, their task, the education of children. Women should remain silent in church. They have no public teaching role. Just as man was created for God, so woman was made for man. It is probably not a coincidence that Chrysostom shows no sign at all of veneration for the Virgin Mary. Rather the reverse. He stresses her humanity and human weaknesses, such as vanity" (p. 179); cf. below, chap. 5, p. 278, n. 15.

[54] *ACO* I, 1, 1, p. 103; cf. ibid., p. 2; and above, n. 44.

jarring 'virginal maternity' of Mary is thus an important key to the mystery of the incarnate Word, who is both the 'Son of God and the Son of the Virgin' (35–39).[55] Exploiting the local reports that Nestorius, in rejecting the title of 'Theotokos,' had effectively reintroduced the heretical teachings of Photinus and Paul of Samosata, Proclus explains that the one born of the Virgin is neither 'solely God nor merely man' (Θεὸς οὐ γυμνὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐ ψιλός) (28), but a mysterious concurrence of the two. In their objections to that claim, Nestorius and his followers insisted repeatedly that 'God could not enter the womb of a woman,' an assertion that Proclus counters when he observes that there is no "shame upon an architect who enters a building of his own construction" (43–44); and that if God was not "dishonored when he created the womb, neither was he defiled when he dwelt in it" (34–35). The image of inhabitation without defilement finds a close parallel in a fragment from a lost work by Atticus preserved in the *acta* of the Council of Ephesus. In objecting to such a proposition, Nestorius had placed himself at variance with Constantinopolitan traditions regarding the figure of Mary.[56]

Seemingly captivated by his own invocation of a human womb which miraculously contained its creator, Proclus interrupts his argument in order to indulge in an elaborate encomium on the Virgin's womb:

> O womb, in which was drawn up the bond that gave us all liberty! O belly, in which was forged the sword that defeated death! O field, from which Christ, the farmer of nature, sprouted forth unsown as an ear of corn! O temple, in which God became a priest, not by changing his nature but by his mercy clothing himself with him who was 'according to the order of Melchisedek' (cf. Heb. 6.20) (47–51).

The rhythmic, staccato-like delivery of this passage (and others like it), with its profusion of metaphors and repetition of virtually identi-

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[55] That the paradox of Mary is an extension of the greater paradox of Christ is further exemplified in the development of apophatic language addressed to the Virgin, see, for example, Ps.-Chrysostom, *In annuntiationem* (ascribed to Proclus by Marx, 68–69, no. 72), which concludes with an elaborate litany of alpha-privative epithets: ἀμόλυντον, ἄσπιλον, ἀθόλωτον, ἄσπορον, ἀνύμφευτον, ἀθαλάμευτον, ἀλατόμητον, ἀφύτευτον, ἀνεπινόητον (*PG* 60.759–60). Reflection on such titles was, in the words of Gregory of Nyssa, to 'contemplate the bridegroom's beauty in his spouse' (*Cant.* 8, ed. Langerbeck, *GNO* 6 [1960], 256).

[56] The fragment (*ACO* I, 1, 7, p. 95, lines 9–18), is cited below, at hom. 1.II, 34–35. As Atticus' ghost-writer, it is possible that Proclus himself was the author of the text from which this fragment has been derived.

cal structural units, is in striking contrast to Proclus' use, elsewhere in Homily 1, of sequential narrative forms and cogent logical argumentation. In the swiftly shifting tides of Proclus' discourse, words and images unfold episodically in linear time, or fracture and burst in atemporal fragments. Within the overall fabric of the sermon, these two modes of speech shimmer and play against each other like the iridescent crests of crashing waves or like alternating patterns in a cunningly fashioned carpet.

At one level, this volatile mixture of contrasting rhetorical modes serves to instantiate the homily's theological content as the texture of Proclus' sermon virtualizes the very christological duality of which he speaks. Through the visionary art of his rhetoric, Proclus fills the hearing and thus the mind with the memory of the mystery of the incarnation, striving to mimic through language the very paradox which constitutes the enfleshment of the Word in the womb of the Virgin. In this highly charged conjunction of two heterogeneous orders, the Christian rhetor attempts to generate a form for the formless, to echo within speech and sound the absolutely inexpressible, to open a discursive space for the uncircumscribable, and to include within his story that which cannot be narrated. Poised between the shifting surface of rhetorical form and the depth of theological content stands Proclus' image of the textile loom (21–25), a metaphor for the virgin womb on which the warp threads of divinity are interwoven with the woof of human flesh.[57] The 'weaving' of speech or song was an ancient and familiar image (cf. Homer, *Iliad*, 3.212) and enables Proclus, in a complex series of inter-related patterns, to unify text, textile loom, and the texture of the divine body within a single poetic creation. In the weaving of words, moreover, the impulse to linguistic activity is traditionally the gift of the Muse, in this case the Virgin Theotokos, whose festival, Proclus declares at the outset, 'summons the tongue to fair speech' (τὴν γλῶτταν πρὸς εὐφημίαν καλεῖ) (4–5). In the end, the 'wondrous miracle' of the incarnation 'transcends the limits of language' (54), and the cross-threads of discourse are ultimately unraveled in these breathless displays of non-discursive metaphorical excess.[58]

[57] See below, chap. 6.

[58] On the apophatic character of Proclus' rhetoric, see the notes at 2.VIII, 95–101 and 3.V, 36–37.

Resuming his argument concerning the paradox of the incarnation, Proclus insists that

> He who is by nature impassible has become by mercy most passible. Christ did not by progress become God—heaven forbid!—but by mercy he became man, as we believe. We do not preach a divinized man, but instead we confess an incarnate God … (in his) essence he is without mother, and in the incarnation without father (cf. Heb. 7.3) (58–63).

Around this basic, credal declaration of a single divine actor possessed of a peculiar double lineage, Proclus constructs his argument by refuting any attempt to resolve the tensions within that paradox by a monological reduction to one or another of its constituent terms. Thus Proclus denies that Christ is a 'mere man' by stressing his sinlessness (cf. Heb. 4.15) (91–96) and the inability of a 'mere man,' or for that matter an angel (cf. Heb. 1.5–14), to save the human race by his death (78, 101–102, 78–79). Conversely, Proclus equally insists that neither could God himself accomplish such things 'in the nude' (γυμνός), that is, without assuming human nature (122–40): 'Had he not clothed himself with me,' Proclus maintains, 'he would not have saved me' (124–25).[59] For the divine to be clothed in human flesh, however, was to be bound by the fateful threads of mortality, generating paradox upon paradox: "He came to save, but he also had to suffer. How were both possible? Mere man had no power to save. One who was solely God could not suffer. What happened then? He who was God became man. By what he was, he saved; and by what he became, he suffered" (141–44). In this union of opposites, incarnation and passion are located together within a single soteriological continuum, and thus Proclus exhorts his listeners "not to be ashamed of the birth pangs, for they were the beginning of our salvation. Had he had not been born of a woman, he would not have died. Had he not died, he would not 'through death have destroyed him who has the power of death, that is, the devil'" (Heb. 2.14) (40–43).

Throughout Homily 1, Proclus emphasizes the underlying duality of natures in the one Christ by a variety of motives and tropes. Proclus speaks of a 'union (ἑνότης) of natures' (15), a 'yoking (συζυγία) of natures' (38), and of the Word's 'marriage (ἐνυμφεύσατο) to the flesh' (15–16), warning his hearers not to 'sunder the union, lest you be

[59] Similarly, Proclus asserts that, "if the Word had not dwelt in the womb, then our flesh would not be seated upon the throne of God" (cf. Heb. 1.3; 8.1) (54–55); cf. id., hom. 21.1 (*PG* 65.833).

sundered from God' (131–32). In language that anticipates the christological settlement of the Council of Chalcedon, Proclus asserts that in Christ, 'the natures came together and the union remained unconfused' (συνῆλθον αἱ φύσεις καὶ ἀσύγχυτος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἕνωσις, 139–40). The locus of this 'coming together' is the unique personal individuality of Christ himself, a central belief that the notion of Mary as 'Theotokos' was designed to protect. Thus Proclus stresses the personal unity of the incarnate Word through the repeated use of the reflexive pronoun ὁ αὐτός, which may here be translated as 'the self-same person' for reasons of clarity and emphasis: 'the self-same person is without mother and without father' (cf. Heb. 7.3) (63); 'the self-same person is both motherless as creator and fatherless as created' (64–65); and 'the self same person is with the Virgin and of the Virgin' (127–28). The unity and duality of the 'self-same' Christ are powerfully highlighted in the homily's stirring colophon:

> The self-same was in the 'Father's bosom' (Jn. 1.18) and in the Virgin's womb; in a mother's arms and on the 'wings of the winds' (Ps. 103.3); adored by angels (Heb. 1.6)[60] and 'dining with tax collectors' (Mt. 9.10, Mk. 2.15). Seraphim dare not gaze upon him (cf. Is. 6.2), and Pilate interrogated him (Mk. 15.2–4). A 'servant struck him' (Jn. 18.22) and creation trembled. While nailed to the cross, he did not leave his throne; while shut in the tomb, he was 'stretching out the heavens like a tent' (Ps. 103.2); while numbered with the dead, he was plundering Hades. Below he was accused as a 'deceiver' (Mt. 27.63); above he was glorified as the Holy One (148–55).

Proclus characteristically concludes his discourse with an extended quotation from scripture, in this case a passage from Ezekiel in which the 'closed gate of the sanctuary' (Ezek. 44.1, 2) is presented as a type of the Virgin's womb.[61] In the sermons of Proclus, the concluding citation

[60] The frequency of Proclus' references and allusions to Hebrews throughout this homily is striking; cf. the remarks of Nestorius on Heb. 3.1 (ed. Loofs, 230–42); and on Heb. 2.11–14 and 2.8 (Driver and Hodgson, *Heracleides*, 1/1:31–33; 2/1:228–29). There are similar references to Hebrews in the fragments of Nestorius' sermons singled out for refutation by Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Nestorium* (*ACO* I, 1, 6, pp. 13–106). Alexander of Hierapolis, a staunch supporter of Nestorius, declared that he had only to read Cyril's commentary on Hebrews to know that its author was a heretic, cf. Dhotel, "La sanctification du Christ" (1959); Symonds, "Heavenly Sacrifice" (1966); Young, "Christological Ideas" (1969); Greer, "Use of Scripture in the Nestorian Controversy" (1967); id., *Captain of Our Salvation* (1973); and Parvis, "Commentary on Hebrews" (1975).

[61] On the 'closed gate,' see the note at hom. 1.IX, 160, below, p. 156. At lines 132–39, there is a cluster of ten citations from the Old Testament, mostly from the Psalms and presented as 'proof' of the incarnation. In addition to these quotations,

from scripture is normally followed by a traditional closing doxology, but at this point the bishop of Cyzicus permitted himself an unusual and crucial aberration. In the unlikely event that there was anyone in the Great Church who had failed to understand either the point of the homily or the homilist's theological and political affiliations, Proclus now removed all doubts. "There you have," he acknowledges, "a clear proof (ἐναργὴς ἀπόδειξις)[62] that Mary is 'Theotokos.' Let all contradiction now cease, and let us be enlightened by the teaching of the scriptures, so that we may attain to the kingdom of heaven in Christ Jesus our Lord" (165–69). The implication was clear enough: anyone who denied Mary the title 'Theotokos' would forfeit his place in the kingdom. Anyone who 'sundered the union,' as Proclus had earlier warned, would be 'sundered from God.' If the finer points of the Theotokos controversy had been beyond the grasp of all but a few, Proclus' homily must have helped to clarify the issues by stating the objections to Nestorius' teachings in simple and yet passionate terms understandable to the public.[63] The homily's effect was overwhelming and the crowd burst into enthusiastic applause.

Nestorius, who was proficient at extemporaneous speech, immediately responded with his own sermon.[64] Assuming an increasingly

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the homily presents a highly developed Old Testament typology of the Virgin: she is the spiritual 'paradise' of the 'second Adam' (Gen. 2.15 with Rom. 5.14; 1 Cor. 15.21–22, 45–49); the 'burning bush unconsumed by the fire' of divinity (Ex. 3.2, cf. below, hom. 1.I, 16–17); the 'swift cloud' (Is. 19.1); and the 'bedewed fleece of Gideon' (Jg. 6.38). There is a second typology based on more conventional imagery: weaver's loom (21); workshop (14); bridal chamber (16); bridge (20–21); field (48); and temple (49). On Proclus' images of the Virgin, see the introduction to Homily 1; on the imagery of weaving, see chap. 6.

[62] The ἐναργὴς ἀπόδειξις is a technical term drawn from the rules for argumentation established by classical Greek rhetoric, cf. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik* (1978), 84, 88, 102, 288–89. In the logic of Aristotle, the ἀπόδειξις is the conclusive deductive proof by syllogism, cf. *Analytica posteriora*, 71b17. See also Solmsen, "Christian Interest in the Theory of Demonstration" (1973).

[63] See, for example, the sober assessment of Chrysostom, *In Jo.*, 4.2 (*PG* 59.48): "I know that many (theological) expressions cannot be understood by you. Therefore I avoid as much as possible the treatment of speculative questions, for people are usually not able to follow these things. And, if able, they still do not understand them clearly and with certainty."

[64] The greater part, if not the whole, of Nestorius' response to Proclus has been preserved in a Latin translation by Marius Mercator (*ACO* I, 5, 1, pp. 37–39; Loofs, 336–41). *CPG* 5716 gives the title as *In commemoratione sanctae Mariae cum prius concionatus esset Proclus*. On the accuracy of Mercator's translations, see Chiesa, "Ad verbum o ad sensum" (1987). According to Chiesa, Mercator, unlike earlier translators of Greek into Latin (e.g., Jerome, Rufinus, and Cassiodorus), considered fidelity to the literal word of

defensive posture, the exposed archbishop begins by addressing the solid round of applause: "It is not surprising that you who love Christ should applaud those who preach in honor of the blessed Mary, for the fact that she became the temple of our Lord's flesh exceeds everything else worthy of praise." But he immediately cautions the congregation not to honor Mary beyond measure, for excessive veneration of Mary is undertaken at the expense of God the Word. Nestorius further suggests that, for the sake of comprehension, the style of speaking must be appropriate to the subject at hand, a remark clearly aimed at the rhetorical pyrotechnics of Proclus.[65]

After these preliminary remarks, Nestorius embarks upon a clarification of his controversial teaching about Mary:

> Whoever says without qualification that God was born from Mary prostitutes the faith, making it an object of derision to the Greeks. For the Greek will say, 'A God who was born, died, and was buried I cannot worship.' It is one thing to say that human nature—which is conceived, develops in the womb, and grows in time—is 'joined to' (*coniunctus*) God. But it is another thing entirely to say that God the Word was 'born from Mary.' The Word of God is the creator of time, he is not created within time.[66]

Nestorius continues by complimenting the 'previous speaker' (*praecedentis magistri*) for asserting that Christ is neither 'solely God, nor merely man,' phrases which Nestorius repeats throughout his rebuttal. But unlike Proclus, Nestorius does not accept the birth of the divine Word in the flesh, that is, he does not accept that the Word of God could be born twice: eternally from God the Father and in a moment of time from the Virgin Mary. Instead, Nestorius holds that the figure of Christ is a 'conjunction' of an 'already generated' humanity linked somewhat externally to God: "He who was born of woman is neither 'solely God' (*Deum nude*) nor 'merely man' (*humanitatem nudam*) for the manhood which is born (*humanitatem generatam*) is united (*coniunctam*) to the Godhead." According to Nestorius, God not only cannot be born, but neither can he truly die: "Is the Word risen from the dead? And if the Life-giver died, who then could give life? The Word who dwelt in

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the text as the indispensable standard in the work of translation. For a different view, see Frend, *Rise of The Monophysite Movement* (1972), 17, n. 3, who charges Mercator with misrepresenting Nestorius to Celestine of Rome.

[65] *ACO* I, 5, 1, p. 37, lines 29–35; cf. the comment of the text's first editors: 'suggligat obscuritatem orationis a Proclo dictae' (*PL* 48.782).

[66] Ibid., pp. 37–38, lines 36–38/1–9.

the temple formed by the Holy Spirit is one (*alius*), and the temple itself is another (*aliud templum*), different from God who dwells within it." Any other position, Nestorius insists, is a lapse into Arianism.[67] Consistent with these principles, Nestorius took particular offense at Proclus' encomiastic praises of the Virgin's womb as a 'temple,' in which, according to Proclus, God is said to have 'become a priest':

> I call your attention to this point, for you are indeed attentive examiners of religion (for I have the same opinion of you as I do of the Antiochenes); I cannot admit that God 'became a priest,' for if God is both Creator and priest, to whom is the sacrifice of the priests offered?[68]

After reciting a series of scriptural passages stressing the humanity of Jesus, Nestorius states that "we confess the single dignity (*unam dignitatem*) of the conjunction (*coniunctionis*) of the two hypostases (*substantias duplices*) of the two natures (*naturarum*)."[69] Nestorius' explicit assertion of *two* hypostases in Christ marks a critical step in the development of christological terminology as well as a significant turning point in the burgeoning controversy. The unequivocal character of Nestorius' language led Marcel Richard to date the homiletic duel of Proclus and Nestorius to 25 March 431, that is, to a mere three months before Nestorius' condemnation at the Council of Ephesus. Richard argued that such blatant promulgation of 'two hypostases' in Christ could not have remained in circulation for any great length of time, and he therefore dated Nestorius' public exchange with Pro-

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[67] Ibid., p. 38, lines 31–32; 41–44. Here, the Latin version of Nestorius' response, which was dispatched to the bishop of Rome, further decouples the union of opposites by isolating the 'temple,' derived from the word for 'time' (*tempus*), from its union with divine eternity.

[68] Ibid., p. 38, lines 13–16; cf. Cyril of Alexandria's tenth anathema: "Whoever says that it was not the Word of God who was himself our High Priest when he became flesh and man as we are, but another man born of woman and separate from the Word, shall be anathema" (*ACO* I, 1, 1, p. 41, lines 22–27); and Drivers and Hodgson, *Heracleides*, 2/1:249–52.

[69] Ibid., pp. 38–39; the quoatation is from p. 39, lines 1–2. The scriptural citations are (1) Acts 1.11: 'Jesus, a man taken from among you,' (2) Acts 17.31: 'In this man (i.e., Jesus), God will judge the world,' (3) Jn. 20.17: 'I go to my Father and your Father, to your God and my God,' and (4) Jn. 2.19: 'Destroy this temple and in three days I will rebuild it.' On Nestorius' 'confession' of two hypostases, see Richard, "L'introduction du mot 'hypostase'," 256, n. 1, who translates the passage in question as "confessons donc la dignité une de la conjonction et les deux hypostastes des natures," noting that Mercator's Latin translation "est malheureusement mal traduite, à moins que le texte de l'unique manuscrit ne soit corrumpu. Elle est heureusement citée par Sévère d'Antioche, *Contra Grammaticum* III, 17 et 20."

clus as close as he possibly could to the convocation of the Ephesine synod. Richard's arguments are generally persuasive, although, following Schwartz, they anachronistically presuppose not only a fifth-century feast of the Annunciation on 25 March, but a normative terminology for the doctrine of the incarnation that would stand in contrast to, and thus reveal the difference in, the divergent christological formulation of Nestorius.[70] As noted above, 25 March (431 or otherwise) must be excluded as a possible date for Nestorius' response to Proclus' praises of the Theotokos, which instead can be reasonably assigned to the Nativity cycle of 430. This minor correction however does not vitiate Richard's essential insight regarding the development of christological vocabulary, and allows more time for Nestorius' opponents to articulate their as yet still nascent christology of a single hypostasis.

Nestorius, whose comments until this point were directed toward the homily of Proclus, abruptly breaks off his rebuttal in order to address the wider contexts of the debate.[71] Apparently with the accusations of the dissidents in mind, and perhaps realizing that Proclus had spoken on their behalf, Nestorius defends himself against the charges of heresy of which he had been accused:

> It is absurd to charge me with teaching the error of Photinus, for while Photinus taught that God the Word had his origin from the Virgin, I teach that God the Word pre-exists before the ages. On the contrary: that which I assert overthrows the doctrine of Photinus.

But the damage had been done, and Nestorius probably knew that he had few supporters in the 'lovely gathering' in attendance that day at the 'Virgin's Festival.' In a final barb to the nimble-tongued Bishop of Cyzicus, Nestorius concludes by reminding the congregation that he was not one to 'answer a fool according to his own folly' (Prov. 26.4).[72]

The christologies and mariologies of Proclus and Nestorius stand in marked contrast to one another. Anticipating the objections of the Greeks, and on guard against the threat of Arianism and Apollinarianism, Nestorius shrank from attributing the incarnate experiences of Jesus Christ to the impassible Word of God. To directly involve the divinity in the vicissitudes of birth and death appeared to replace the Christian savior with a redeemer from the pantheons of Hellas. Like

[70] Richard, ibid., 256–58.
[71] *ACO* I, 5, 1, p. 39, lines 9–17.
[72] Ibid., line 14; cf. Driver and Hodgson, *Heracleides*, 1/1:8, and 1/3:98–99, where Nestorius returns to the question of Photinianism.

many mythical figures, this one came complete with a female consort whose god-bearing womb was now being made the touchstone of orthodoxy.[73] The ancient philosophers had either rejected such divinities or reduced them to edifying allegories, and learned Greeks could only be scandalized by their reification within the Christian church. Moreover, the mythology of a 'God who was born, died, and was buried' was believed to have been revivified in the christology of Arianism, which similarly ascribed the experiences of the body directly to the Word of God. If the transcendent God remained beyond such experiences, the lesser divinity of the Word was tragically inflected with suffering and change, a central Arian tenet derided by its opponents as a form of polytheism. The cognate doctrines of Apollinarianism similarly enmired the Word in the life of the body, producing a hybrid christology which draped the divine intellect in a perfunctory garment of inanimate flesh.[74] That the divine had 'clothed itself' in the flesh was of course a perfectly orthodox metaphor for the incarnation, although it could also be taken as a docetic denial of Christ's human nature. Thus Nestorius may have feared that Apollinarian clothing was being manufactured on the loom of Proclus. In traditional Antiochene fasion, Nestorius sought to counter these tendencies by the introduction of a radical disjunction between the Word of God and Jesus of Nazareth. The man Jesus could be born, suffer, and die, but not God the Word. In order to insure their mutual integrity, therefore, a wall of separation was required preventing persons human and divine from transgressing their proper boundaries. Anything else was an illicit mixture that could only result in the corruption of basic ontological structures.

For Proclus, on the other hand, it is precisely the birth and sacrificial death of the sinless Word-made-flesh that alone secures the salvation of sinful humanity. "No man could save us," he states, "for the debt

[73] In one of his sermons, Nestorius explicitly condemns the veneration of the 'Mother of God' as a revival of pagan belief in a 'Mother of the Gods,' cited below, p. 133, n. 8.

[74] Cf. Apollinarius, *De unione*: 'Body and divinity are knitted together (συμπλοκή)' (ed. Lietzmann, 187, lines 1–2); ibid., the 'uncreated God appeared in a created covering (περιβολή)' (187, line 20); id., *De inc.*: 'We glorify him as a king appearing in a robe (στολή) of royal glory' (205, lines 20–21), a passage singled out for condemnation by Theodoret, *Eranistes*, 2 (ed. Ettlinger, 187, lines 6–7). Gregory of Nyssa condemns the fusionist christology of Apollinarius as a "mythological monstrosity stitched together (συμπλέκοντες) from different natures," while Apollinarius himself is called a 'new mythographer' attempting to replace the incarnate Christ with a 'Minotaur,' *Antirrheticus adv. Apollinarium* (ed. Müller, 214, lines 24–26, and 215, lines 5–6).

(of sin) would have been his liability too" (100–101), and thus "we do not preach a divinized man but we confess an incarnate God" (60–61). Consistent with these affirmations, a christology which systematically decouples divinity from humanity in order to place the burden of redemption on a particular human being effectively subverts the gift of salvation in Christ. If Nestorius seeks to disengage the Word from human experience, it is precisely within that experience where Proclus intimately binds the 'incarnate God.' A critical link in this connection is provided by the Marian epithet 'Theotokos' which signifies, not that the divinity 'took its origin from the Virgin,' but rather that the incarnate Word was the direct subject of all the incarnate experiences ascribed to Jesus of Nazareth. Unlike Nestorius, Proclus does not seem to have been incapacitated by the fear that some of his images of the Virgin might have had parallels with those used to describe ancient goddesses.[75] The edifice of Christian culture was everywhere bristling with *spolia* plundered from the Greeks, and there was no reason to cast aside the ancient world's veneration of female fecundity, wisdom, and power. Moreover, rhetorical praises of sacred wombs had long been a part of the Constantinopolitan devotionalist tradition, and were particularly pronounced during the tenure of Atticus. Under the direction of Prolcus, Marian discourse developed within an increasingly sophisticated theological framework safeguarding its collapse into outright paganism. The close relationship of Atticus and Proclus with Pulcheria seems also to have encouraged the willingness of these men to "celebrate the pride of women and the glory of the female" (6–7).

In his efforts to dramatize the miracle of the infinite God taking up residence in the Virgin's womb, Proclus exploits the paradoxes and antitheses of late-antique rhetoric artfully juxtaposing divinity and humanity in the person of the 'self-same' Christ. Implicit in the thought of Proclus on this point is the Chalcedonian distinction between nature and person, a distinction that Nestorius was unable to make. Like Nestorius, Proclus systematically rejects the notion that the Word could somehow suffer or undergo change in its divine essence. Instead, the experience of divine suffering is rendered, not in essentialist or ontolog-

[75] A Ps.-Chrysostomic sermon on the Nativity is one of the few Marian sermons from this period to betray some signs of anxiety over this question: "The labor of this Virgin staggers the mind, for she is not a Virgin who descended from heaven, but one who emerged from the seed of David; she is not a spirit, but made of body and soul" (*PG* 60.764D).

ical categories, but in the subjective language of the reflexive pronoun that Proclus would soon identify with the 'person' (i.e., hypostasis) of Christ, the eternal Son of God. The two hierarchs thus confront one another as the representatives of two different schools of thought: an uncompromisingly narrow Antiochianism and the emerging modified Alexandrianism of Constantinople. Beyond this memorable encounter, the sources record no further contact between Proclus and Nestorius.[76] However, Proclus continued to attack the person and teachings of Nestorius,[77] while the latter accused Proclus of Arianism, Apollinarianism, Valentinianism, and Manichaeism.[78]

The Deposition of Nestorius

The confrontation between Proclus and Nestorius marks the high point of the organized opposition to the teachings of Nestorius in Constantinople. Subsequently, and with great rapidity, the controversy spread beyond the confines of the imperial city.[79] In less than one year, a tumultuous succession of events led to the deposition of Nestorius by the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus. The story of the Council is well known and need not be rehearsed here.[80]

As the titular bishop of Cyzicus, Proclus did not participate in the Council of Ephesus. However, from his vantage point in Constantinople, he could have learned of the proceedings by way of the correspon-

[76] A Coptic manuscript notes that Proclus, hom. 23, was also delivered in the presence of Nestorius several months after Homily 1, but this seems unlikely, cf. Budge, *Coptic Homilies* (1910), 97/241.

[77] See Proclus, hom. 2.II, 23: "That four-horse chariot of the devil: Arius and Eunomius, Macedonius and Nestorius." The names of Arius, Eunomius, and Nestorius are linked in the *Cleri Constantinopolitani petitio* (*ACO* I, 1, 3, p. 50); and in the letter of Cyril to Maximian (ep. 31; ibid., p. 72): 'We anathematize Apollinarius, Arius, and Eunomius, and with them Nestorius.'

[78] From the letter of Nestorius to the people of Constantinople in Nau, *Héracleides*, 372–75; Cyril of Alexandria and Celestine of Rome are also included in the charge.

[79] Reports of Nestorius' teachings were circulated throughout Syria and Egypt partly by members of the opposition and partly by traveling monks. See Cyril's *Ad monachos* (*ACO* I, 1, 1, pp. 10–23), and his *Ad Nestorium* (*ACO* I, 1, 1, pp. 25–28).

[80] The Council of Ephesus is the first Ecumenical Council to have recorded minutes, extant in three large Greek collections. These collections are discussed by Schwartz in the various prefaces to the volumes of *ACO*, Tome I, and have been conveniently summarized by Galtier, "Le centenaire d'Éphèse" (1931). See also Chrysos, "Die Akten des Konzils von Konstantinopel" (1982). On the Council of Ephesus, see McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria* (1994), 53–107.

dence and communications which the bishops assembled at Ephesus maintained with their partisans and informants in the capital. Such reports would have also reached the ears of Pulcheria, whose role in the downfall of Nestorius was acknowledged by both sides.[81] The importance of such correspondence is illustrated by an episode of July 431. With all the shipping lanes and roads leading out of Ephesus placed under heavy blockade during the Council, Cyril of Alexandria found it increasingly difficult to communicate with his contacts in Constantinople. Nevertheless, he succeeded in smuggling a letter into the capital by concealing it within the hollow staff of a beggar. In this way, Cyril was able to alert the archimandrite Dalmatius who promptly emerged from his forty-eight year seclusion, and, escorted by an army of monks, stormed the imperial palace chanting antiphons and loudly anathematizing Nestorius. The appearance of Dalmatius, a local holy man, seems to have unsettled the emperor who thereafter increasingly distanced himself from Nestorius. At the same time, an unruly crowd had assembled in the Great Church shouting: "Many years to Pulcheria! Many years to the empress! She has strengthened the faith! Many years to the Orthodox empress!"[82]

Although Proclus could learn of the proceedings at Ephesus only second hand, Cyril of Alexandria was aware of his role in the controversy and included Proclus' Homily 1 on the Theotokos in the official acts of the Council. As part of the official record, Homily 1 belongs to a dossier of texts, such as the *Contestatio* of Eusebius, which recount the series of events terminating in 431 at the Council of Ephesus. In a letter

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[81] See, for example, the letter of Maximian to Cyril of Alexandria (*ACO* I, 1, 3, p. 71): "We were not cut off from these happenings (i.e., at the Council of Ephesus), for we learned some things by perceiving them here, and others by hearing of your distress against the principalities of those opposing you." On the role of Pulcheria, see Holum, *Empresses*, 163–64. According to Borowski, "Pulcheria," 103, even though "after 423 Pulcheria's domination over her brother gradually began to decline," she "deserves partial credit for Nestorius' deposition in 431."

[82] The blockade and events in the capital are recorded in *ACO* I, 1, 2, pp. 65–68; the 'letter of the hollow staff' is probably ibid., pp. 66–68. On Dalmatius, see Driver and Hodgson, *Heracleides*, 2/1:271–79: "(The monks) carried Dalmatius around, reclining on a couch that was spread with coverlets, and mules bare him in the midst of the city, making it known that a victory had been gained over the purpose of the emperor, amidst great assemblies of the people and the monks, who were dancing and clapping their hands (and) with one mouth proclaiming my anathema, saying naught else except 'God the Word died'." The account is repeated in Barhadbešabba, *H.E.*, 27 (ed. Nau, *PO* 9.5, 567). On the crowd in the Great Church, see *ACO* I, 1, 3, p. 14.

to Proclus, Cyril generously acknowledged his colleague's contribution to the defeat of Nestorianism by virtually equating it with the work of the Council:

> With difficulty, at times, and with many labors of both your Holiness and the Holy Synod which assembled at Ephesus, the churches of God everywhere rejected the vain babblings of Nestorius.[83]

Maximian of Constantinople (sed. 431–34)

With the deposition of Nestorius, an archbishop was once again needed for the capital city. With Nestorius out of the way, the clergy of Constantinople dissolved their tactical alliance and regressed into the two camps which had vied for power in 425 and again in 428. Thus Proclus and Philip of Side were put forward for the third time as candidates for the archbishopric of Constantinople. According to Socrates, support for Proclus had steadily grown so that, unlike his two previous candidacies, he now held the majority of votes.[84] This time, however, the will of the people was not to prevail. The see remained vacant for four months, and Proclus' accession was ultimately obviated by the fifteenth canon of the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325) forbidding the transfer of bishops from one diocese to another. Socrates notes that opposition to Proclus came, if not from the government itself, from certain individuals able to influence the affairs of state (τινες τῶν μεγάλα δυναμένων).[85]

This incident prompted Socrates to include in his *Ecclesiastical History* a lengthy digression on episcopal transfers. In his 'few remarks on the subject,' Socrates maintained that canon fifteen was inapplicable to

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[83] For the text of Cyril's letter (ep. 72.1) to Proclus, see Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus*, 17–19; the citation is from p. 17, lines 1–3; trans. McEnerney, 72–74. In a letter to John of Antioch, Cyril (ep. 67.6), in what may be a reference to the celebrated homiletic duel of Proclus and Nestorius, noted that Proclus is a "pious man and one who practiced to contest those who 'cast aside what is right' (Mi. 3.9), since it is his custom to win the victory when preaching the truth" (*ACO* I, 1, 4, p. 38, lines 29–31; trans. McEnerney, 63).

[84] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.35 (ed. Hansen, 385, line 6); and Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.37 (*PG* 146.1175), who asserts that 'while many favored Philip, the vast majority sided with Proclus.'

[85] Socrates, ibid., 7.35.1–3 (ed. Hansen, 384, lines 5–10); Liberatus (*PL* 68.982B), calls them 'proceres palatii.' The seventh-century *Chronicon* of John of Nikiu reports that when Proclus was put forward after the deposition of Nestorius, "certain of the chief people of the city arose and said out of envy: 'This man has been bishop of a small city, how can he be shepherd of this great city?' And for this reason they appointed Maximian to the patriarchate of Constantinople," trans. Charles, *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* (1916), 84.71 (99).

Proclus, and that the individuals who did so were in error, either out of 'complete ignorance of the canons' or because of their 'prejudice against Proclus.' That Socrates was inclined toward the latter explanation is clear when he states that the entire episode was a subterfuge designed to eliminate Proclus from the running without inflaming the populace. To support his arguments, Socrates provides information on thirteen such transfers, including those of Gregory Nazianzus, Meletius of Antioch, and Palladius of Helenopolis.[86]

What exactly was the nature of this 'prejudice' against Proclus? It is possible that, with the upheaval triggered by the Theotokos affair, the government was interested in an essentially ineffective figure-head to preside over the capital church. But not only were such qualities wanting in both Proclus and Philip of Side, Proclus had the added disadvantage of an impressive popular following. It is also likely that Theodosius II was reluctant to appoint an archbishop who was a close supporter of his ambitious sister Pulcheria, who might thereby solidfy her already considerable hold over the church. In addition, the government could not have failed to realize the delicate situation obtaining throughout the eastern provinces, and may have been unwilling to alienate further these important territories by the appointment of a blatantly anti-Nestorian archbishop.[87] Moreover, there remained at Constantinople a party of Nestorians just as a party of Johannites had remained there after the removal of Chrysostom. Although Nestorius was now confined to his former monastery in Antioch, his friends in the government exerted themselves on behalf of his restoration to the see of Constantinople. Among them was the powerful Count Candidian, who had ordered the blockade of Ephesus in order to thwart the activities of Cyril of

[86] Socrates, ibid., 7.36–37.18 (ed. Hansen, 384–87). Socrates' digression formed the core of a later Byzantine work entitled *Περὶ μεταθέσεως ἀρχιερέων*, recently edited and studied by Darrouzès, "Le traité des transferts" (1984), 173–74; 193–95. The work has a complicated manuscript tradition and a later recension adds that μετὰ δὲ τὴν καθαίρεσιν Νεστορίου ἐψηφίσθη μὲν (Πρόκλος) Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, οὐκ ἐνεθρονίσθη δὲ διὰ φθόνον τῶν παραδυναστευόντων τότε ἀρχιερέων, ibid., 174. The digression, and others like it, suggest that the *H.E.* was commissioned to aid the compilers of the *CTh* in their selection of ecclesiastical legislation, as argued by Chesnut, *First Christian Histories*, 177. See also Hess, *Canons of Sardica* (1958), 71–89, who notes that the opinion of Socrates is 'undeniably tendentious,' but agrees that the practice was 'not uncommon' (p. 73).

[87] Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (1924), 36, notes that "Syria possessed a two-fold importance arising not only from its position as a center for trade and industry but also from the fact that, together with Cappadocia, it formed the frontier against Parthia." See also Boucher, *Syria as a Roman Province* (1916).

Alexandria. Another of Nestorius' supporters was Count Irenaeus, who owed his promotion to the rank of *illustris* to his friendship with the deposed archbishop. After the Council of Ephesus, both men appealed Nestorius' case to the emperor, but to no avail. However, because the government was committed to the unity of the empire, and because the emperor was still undecided as to the ultimate fate of his former archbishop, the objections of men like Candidian and Irenaeus to the elevation of Proclus may have carried some weight.[88] Having eliminated Proclus, it would have been unwise to favor Philip of Side who was not the choice of the people, and so a neutral third candidate was sought. He was found in the person of Maximian, a local priest known for his piety and asceticism. Maximian was aged, unassuming, inclined to quiet seclusion, unskilled in administration, and utterly bereft of the rhetorical eloquence that had caused Nestorius so much trouble. The court was pleased.[89] In October of 431, Theodosius II permitted a group of Cyril of Alexandria's episcopal delegates to enter the capital and enthrone Maximian as the successor of Nestorius in the see of Constantinople. Among them were two clerics from Rome, where Maximian had lived and was well known.[90] After the ceremony, the emperor politely ordered all the visiting bishops to return to their dioceses.[91]

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[88] On Candidian and Irenaeus, see *ACO* I, 1, 3, p. 14; "Candidianus, 6," *PLRE* 2:257–58; and "Irenaeus, 2," ibid., 2:624–25. *Illustris* or *illustrisimus* was a general title for the highest imperial officials of senatorial rank, see "Senators and *Honorati*," in Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 1:522–62.

[89] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.35.3–4 (ed. Hansen, 384, lines 10–16); and Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.37 (*PG* 146.1175). According to Socrates, Maximian personally provided funds for the construction of 'sepulchral depositories' for the burial of the faithful. Maximian's public benefactions and subsequent episcopal appointment, which find parallels in the career of Sisinnius, reflect classical notions of patronage which continued to play an important role in the Christian empire, see Hammand, *La Patronat sur les collectivitès publiques* (1957), 467–73; Tinnefeld, *Die frübyzantinische Gesellschaft* (1977); and Wallace-Hadrill, *Patronage in Ancient Society* (1989). Maximian's inertia is evidenced in a letter to him from Cyril's archdeacon Epiphanius (*ACO* I, 4, pp. 222–24) who chides his addressee for an apparent lack of interest in the struggle to enforce the decisions of the Council of Ephesus.

[90] According to the *Synaxarion* for 21 April (*SynaxCP* 618–19), Maximian was born into a noble family in 'Old Rome' but eventually departed for Constantinople where he was ordained to the priesthood by Sisinnius.

[91] *ACO* I, 1, 3, pp. 33–34; 67; *ACO* I, 1, 7, p. 137; cf. Schwartz, *Neue Aktenstücke* (1920), 52–53. The delegates were the papal legates Philip and Arcadius; Juvenal of Jerusalem; Flavian of Philippi; Firmus of Caesarea; Theodotus of Ancyra; Acacius of Melitene; and Euoptius of (Libyan) Ptolemais (the brother of Synesius of Cyrene). According to Acacius of Beroea (*ACO* I, 4, p. 85), the Antiochene delegates were discouraged from entering Constantinople by Maximian and the local monks: "Maximianus vero, qui in Constantinopolim est ordinatus episcopus, Orientalibus in Constantinopolim non

Working closely with the government, Maximian's administration was concerned with suppressing the leadership of the Nestorian party and securing the reception of the Council of Ephesus. Before the end of 431, Maximian issued an encyclical reminding his suffragans that those who held the teachings of Nestorius came under the condemnation of an Ecumenical Council. Similar letters were sent to the patriarchal sees. Another encyclical of 431 announced the deposition of the bishop of Tenedos for his 'blasphemies' against the Theotokos. Early in 432, Maximian convened a local synod which deposed four supporters of Nestorius: Helladius of Tarsus, Eutherius of Tyana, Dorotheus of Marcianople, and Himerius of Nicomedia. Although Dorotheus and Eutherius resisted and for a while retained their sees, Himerius, whose see was close to the capital, was ousted immediately. It does not appear that any effort was made to secure the deposition of the bishop of Tarsus.[92]

At the same time, Theodosius II dispatched the tribune Aristolaus on a diplomatic mission to Syria and Egypt. In Syria, his objective was to obtain an explicit condemnation of Nestorius and the official recognition of Maximian from John of Antioch. In Egypt, the tribune was instructed to dissuade Cyril of Alexandria from the alleged doctrinal extremes of his twelve anathematisms against Nestorius which were proving to be serious obstacles on the road to reconciliation. The tribune's efforts, which included threats of punishment for any recalcitrants, came to fruition on 23 April 433, when formal communion was restored between the patriarchal sees of the East. In the 'Formula of Union,' the incarnate Word is said to exist in a 'union of two natures' in a "union without confusion (ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις) … the same of one essence with the Father in his divinity, and one in essence with us in his humanity." Importantly, the Formula acknowledged the "Holy Virgin to be 'Theotokos' because (through her) God the Word was made flesh and became man."[93]

permisit intrare, cognovit autem religiositas tua sicut oportebat agnoscere; videns enim multam turbam monachorum imperator, vale fecit episcopis, satisfaciens eis."

[92] On Maximian, see Ceillier, *Auteurs Sacrés*, 8.394; Grumel, *Les regestes*, 56–60. The text of the first encyclical may be found in *ACO* I, 1, 3, p. 70; the second in *ACO* I, 1, 7, pp. 137–38. Although the synod's decree of deposition is lost, see ibid., pp. 153–54 (= Cyril, ep. 90). Grumel, ibid., 59, no. 71, notes that "l'intervention de Maximien manifeste une tendance du siège de Constantinople à étendre son influence."

[93] The 'Formula of Union' can be found in Cyril, ep. 39.5, in *ACO* I, 1, 4, p. 17, lines 9–20; trans. McEnerney, 147–52; cf. Wickham, *Select Letters*, 222.

The Antiochenes were relieved. Cyril, too, had cause to rejoice, although his clergy found his theology expensive. A letter to Maximian from Cyril's archdeacon Epiphanius reveals that Cyril had virtually bankrupted the church of Alexandria after expending enormous monies and gifts in order to secure the support of the government. Presumably, Cyril intended Maximian to do the same. He did not. Having lived to see the union of the churches, Maximian died on Holy Thursday of April 434.[94]

[94] On the mission of Aristolaus, see *ACO* I, 1, 4, pp. 6, 8, 21. The letter of Epiphanius to Maximian is in ibid., pp. 222–24. With this letter, Maximian was also given a copy of Cyril's notorious catalogue of gifts dispensed as lavish bribes to members of the court (*ACO* I, 4, pp. 224–25), on which see Battifol "Les présents de Saint Cyrille" (1911), and the balanced remarks of Wickham, ibid., xxv, and 66, n. 8.

CHAPTER THREE

PROCLUS ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The Election of Proclus

Maximian's successor was chosen immediately, perhaps within hours of Maximian's death. Such haste was without recent precedent, and Socrates reports that the government sought to avoid the 'disturbances that usually attend the election of a bishop.'[1] The court may have feared that the death of Maximian might prompt the followers of Nestorius to increase their intrigues on behalf of the deposed archbishop whom they hoped to restore to the throne. These fears were not unwarranted, for throughout Maximian's episcopacy partisans of Nestorius had rioted and committed acts of arson throughout the capital.[2] At least one official, the patrician and praetorian prefect Taurus, urged the emperor to take action and immediately appoint a new archbishop. A later source reports the direct intervention of Pulcheria.[3]

With the body of Maximian lying in state in the church of the Holy Apostles, the emperor ordered the bishops present in the capital to consecrate Proclus of Cyzicus as Maximian's successor.[4] Proclus' election seems to have been carefully orchestrated, for the emperor already had in his possession a letter from Celestine of Rome approving the

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[1] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.40.1 (ed. Hansen, 389, lines 21–22).

[2] *ACO* I, 4, p. 174, lines 7–8 (= *Synodicon*, 238 [150]): "multitudines in multis partibus civitatis Nestorium publico clamore reposcebant et urbi pericula ecclesiaeque minabantur incendium." Socrates does not mention a fire at this time, but notes that eight months earlier a massive fire 'destroyed the greater part of the city,' *H.E.*, 7.39.1 (ed. Hansen, 388, lines 24–27); Theodore Lector, *H.E.*, 331 (ed. Hansen, *GCS* 54, p. 95, line 13) also speaks of ταραχάς at this time; cf. Schneider, "Brande im Konstantinopel" (1941).

[3] On Taurus, see *ACO* I, 4, p. 154, lines 20–38; and "Fl. Taurus, 4," in *PLRE* 2:1056–57. On the role of Pulcheria, see Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.37: ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος, καὶ μάλιστα Πουλχερία ἡ βασιλίς, τοῦ πράγματος πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσαντο (*PG* 146.1185A).

[4] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.40.4 (ed. Hansen, 389, lines 24–25); *Menologium Graecum*, 24 October (*PG* 117.125B; cf. *PG* 84.760A); Theodore Lector, *H.E.*, 330 (ed. Hansen *GCS* 54, p. 95, lines 12–14); and Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.37 (*PG* 146.1184–85). The name of the principle consecrating bishop at this ceremony is unknown.

nomination. The pope's letter, copies of which were forwarded by the court to Cyril of Alexandria, John of Antioch, and Rufus of Thessalonica, assured the emperor that there was no canonical impediment to the 'transfer' of Proclus from Cyzicus to Constantinople. The lessons learned during the election of 431 had not been forgotten.[5] Proclus' promotion by the emperor indicates that the government, after some initial hesitation, had now definitively sided with the anti-Nestorian party of Constantinople. Abandoning the slow course of persuasion and appeasement, Theodosius II was now committed to imposing unity upon the church through the direct intervention of the government. With the election of Proclus, the opponents of Nestorius could now be consolidated under the leadership of a forceful advocate in the final campaign for church unity.

Following his enthronement, Proclus proceeded to his first official act as the archbishop of Constantinople: the interment of his predecessor Maximian in the church of the Holy Apostles. The burial rites may have included a eulogy delivered by the new archbishop.[6] Three days later, Proclus presided at the celebration of the paschal liturgy in the Great Church where years before he had served alongside his mentor Atticus. In fifth-century Constantinople, the gospel was normally read by the archdeacon, but on Easter Sunday the account of the resurrection was traditionally read by the archbishop. According to custom, the emperor removed his diadem during the reading and the entire congregation stood. After the reading, Proclus would have delivered his first paschal homily as archbishop in the same pulpit where he had recently denounced Nestorius.[7]

Like Maximian before him, Proclus' tenure as archbishop of Constantinople was almost entirely absorbed by the political and theological repercussions of the Theotokos controversy and the Council of Ephesus. A short time after the paschal celebrations of April 434, Proclus convened a local synod in Constantinople, where he composed a letter announcing his accession to the archiepiscopal throne of the capital

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[5] Socrates, ibid., 7.40.5 (ed. Hansen, 389–90, lines 25/1–5); Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.37 (*PG* 146.1185); cf. Bauer, *Proklos*, 40, n. 1.

[6] Socrates, ibid., 7.40.6 (ed. Hansen, 390, lines 5–6). On the interment of fifth-century patriarchs in the church of the Holy Apostles, see Grierson, "Tombs and Obits of Byzantine Emperors" (1962), 6, n. 26.

[7] Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.37 (*PG* 146.1185). On the gospel reading, see Mathews, *Early Churches*, 147–52. For a conspectus of Proclus' paschal homilies, one of which may have been delivered at this time, cf. 'Proclus' in the Bibliography.

city. The letter was circulated widely and contained a formal profession of faith couched, it seems, in somewhat forceful terms. In accordance with both the interests of the court and Proclus' ecclesiastical and christological agenda, the letter was decidedly anti-Nestorian and emphasized that the new archbishop was in full communion with Cyril of Alexandria, John of Antioch, and Juvenal of Jerusalem. Among the partisans of Nestorius, Proclus' letter, drawn up by an anti-Nestorian archbishop and clearly demarcating the pro-union alignment, created something of an outcry.[8]

The Union of 433 and the Bishops of the East[9]

The outcry surrounding the synodal letter of Proclus confirmed that the 'Union' of April 433 between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria was tenuous. The permanence and stability of peace was relative to the extent that the union proclaimed by Cyril and John was accepted by their respective episcopal constituencies. The Egyptian bishops raised no major objections, but it was incomparably more difficult for John of Antioch to carry the bishops of Syria in the diocese of the East or *Oriens*. John's apparent willingness to sacrifice Nestorius after the Council of Ephesus was seen by many of his suffragans as an unforgivable betrayal of a loyal episcopal colleague. Perhaps the most defiant critic of the Council of Ephesus and the Union of 433 was Alexander

[8] For the letter (*Synod.* 238), see above, n. 2. The text is lost, but its contents can be reconstructed from the letters of Alexander of Hierapolis (*ACO* I, 4, p. 173 = *Synod.* 237 [149]); Meletius of Mopsuestia (ibid., pp. 169–70; 179–80 = *Synod.* 233 [145]; 247 [159]); Helladius of Tarsus (ibid., p. 169 = *Synod.* 232 [144]); and Cyril, ep. 56 (ed. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus*, 17, lines 18–24). As the ecclesiastical status of the see of Jerusalem was still contested, Cyril was annoyed that Juvenal was included among the recipients of a patriarchal letter, on which see Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem" (1958), 217, nn. 46–47.

[9] The sources for this period are derived primarily from the sixth-century *Synodicon* of Rusticus (*ACO* I, 3–4), a nephew of pope Vigilius and an opponent of the condemnation of the 'Three Chapters.' The *Synodicon* is a lengthy collection of letters and other documents no longer extant in their original Greek. According to Schwartz (*ACO* I, 4, v–viii), Rusticus re-worked a set of Ephesine *acta* which he supplemented with excerpts from the *Tragedy* of Irenaeus. Rusticus' selection, translation (often periphrastic), and arrangement of these texts was governed by his desire to demonstrate that Theodoret, despite his activity following the council of Ephesus, was not a Nestorian, and the *Synodicon* is thus a tendentious apologia for the dyophysite christology of Antioch. On events subsequent to the Union of 433, see Schwartz, *Konzilstudien* (1914), 22–36; Devreese, "Après le Concile d'Éphèse" (1931); id., *Théodore de Mopsueste* (1948), 130–36; Diepen, "La christologie des amis des Nestorius" (1953); and Sellers, *Chalcedon* (1953), 3–29.

of Hierapolis, the aged metropolitan of the province of Euphratensis.[10] Alexander was supported by many of his suffragans including John of Germanicia and Andrew of Samosata.[11] Aligned with them were Helladius of Tarsus in Cilicia Prima, and Maximinus of Anazarbus and Meletius of Mopsuestia both in Cilicia Secunda.[12] For support beyond their provincial and diocesan boundaries, these men were joined by the metropolitan bishops Eutherius of Tyana in Cappadocia Secunda in the diocese of Asia,[13] and Dorotheus of Marcianople in Thracian Moesia Secunda.[14] Eutherius and Dorotheus had already been officially deposed by Maximian of Constantinople, but they staunchly maintained their sees.[15]

Also among the Syrian dissenters, but of a more moderate disposition, was Theodoret the bishop of Cyrrhus, a small town near Antioch under the jurisdiction of Alexander of Hierapolis. At the Council of Ephesus, Theodoret espoused the cause of Nestorius. After the Council, Theodoret led the offensive against the christology of Ephesus by producing lengthy polemical works which condemned the writings of

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[10] On Alexander, see Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, 8:374–75; F. Nau, "Alexandre," *DHGE* 2:190–91. For a catalogue of Alexander's extant writings, see *CPG* 6392–419. Hierapolis became the metropolitan capital of Euphratensis under Constantius, on which see Goossens, *Hiérapolis de Syrie* (1943); and Hogarth, "Hierapolis Syriae" (1907–1908). Note that Alexander subsidized the construction of the shrine of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Resapha, cf. Woods, "Julian and the Passion of Sergius and Bacchus" (1997), 336.

[11] On Andrew of Samosata, cf. Évieux, "André de Samosate" (1974); Pericoli-Ridolfini, "La controversia tra Cirillo d'Allesandria e Giovanni di Antiochia" (1954); and Grillmeier, "Andrew of Samosata," in id., *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 1:495–501. Along with Theodoret, Andrew was one of the leading Antiochene theologians of his day. At John of Antioch's request, Andrew refuted Cyril of Alexandria's twelve anathematisms in a work that was published under the name of John and his synod, a fact indicative of Andrew's theological stature and reputation. The work is lost, but much of it survives in Cyril's response, *Adversus orientales episcopos* (*ACO* I, 1, 7, pp. 33–65).

[12] On this region, see Syme, "Observations on the Province of Cilicia" (1939); Mutafian, *Cilicie* (1988); and Hellenkemper and Hillel, *Kilikien und Isaurien* (1990).

[13] On Eutherius, see Quasten, *Patrology*, 3:519–21; Ficker, *Eutherius von Tyana* (1908); and Tetz, *Eine Antilogia des Eutherios von Tyana* (1964), which is a critical edition of Eutherius, *Confutationes quarundam propositionum* (*CPG* 6147), written after the Council of Ephesus and attacking the main points of Cyril's christology.

[14] See Velkov, "Thrace and Lower Moesia" (1981). Marcionopolis, situated on the right bank of the Danube, was named after Trajan's sister Marciana.

[15] In part due to Theodoret, who took up the cause of these bishops and loudly opposed the ruling of Maximian, *ACO* I, 4, pp. 125–26 (= *Synod.* 175 [87]). Paul of Emesa also came to their defense and entreated Cyril of Alexandria to intervene (cf. Cyril, ep. 48.5; *ACO* I, 1, 4, pp. 31–32), which provoked a sharp reaction from Maximian (cf. Cyril, ep. 90; *ACO* I, 1, 7, pp. 153–54).

Cyril of Alexandria as Apollinarian. Little seems to have changed since the homiletic duel of Nestorius and Proclus, for Theodoret, like Nestorius before him, could not bring himself to predicate birth, suffering, and death directly to the incarnate Word, which was precisely what Proclus, and now Cyril, were trying to do.[16]

Theodoret, who was not inclined toward the extremes of his bishop Alexander, was nonetheless recognized by all the dissenting bishops as an important component for the conclusion of a just settlement and his endorsement was eagerly sought. In an attempt to unite his episcopal colleagues and mend the widening schism, Theodoret, late in 433, called the dissenting bishops to a synod to be convened in the city of Zeugma.[17] Theodoret may have chosen Zeugma out of deference to Alexander, for the city was located in the province of Euphratensis over which Alexander ruled. In a further gesture of conciliation, Theodoret extended a personal invitation to Alexander, urging him to make no delay. However, the metropolitan answered evasively, and while he did not directly withdraw from participation, he reminded his suffragan that he would neither betray Nestorius nor engage in a 'futile battle of words.' This latter remark may have been a reference to the notion of Mary as 'Theotokos' which, he insisted, was 'filled with heresy' no matter how many explanations might be appended to it. Alexander seems to have surmised the direction in which Theodoret sought to maneuver the upcoming synod and ultimately failed to appear.[18]

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[16] Theodoret's anti-Cyrillian writings were condemned at the Councils of Chalcedon and Constantinople (A.D. 553); his *Reprehensio duodedecim capitum* survives in a refutation by Cyril of Alexandria (*ACO* I, 1, 6, pp. 107–46). On the development of Theodoret's christology, cf. Richard, "L'activité littéraire de Théodoret" (1935); id., "L'évolution doctrinale de Théodoret" (1936); and Grillmeier, "Theodoret of Cyrus," in id., *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 1:488–95.

[17] *ACO* I, 4, pp. 134–35 (= *Synod.* 185 [97]; and 186 [98]). Zeugma was located opposite the site of ancient Apamea, and was, along with Samosata and Melitene, one of the major crossings of the Euphrates. The name is derived from the *zeugma*, or 'bridge (of boats)' built there by Alexander the Great, cf. Strabo, *Geographia*, 13.4 (ed. Lasserre [1975], 8:112); and Comfort, et al., "Crossing the Euphrates in Antiquity" (2000).

[18] Theodoret's letter to Alexander: *ACO* I, 4, p. 134 (= *Synod.* 185 [97]); Alexander's response: ibid., pp. 135–36 (= *Synod.* 188 [100]). Alexander had previously circulated a letter against John of Antioch declaring that he would refuse communion with John and all the allies of Cyril even if it were to cost him his life, ibid., pp. 129–30 (= *Synod.* 181 [93]). His opinions about the Marian epithet can be found in ibid., p. 131 (= *Synod.* 182 [94]); cf. his letter to Andrew (ibid., pp. 150–53 = *Synod.* 209 [121]), mistakenly attributed to Theodoret.

Alexander's absence did not prevent the synod from convening. Nor was he able to prevent John of Germanicia, or Andrew of Samosata from joining the other bishops gathered at Zeugma. In what appeared to be a significant advance, the synod agreed that, with the exception of the twelve anathematisms, the teaching of Cyril was perfectly orthodox.[19] However, in a subsequent decision which suggests that they had not come to terms with the deeper doctrinal issues, the bishops at Zeugma refused to anathematize Nestorius. Their insistence on this latter point was partly due to their suspicion that Nestorius had been the victim of a political conspiracy, for while Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon of Ephesus had all been deposed after the council of Ephesus, Nestorius alone had failed to regain his see. They must have also realized that Nestorius was a representative of their own theological tradition, a tradition that had been tarnished by the archbishop's ignominious expulsion and was now in danger of complete annihilation. Before disbanding, the bishops sent word to Alexander asking him to reconsider his position. In his frigid reply, the metropolitan assured them that since the Council of Ephesus there was nothing to consider for it was there that both Nestorius and the true faith had been victimized and sacrificed.[20]

The synod of Zeugma unwittingly introduced clear and irreconcilable divisions within the ranks of the dissidents which soon led to their downfall. Alexander not only persisted in his position but was now moved to sunder formal communion with John of Antioch, Theodoret, Andrew and all those who regarded Cyril of Alexandria (theologically modified or otherwise) as orthodox. In this decision, Alexander seems to have maintained the allegiance of most of his provincial suffragans, as well as the support of Helladius, Maximinus, Meletius, Eutherius,

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[19] See, for example, the letter of Theodoret to John of Antioch, *ACO* I, 4, p. 131, lines 22–25 (= *Synod.* 183 [95]); cf. *ACO* I, 1, 7, p. 163, where this portion of the text survives in Greek: ἐν κοινῷ γὰρ ἀναγνόντες τὰ αἰγύπτια γράμματα, καὶ ἐξετάσαντες τὴν διάνοιαν, εὕρομεν σύμφωνα τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν εἰρημένοις τὰ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπεσταλμένα καὶ ἄντικρυς ἐναντία τοῖς δώδεκα κεφαλαίοις, οἷς μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις τῆς εὐσεβείας πολεμοῦντες διετελέσαμεν.

[20] The proceedings of Zeugma can be reconstructed from the following sources: (1) the letter of Theodoret to John of Antioch, *ACO* I, 4, pp. 131–32 (= *Synod.* 183 [95]); (2) the synod's letter to Alexander, ibid., p. 137 (= *Synod.* 190 [102]); (3) Alexander's response, ibid., pp. 135–36 (= *Synod.* 188 [100]); (4) the letter of Andrew to Alexander, ibid., pp. 136–37 (= *Synod.* 189 [101]); (5) two letters of Alexander to Andrew, ibid., pp. 137 (= *Synod.* 189 [101]); and ibid., p. 138 (= *Synod.* 192 [104]); and (6) the letter of Alexander to John of Germanicia, ibid., pp. 138–39 (= *Synod.* 193 [105]).

and Dorotheus, along with many of their episcopal subordinates.[21] The lines of battle were now clearly drawn between those who categorically rejected the Council of Ephesus and the Union of 433, and those who recognized the orthodoxy of Cyril but refused to abandon Nestorius.

In the spring of 434, a counter-synod was convened at Anazarbus, the metropolitan see of Cilicia Secunda. Under the presidency of Maximinus of Anazarbus, and together with Meletius of Mopsuestia and their loyal suffragans, the synod nullified the Union of April 433, denounced Cyril as a heretic, and excommunicated all his supporters until such time as Cyril himself would unequivocally repudiate his twelve anathematisms. To these resolutions the bishops of Cilicia Prima also assented.[22] In addition, Eutherius of Tyana and Helladius of Tarsus wrote to Sixtus of Rome requesting that he make common cause with them against the Union of 433. Based on a false report, they believed that the new bishop of Rome was partial to their cause, and they supplied the pope with a list of hierarchs who had joined forces with them. It seems that they had also arranged to send a delegation to Rome, but through the influence of John of Antioch its members were arrested and detained indefinitely at the port of Mopsuestia on the Pyramus river.[23]

This was the situation at the time of Maximian's death in April 434, and Proclus' first year as archbishop was occupied almost exclusively with the problem of these recalcitrant bishops. As mentioned above, one of Proclus' first acts was to circulate a synodal letter bearing an unmistakable anti-Nestorian stamp. In the context of the unraveling Union of 433, the letter served as a test of imperial loyalty, religious orthodoxy, and ecclesiastical communion. The letter was, moreover, imbued with a sense of the increasing authority of the see of Constantinople, for loyalty to both empire and church was made contingent solely upon the recognition of the new archbishop of Constantinople.[24]

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[21] The text of Alexander's last letter to John of Antioch may be found in *ACO* I, 4, pp. 163–64 (= *Synod.* 224 [136]). The list of extremists is taken from the letter of Eutherius and Helladius to Sixtus of Rome, ibid., pp. 145–48 (= *Synod.* 205 [117]).

[22] See the *Synodus Anazarbensis*, *ACO* I, 4, pp. 142–43 (= *Synod.* 201 [113]). Anazarbus, together with Tarsus, became a metropolitan see after the division of Cilicia in the fifth century.

[23] The letter to Sixtus, *ACO* I, 4, pp. 145–48 (= *Synod.* 205 [117]). Details on the aborted delegation may be found in ibid., p. 119 (= *Synod.* 207 [119]).

[24] These pretensions did not pass unnoticed, as can be seen in a letter from Theodoret to Proclus' successor Flavian written ca. 448. Theodoret, complaining of ill-treatment at the hands of Cyril's successor Dioscorus, writes that Dioscorus "showed ill-will to me from the time of my assenting, in obedience to the canons of the holy fathers,

The synodal letter of Proclus came as a relief to the beleaguered John of Antioch, who supported his new colleague with great enthusiasm. In a letter to Taurus, the imperial official in charge of affairs in the diocese of the East, John expressed his pleasure concerning the elevation of Proclus, adding that he hoped to see an end to the discord. John assured Taurus that such an end was now surely in sight, and hoped that the court would take measures to 'bridle the obstinate' and restore peace to the church. Not long afterwards, John openly invited authorities in the capital to interfere on behalf of the besieged see of Antioch. It is not unlikely that John, through his emissaries in the capital, conferred on these matters with Proclus, whose influence at court was well known.[25] However, when news of the synodal letter of Proclus reached Syria, it set in motion a flurry of correspondence among the recalcitrant bishops. Having already severed communion with John, the dissenting bishops did not hesitate to reject the consecration of Proclus, not so much as the usurper of a throne rightfully belonging to Nestorius, but as one theologically compromised by his association with Cyril.

Meletius of Mopsuestia expressed his defiance in a letter to Helladius of Tarsus, saying that he could not recognize Proclus who was 'of one mind with Cyril' and who had 'fought against the truth.' If Proclus were truly orthodox in his teaching, Meletius contended, he would 'disdain communion with John and Cyril as from the devil himself' and 'acknowledge that the God-loving bishop Nestorius is a true believer.' Only then, Meletius conceded, could he 'accept the synodal letter and with it the ordination of Proclus to the see of Constantinople.' Meletius affirmed that until the time when these things might come about, 'nothing done by him (i.e., Proclus) is licit.'[26] In one of his last letters to Theodoret, Alexander, having obtained a copy of Proclus' synodal letter, relayed portions of it to Theodoret whom he still hoped to sway

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to the synodical letters issued in your see in the time of Proclus of blessed memory; on this point he (i.e., Dioscorus) has rebuked me on the grounds that I violated the rights of the church of Antioch and, as he says, of Alexandria" (ep. 86, ed. Azéma, *SC* 98 [1964], 2:230, lines 22–25).

[25] See the letter of John to Taurus, *Contra obstinatos*, *ACO* I, 4, p. 154 (= *Synod.* 211 [123]); and the remarks of Meletius of Mopsuestia in ibid., p. 170 (= *Synod.* 232 [145]). Proclus' close ties with the government were noted by Helladius of Tarsus, ibid., p. 169, line 26 (= *Synod.* 231 [143]): 'Proclus patrocinator est et multam habet apud imperatorem fiduciam.'

[26] *ACO* I, 4, pp. 169–70 (= *Synod.* 233 [145]).

toward a more extreme position. Alexander's position was clear: "If and when he (i.e., Proclus) breaks off communion with Cyril, embraces the orthodox faith, is consecrated by orthodox bishops, rejects the iniquitous Council of Ephesus, and denounces the impious chapters (i.e., the twelve anathematisms) of Cyril a thousand times, then I will accept him."[27]

At the same time, Proclus began to move against Dorotheus of Marcianople, an old foe from the early days of the Theotokos controversy. According to a letter of Dorotheus addressed to Alexander of Hierapolis and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Proclus had circulated a pastoral letter 'filled with calumnies against us' to the clergy and people of Marcianople. The letter of Proclus notified the residents of Marcianople that their bishop was a partisan of Nestorius and thus subject to the condemnation of an Ecumenical Council. Dorotheus reminded his addressees that Proclus was held in high favor by the court and alleged that the new archbishop had been inciting the government to violence against the opponents of union. Not certain what course of action to adopt, Dorotheus transmitted the letter of Proclus to Alexander and Theodoret suggesting that, if it seemed well to them, they turn the matter over to the emperor. Their plans, however, were thwarted by the appearance toward the end of 435 (or early 436) of an imperial *sacra* praising efforts for peace and promising severe punishment for those who threatened the unity of the church. Shortly thereafter, the emperor issued a memorandum establishing a special commission to execute the directives contained in the *sacra*.[28]

By the Spring of 436, the regional military commanders, provincial governors and other local officials, had been ordered to carry out the will of the emperor by lending their full cooperation to the members of the special commission. One by one the dissidents were given an ultimatum: either accept communion with John of Antioch and with him Proclus of Constantinople and Cyril of Alexandria, or face immediate deposition and possible arrest and imprisonment. The dissenting

[27] Ibid., p. 173 (= *Synod.* 237 [149]).

[28] On the letter of Proclus to the clergy and people of Marcianople, see ibid., pp. 164–65 (= *Synod.* 225 [137]); and Grumel, *Les regestes*, 62, no. 77. The text of the *sacra* may be found in *ACO* I, 4, pp. 166–67 (= *Synod.* 228 [140]); that of the memorandum or *rescriptum* in ibid., pp. 168–69. The date of the *sacra* is uncertain. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, 21, initially dated the *sacra* to 3 August 435, although he later argued for a date sometime in 436, cf. *ACO* I, 1, 3, p. 68; *ACO* I, 4, p. xi, n. 1; and Abramowski, "Der Streit," 253, n. 9.

bishops, beginning with the moderates, began to acquiesce. Worn out, perhaps, by the protracted controversy, and encouraged by the relative moderation of Cyril and Proclus, they soon signed their names to an agreement of peaceful union. Andrew of Samosata had already broken with the moderate party and announced his communion with John, Sixtus, Cyril, and Proclus; he was soon followed by John of Germanicia. Under increased pressure, the bishops of Cilicia Secunda together with their metropolitan Maximinus also returned to communion with John, Cyril, and Proclus. At the same time, the bishops of Cilicia Prima began to urge their metropolitan, Helladius of Tarsus, to submit to the terms of the union. Helladius, after some hesitation, consented. The example of the bishops in the two Cilicias was soon followed by the bishops of Isauria.[29]

Special attention was given to Theodoret, upon whom the emperor deployed all his resources. The bishop was deluged with imperial letters and threats, petitions from his own people, the objections and uprisings of local monks, endless negotiations with imperial officers, and even the intervention of Symeon the Stylite.[30] Alexander wrote to Theodoret and exhorted him to remain unshaken. In his response to Alexander, Theodoret noted that while he was satisfied that Proclus was orthodox in his teaching, he remained undecided about John of Antioch and refused to consent to the condemnation of Nestorius. Encouraged by John's assurance that "we do not anathematize his (i.e., Nestorius') teaching in general, but only what he has taught in opposition to the sense of apostolic teaching," Theodoret finally relented and signed. With the stroke of his pen the resistance effectively collapsed, for Theodoret had been its chief architect.[31]

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[29] On the defection of Andrew, see ibid., pp. 136–37 (= *Synod.* 189 [101]). On the defection of John of Germanicia, see the letter of Maximus to Alexander, ibid., pp. 140–41 (= *Synod.* 197 [109]). On events in Cilicia Secunda, see the letter of Theodoret to Helladius, ibid., p. 180 (= *Synod.* 248 [160]); on Cilicia Prima, see the letter of Helladius to Meletius, ibid., p. 169 (= *Synod.* 232 [144]); and ibid., pp. 204–205 (= *Synod.* 281 [192]); on Isauria, see the two letters of Theodoret to Alexander, ibid., p. 186 (= *Synod.* 254 [166]); and pp. 187–88 (= *Synod.* 256 [168]). See also the letter of the Cilician bishops to the emperor, ibid., pp. 204–205 (= *Synod.* 281 [192]); and Lampeter, "Consent and Control in Rough Cilicia" (1989).

[30] For the letter of Theodosius II to Symeon the Stylite, see *ACO* I, 4, p. 92 (= *Synod.* 141 [152]); and Richard, "Théodoret, Jean d'Antioche et les moines d'Orient" (1977).

[31] For the letter of Alexander to Theodoret, *ACO* I, 4, p. 171 (= *Synod.* 235 [147]); for Theodoret's response see ibid., pp. 172–73 (= *Synod.* 236 [148]), where Theodoret states

Nonetheless, some of the extremists persisted in their opposition and forced the imperial commission to greater severity. Meletius of Mopsuestia, who now stood alone in his province, was given one final chance for reconciliation with John of Antioch. He refused. Defiant to the end, he was dragged from his cathedral loudly proclaiming that he would abandon neither Nestorius nor Theodore, his glorious predecessor in the see of Mopsuestia. Meletius died in exile in Melitene in (Roman) Armenia Secunda under the watchful eye of Metropolitan Acacius, an ardent Cyrillian.[32] Dorotheus of Marcianople was deposed and exiled to Caesarea in Cappadocia. For their loyalty to Dorotheus, two of his suffragans were likewise removed. Similarly, Eutherius of Tyana and seven bishops loyal to him were forcibly unseated. Eutherius was exiled to Scythopolis in Palestine but later escaped to Tyre in Phoenicia. Alexander of Hierapolis, though he had been given two opportunities to recant, the second in the form of a personal appeal by Dionysius, the *magister militum* of the East, remained inflexible. On 15 April 436, while celebrating the liturgy in full sight of his flock, he was arrested and removed from his cathedral. The aged metropolitan was handed over to the custody of the provincial governor, Flavius Libanius and, by arrangement of John of Antioch, exiled to the metal mines of Egypt where he remained until his death.[33] When the imperial commission had finished its work, a total of fifteen bishops had been deposed, expelled from their sees and sent into exile.[34]

(173, lines 2–4) that John of Antioch did not say 'anathematizamus eius doctrinam,' but 'quaecumque ab eo aliene sive quocumque modo dicta vel sensa sunt praeter apostolicam doctrinam.'

[32] On the arrest of Meletius see ibid., p. 195 (= *Synod.* 263 [174]); on his deposition and exile, see ibid., p. 192 (= *Synod.* 262 [173]). In May of 550, when the emperor Justinian ordered an inquiry to ascertain whether the name of Theodore of Mopsuestia was still inscribed in the diptychs of the church of that city, it was discovered that in its place was the name of Cyril of Alexandria, see Dagron, "Two Documents Concerning Mid-Sixth-Century Mopsuestia" (1980).

[33] In a letter to Theodoret written the previous year, Alexander averred that "I would prefer exile to an oasis at the edge of the world to communion with a heretic and with those who betray the orthodox faith," *ACO* I, 4, p. 104, lines 5–6 (= *Synod.* 154 [165]).

[34] On the deposition of Dorotheus see, ibid., p. 203 (= *Synod.* 279 [190]); Eutherius, ibid., p. 203 (= *Synod.* 279 [190]); Alexander, ibid., pp. 200–202 (= *Synod.* 272–76 [183–87]). For further documents relative to the deposition and exile of these bishops, see ibid., pp. 192–202. For conditions in the mines, see Davies, "Condemnation to the Mines" (1958), 99; cf. MacMullen, "Judicial Savagery in the Roman Empire" (1986).

It remained only to deal with Nestorius who by now had been living for nearly four years as an honored guest at his former monastery of Euprepius in Antioch.[35] During that time he had continued to defend the integrity of his person and the purity of his doctrine, thereby causing great embarrassment to John of Antioch. Once again, John, perhaps through the mediation of Proclus, appealed to the emperor for help. In response, an imperial edict was issued condemning Nestorius and declaring that his followers were henceforth forbidden to use the appellation of 'Christians,' but must instead be known as 'Simonians' (from Simon Magus, cf. Acts 8.9–24). Nestorius and his followers were to be denied all legal privileges, and their writings were to be publicly burnt. As for Nestorius himself, an imperial decree ordered the confiscation of his property and his exile from Antioch to Petra in Jordan. From there, he was later removed to the Great Oasis in the Libyan desert where he wrote his lengthy apologia. He remained there until his death in 451.[36]

The forced union of the Syrian bishops with the imperial church provides important insights into the competing interests which animated the protagonists of the christological controversy. The theological dispute was largely the result of long-standing tensions between the divergent theological traditions associated with the cities of Antioch and Alexandria. But the conflict also belongs to the history of antagonism between the episcopal sees of Alexandria and Constantinople, an antagonism that was exacerbated when an extreme representative of the school of Antioch was seated on the episcopal throne of Con-

[35] In a letter to John of Antioch, dated 15 March 432, Celestine of Rome complained that "the author of this perversity (i.e., Nestorius) has found in Antioch a place of relative security and is held in honor by all" (*PL* 71.541A). In the same letter (541B, 546B), the pope called upon John to exile Nestorius to the desert thereby 'removing him from all human society' (cf. *ACO* I, 1, 7, pp. 125–37). Similarly, Barhadbešabba notes that "when Nestorius, under orders from the emperor, returned to his native city of Antioch, the entire city came out to greet him and received him with great honor," *H.E.*, 26 (ed. Nau, *PO* 9.5, 562).

[36] On John's appeal to the emperor, see Evagrius, *H.E.*, 1.7 (ed. Bidez and Parmentier, 13, lines 17–20). The text of the edict, dated 3 August 435, is extant in the *CTh* 16.5.66 (Mommsen, 879–80; trans. Pharr, 463); the decree of exile, addressed to Isidore the praetorian eparch, is in *ACO* I, 1, 3, p. 67. Barhadbešabba, *H.E.*, 30 (ed. Nau, *PO* 9.5, 579–87), preserves a number of anecdotes from the period of Nestorius' exile. Timothy Aelurus (cited by John Rufus, *Plerophoriae*, 36; ed. Nau, *PO* 8.1, 83–84) incorrectly notes that Dorotheus of Marcionople voluntarily accompanied Nestorius to Oasis. See also Bethune-Baker, "Death of Nestorius" (1907–1908); and Scipioni, "Il periodo dell'esilio," in id., *Nestorio*, 299–361.

stantinople during the tenure of a powerful bishop of Alexandria.[37] To these considerations may be added the intricacies of language, the complexities of culture, and, perhaps, something akin to a nascent form of nationalism. Though not easily quantified, and seldom explicit or conscious, these factors cannot be easily dismissed regardless of whether or not they actually 'turned a sect into a nation.'[38]

Another important factor in the struggle for union was the emperor and his administration. Throughout the controversy one notes an interest in fixed terminology and concrete credal formulas, the compilation and proliferation of documentation, and the insistence on written forms of assent signed in the presence of official witnesses. Though all this may have been the requirement of theologians and bishops, it was no less the requirement of the imperial government, whose administrative and legal structures demanded simplicity and clarity all in written form. It is thus probably no coincidence that the Council of Ephesus was the first ecumenical council to have taken detailed minutes.

In the years following the union secured by the imperial commission in 436, a measure of calm prevailed throughout the churches of the East. This was largely due to the continued surveillance of the government and the influence of Cyril, Proclus, and John.[39] Naturally, Proclus' claim to the throne of Constantinople was no longer disputed. On the contrary, the affair had enhanced the prestige and authority of the capital see throughout the entire East. Sometime after the depositions, a synod convening in Cilicia, a former hub of Nestorianism, placed

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[37] On the theological situation, see Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 1:361–495. On the two sees, see Baynes, "Alexandria and Constantinople" (1955). The conflation of theology with ecclesiastical primacy is evident in the letter of Cyril (ep. 74) to Rabbula of Edessa (*ACO* IV, 1, p. 87).

[38] The quotation is from E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1898), 5:488. For different approaches to this question, see Hardy, "The Patriarchate of Alexandria: A Study in National Christianity" (1946); Goubert, "Evolution politique et religieuse" (1948); Downey, "Coptic Culture in the Byzantine World" (1958); Jones, "Were Ancient Heresies National or Social Movements in Disguise?" (1959); Garsoïan, "Politique ou orthodoxie?" (1967); Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation" (1982); Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "Ethno-Confessional Self-Awareness" (1988–1989); and Meyendorff, "Cultural Pluralism," in id., *Imperial Unity* (1989), 20–27.

[39] This is partly evidenced in Cyril's extraordinary literary activity during this period, which includes letters to Rome; letters to John and the Antiochenes; letters to Constantinople; to Theodosius II; to the princesses; to Rabbula of Edessa; Acacius of Melitene; the compilation of the Ephesine *acta*; five books against Nestorius; two apologies against Andrew and Theodoret; and a series of christological and Marian homilies.

Proclus immediately after the bishop of Rome in its enumeration of orthodox bishops.[40] But even though the voices of opposition had been securely muzzled or confined to locations beyond the range of a serious hearing, the christological question was not so easily silenced.

The Quarrel Over Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Beginning of the 'Three Chapters Controversy'[41]

The roots of the Nestorian controversy were extensive and ran deep in certain regions of Cilicia and Syria. Despite the deposition of Nestorius it was becoming increasingly apparent that his doctrines were merely an egregious flowering of the theological tendencies that had long characterized the school of Antioch. Although the exiled archbishop's writings had been banned and burnt, the christological ideas to which they had given voice could not be so summarily dismissed. New growth continued. During the years following the Council of Ephesus and the Union of 433, the christological controversy spread to embrace the precursors of Nestorius, namely, the deceased Cilician bishops Theodore of Mopsuestia and, to a much lesser extent, Diodore of Tarsus.

While obviously dependent on many factors, the movement to condemn the christologies of Theodore and Diodore was largely triggered by certain developments in the church of Armenia, to which this study now turns. During the first three decades of the fifth century, the Armenian church was presided over by Sahak I, who was elected Catholi-

[40] *ACO* I, 4, pp. 208–10 (= *Synod.* 286 [196]). Scipioni, *Nestorio*, 289, n. 194, mistakenly ascribes this document to the Antiochene synod of August, 438; cf. Abramowski, "Der Streit," 271, no. IV.

[41] Despite the efforts of many scholars, certain aspects of this complicated episode remain unclear. The first modern study of the controversy was that of Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, 18–53. Schwartz' work was advanced by Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme" (1942) (with corrections in id., *Opera Minora*, 2:154, n. 3); and id., "Acace de Mélitène" (1948). A different interpretive approach was taken by Devreese, "Début de la querelle des trois-chapitres" (1931), a work which the author declared superceded by his "Lettre d'Ibas et le tome de Proclus," in *Théodore de Mopsueste*, 125–52. Devreese's methods and findings were sharply criticized by Richard and are not generally accepted. The study of Abramowski, "Der Streit" (1955–1956), which summarizes and critiques the work of Schwartz, Richard, and Devreese, is indispensable for the chronology. At variance with the work of Schwartz, Richard, and, to a lesser extent, Abramowski, is Winkler, "Obscure Chapter" (1985); and ead., "Überarbeitung der armenischen Quellen" (1986), who proposes a rather different sequence of events. Winkler's findings have recently been sustained and developed by Garsoïan, *L'Église Arménienne* (1999), whose chronology is generally adhered to in the following discussion.

cos in 387. At about the same time (ca. 383–88), the earlier tripartite 'Armenia' (i.e., the imperial province of Armenia Minor west of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Greater Armenia east of the river, and the southern satrapies) was unevenly divided between Byzantium and Persia with the latter obtaining some four-fifths of the former imperial territories.[42] Because of the strategic importance of these territories, Sahak found himself caught in the struggle for power between Constantinople and Ctesiphon. To complicate matters, Sahak had received a Greek education and was sympathetic to theological developments in Constantinople, a tendency which his father Nerses had paid for with his life.[43]

In what was undoubtedly an effort to resist the socio-political influence of Iran, Sahak and his colleague Mesrop Maštoc' created an Armenian alphabet sometime between 391 and 408.[44] The new alphabet inaugurated a period of intense literary activity and stimulated considerable theological interaction between Syrian, Armenian, and Greek Christian culture. At the center of this interaction was the translation of the Syriac Bible (Pešitta) along with a series of exegetical and theological commentaries by Aphrahat, Ephrem, John Chrysostom, Severian of Gabala, Eusebius of Emesa, and Cyril of Jerusalem.[45] The Armenian

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[42] On Sahak, who was born in Caesarea and educated in Constantinople, see Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 89–115; and Thomson, *History*, 3.51–57, 315–30. On the division of Armenia, see Doise, "Le partage de l'Arménie" (1945); Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (1970), 7–24; Rubin, "Diplomacy and War between Byzantium and the Sassanids" (1986); Garsoïan, "Preliminary Precisions on the Separation of the Armenian and Imperial Churches" (1988); and ead., *L'Église Arménienne*, 45–49.

[43] On Sahak's ties with Byzantium, see Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie* (1947), 170. On Nerses, see Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy* (1967), 224–25, cited in Winkler, ibid., 94, n. 33; and Garsoïan "Nersès le Grand," 145–69. On the political predicament of Armenia, see Ter-Mikelian, *Die armenische Kirche* (1892); Labourt, *Christianisme dans l'empire perse* (1904); Asdourian, *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Armenien und Rom* (1911); Der-Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (1945); Toumanoff, "Christian Caucasia between Byzantium and Iran" (1954); Charanis, *Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (1963); Heyer, *Die Kirche Armeniens* (1978); and Bartikian, *Βυζάντιον εἰς τὰς Ἀρμενικὰς πηγάς* (1981).

[44] Markwart, *Ursprung des armenischen Alphabetes* (1917); Peeters, "Origines de l'alphabet arménien" (1929); Arpee, *History of Armenian Christianity* (1946), 25–32; Solta, "Die armenische Sprache" (1963); Sarkissian, *Chalcedon* (1965), 85–110; Nichanian, *Ages et usages de la langue arménienne* (1989); and Russell, "Origins and Invention of the Armenian Script" (1994). On Maštoc', see M. Abełyan's edition of Koriwn, *The Life of Maštoc'* (Erevan, 1941).

[45] For a complete list see Inglisian, "Die armenische Literatur" (1963), with additional references in Mahé, "Une université arménienne médiévale" (1986–1987), 561–63. See also Peeters, "Traductions et traducteurs" (1922), 265–76; Thomson, "Forma-

translation of the Syriac Bible along with the translation of Biblical commentaries should be seen as a single, unified activity, for together with the appropriation of the written Bible came the appropriation of its written interpretation. For the fifth-century Armenian translators, to 'translate' meant precisely to 'interpret.'[46]

For the execution of this task, Maštocʿ and a team of Armenian translators traveled to Edessa (after 414) where they were welcomed by the reigning metropolitan Rabbula (*sed.* 412–35/6). Under the tutelage of Syriac theologians, the Armenians began to study and translate the Syriac Bible together with its ancillary literature.[47] During the sojourn of the Armenians in Edessa (ca. 414–29), Antiochene exegesis and christology were at their peak. From 428, Nestorius sat on the throne of Constantinople, and Syrian missionaries were translating the writings of his teacher Theodore of Mopsuestia into Syriac for dissemination in the East. Maštocʿ and his pupils soon became acquainted with individuals like Ibas, a theologian working in Edessa who served as a connecting link between Syria and Persia. They also came to know Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), who dedicated a treatise to Maštocʿ in refutation of Persian Mazdaïsm.

The close association of the Armenian translators with two of the most distinguished theologians of the Antiochene school inevitably drew the church of Armenia into the burgeoning christological controversy. P. Peeters has argued that there is "no question whatsoever that, during the time of Maštocʿ and Sahak, the Armenian church, as a result of its inexperience in speculative matters, had begun to accept unwittingly the theological teachings of the school from which Nesto-

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tion of the Armenian Literary Tradition" (1982); and Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'Église ancienne* (1948), 1:36: "The speed which the leaders of the Armenian church displayed in appropriating all the works of the church fathers in their national language is perhaps without parallel in the history of Christianity."

[46] Mahé, "Traduction et exégèse" (1988), 243.

[47] Edessa was where the rudimentary Armenian alphabet, created in Samosata by a certain Daniel, was further developed, cf. Peeters, "Origines," 205–208; Thomson, "Formation," 140. The encounter with Rabbula is described in Thomson, *History*, 3.53, where the bishop of Edessa is called 'Babylos' (p. 320, n. 4), which Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 90, argues is a 'misspelling of Rabbula,' but cf. Sarkissian, *Chalcedon*, 223–24. In the endeavor to appropriate the canon of patristic literature, translators were also sent to Constantinople, Caesarea, and Samosata (probably under the patronage of bishop Andrew) which latter was located on a passage of the Euphrates affording the Armenians relatively easy contact with their superiors. It is also likely that they visited Antioch. On the School of Edessa see Chabot, *L'École de Nisibe* (1896); Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* (1965), 14–23; and Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 87–91.

rius had emerged."[48] At the same time, however, there were members of the Armenian clergy who preferred theological trends in Constantinople and generally resisted Syrian influence. Their distaste for Syrian theology, and the Persian government which supported it, became particularly acute when Sahak discovered that the translated Armenian Bible contained serious defects. Some were due to certain phonic imperfections in the new alphabet. Others stemmed from the method of translation, which included an intermediate oral interpretation by Syriac theologians in order to determine the 'sense' of the passage before the final translation into Armenian.[49] The resulting translations were thus imbued with the spirit of Antiochene theology reinforced by the accompanying commentaries. This practice introduced numerous diatessaronic readings into the Armenian Bible that were found to be at variance with cognate passages long sanctioned by use in the Armenian liturgy.[50] Moreover, Sahak had received reports concerning the violent reaction to Antiochene theology which culminated in the Council of Ephesus and the deposition of Nestorius. He would soon learn of similar reactions in nearby Edessa and Melitene. These reports may have led him to question the Syriac theological orientation of the new Bible,

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48 Peeters, ibid., 226, with the important qualifications of Sarkissian, ibid., 97–98, and those of Peeters himself, "Traductions," 266: "Il ne faudrait pas s'imaginer là-dessus que le peuple arménien soit indéfiniment resté à l'école de l'étranger et qu'il ait laissé se perpétuer chez lui une sorte de colonisation intellectuelle par ces voisins." Theodore's tripartite treatise, *Περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγικῆς πρὸς Μαστούβιον ἐξ Ἀρμενίας ὁρμώμενον*, has not survived, but see Photius, *Bib*., cod. 81 (Henry, 1:187); Devreese, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, 136, n. 2; Thomson, "Armenian Christian Reaction to Astrology" (1992); Reinink, "Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Contra Magos*" (1997); and Garsoïan, *L'Église Arménienne*, 69, n. 98.

49 These points have been studied by Mahé, "Traduction," 244–47, who argues that in the act of translation, the 'sense' of scripture was mediated orally by Syriac exegetes who were working with the translators. See also, Cowe, "Two Armenian Versions of Chronicles" (1990–1991), 80, 81, who writes that "(the Armenian translator) reformulated the (scriptural) material according to his exegesis of the passage," and that the "translator's main interest was focused on grasping the meaning of the passage (and not on philological precision)."

50 On the influence of the Pešitta, see Lyonnet, *La version arménienne et le diatessaron* (1950); and Cowe, ibid., 53–96. Despite the Greek-based redaction of the Armenian Bible, Mahé, ibid., 248, points out that "toutes les influences syriennes ne furent pas rejetée pour autant. Certains noms comme ceux d'Éphrem de Nisibe, de Sévérien de Gabala ou de Jean Chrysostom, éminent représentant de l'école d'Antioche, restèrent incontestés." Mahé further shows that some Antiochene works continued to circulate under Alexandrian pseudonyms, e.g., the Armenian translations of Theodoret's commentary on Ezekiel, and those by Eusebius of Emesa on the Octateuch which survived under the name of Cyril of Alexandria.

and he commissioned a new translation based, not on Syriac sources, but on a philologically precise reading of a Greek exemplar bearing a Constantinopolitan imprimatur. In order to obtain such an exemplar he sent a select group of clergymen to the imperial city.

Rabbula of Edessa, Acacius of Melitene and the Campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia

As mentioned above, the success of Antiochene theology during the first three decades of the fifth century was followed by a period of bitter anti-Antiochene sentiment. Some of the strongest opposition was to be found, not in Egypt, but in the very heartland of Syrian theology. In a letter written at the beginning of 433 to his friend Mari, Ibas of Edessa related the events that had taken place in the church from the early stages of the Nestorian crisis until the union of 433.[51] In an aside, Ibas apprised Mari of some recent developments in the church of Edessa:

> Many, not having the fear of God before their eyes, or under the pretext of zeal for the churches, endeavored to put into action the enmity hidden in their hearts. You know one of these men, for he happens to be the tyrant of our metropolis, and under the pretext of the faith not only persecutes the living, but even those who long ago have departed to the Lord, among whom is the blessed Theodore (of Mopsuestia).[52]

The 'tyrant' in question was the metropolitan of Edessa, Rabbula. At the Council of Ephesus, Rabbula had sided with John of Antioch. After the Council, however, Rabbula changed camps and joined forces with the supporters of Cyril of Alexandria. Rabbula's *volte-face*, which was a serious blow to the Antiochene cause, was criticized by his former colleagues who reminded him, and others, that he had formerly

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[51] The text of the letter may be found in *ACO* II, 1, 3, pp. 32–34; cf. Devreese, "Début," 543–46, and id., *Théodore de Mopsueste*, 125–28; Sellers, *Chalcedon*, 50, n. 1. The precise identification of Mari is uncertain. Labourt, *Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 133, n. 6, suggested that Mari (i.e., 'Lord'), was in fact Dadišo, the Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, an identification followed by E. Amann, "Trois-Chapitres," *DTC* 15:1877. In his comments on the *Ad Marim*, D'Ales, "Lettre d'Ibas" (1932), 11, notes that 'Mari était évêque d'Hardaschir en Perse,' but cf. Vööbus, *School of Nisibis*, 25, 356, who notes that Ibas was the 'bishop of Rêv-Ardashîr.' For an overview of this question, see Esbroeck, "Who is Mari, the Addressee of Ibas' Letter?" (1987), 129, who is "convinced that Mari the Persian was the archimandrite of the convent of the *Akoimetoi* on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus 15 miles north of Constantinople."

[52] *ACO* II, 1, 3, p. 33, lines 23–28.

considered Theodore orthodox.[53] Cyril, of course, welcomed Rabbula as a valuable ally and praised him as the 'pillar and ground of truth' (cf. 1 Tim. 3.15) for the entire Syrian east.[54]

Returning to his see after 431,[55] Rabbula began to attack the opponents of Cyril and Ephesus, and the school of Edessa was subsequently divided between a 'Nestorian' dyophysite party, and the anti-Nestorian supporters of Rabbula. Adopting Cyril's ambiguous 'one nature' formula as the exclusive criterion for christological orthodoxy, Rabbula took punitive measures against those who denied a single nature in Christ. He was especially belligerent toward Ibas, whom he dismissed from the school, and attacked his episcopal neighbors Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Andrew of Samosata who had both pronounced the Cyrilline formula Apollinarian.[56] Rabbula soon realized, however, that the condemnation of men like Ibas, Theodoret, and Andrew was superficial inasmuch as they were merely the contemporary exponents of a much older and deeply-rooted theological tradition. In a letter to Cyril, Rabbula declared that a

[53] According to the letter of Ibas (ibid., p. 34, lines 1–2), Rabbula sought to tarnish the memory of Theodore ever since the time when the latter had 'openly censured him at a synod.' This statement is embellished by Barhadbešabba, *On the Foundation of the Schools*, who notes that Rabbula was reprimanded by Theodore for striking members of the clergy (ed. Scher, *PO* 4.4 [1907], 380, lines 8–10). On the reaction of Rabbula's colleagues, see *ACO* I, 4, pp. 186–87 (= *Synod.* 255 [167]); and the letter of Ibas, ibid., p. 33, lines 36–37: "While (Theodore) was alive he (i.e., Rabbula) constantly sang his praises and studied his works." See also Köhler, "Das Leben des Rabbula" (1908), 213–24; Nau, "Les 'Belles Actions' de Mar Rabbula" (1931); and Blum, *Rabbula von Edessa* (1969), 182–95.

[54] Cyril, ep. 74.2. The letter survives only in Syriac and was published by Overbeck in 1865. McEnerney's English translation (77–80) is based on a German translation of the Syriac by Bickell, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1874), 246–49. The first part of this letter is extant in Latin, cf. *ACO* IV, 1, p. 87; trans. McEnerney, 81–82.

[55] Or 432, according to Vööbus, *School of Nisibis*, 25, cited in Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 88, n. 5.

[56] On the dismissal of Ibas, see Winkler, ibid., 100, n. 65, 108. On relations between Andrew and Rabbula, see Baumstark, "Ein Brief des Andreas von Samosata" (1901); Pericoli-Ridolfini, "Lettera di Andrea di Samosata a Rabbula di Edessa" (1953); L. Abramowski, "Zum Brief des Andreas von Samosata" (1957). It is clear from his correspondence that Andrew had contacts in Edessa, which lies ca. 90 km. from Samosata. However, the hypothesis of Pericoli-Ridolfini, "La controversia tra Cirillo d'Alessandria e Giovanni di Antiochia" (1954), 187–217, that Andrew studied theology in Edessa, is not particularly convincing. Andrew's extant writings suggest instead that he studied under the rhetors of Antioch, who were probably former students of Libanius, cf. Petit, *Les Étudiants de Libanius* (1957).

> hidden disease has become chronic in the East, preying undetected like an incurable wound on the body of the church and though unnoticed by many it is secretly honored by supposedly learned men.

The 'disease,' Rabbula explained, was the veneration of Theodore of Mopsuestia who died in 428. Rabbula informed Cyril that it was in fact Theodore who had first rejected the title 'Theotokos,' teaching a union in Christ not 'according to hypostasis' (καθ' ὑπόστασιν) but 'according to disposition' (κατ' εὐδοκίαν), and it was Theodore, and not Nestorius, who was thus the real founder of Nestorianism. Fearing that the christology of Theodore would only be further 'approved by the passing of more time,' Rabbula set out to denounce the person and work of the dead bishop of Mopsuestia.[57] He began by pronouncing an anathema on Theodore's memory and publicly burning his writings.[58] The Edessene dyophysites were outraged and in a defensive measure supervised by Ibas they began to circulate reports critical of their Metropolitan's behavior.[59] Their efforts came to fruition when John of Antioch promulgated an encyclical to the provincial bishops of Osrhoene warning them against Rabbula.[60] The Armenian translators seem to have been in Edessa at the time of Rabbula's dismissal of Ibas, and may have witnessed the destruction of Theodore's writings. It is not clear however if Rabbula attempted to disrupt the translation project. Given the concern and confusion that such changes undoubtedly inspired, it is not unlikely that the Armenians reported these events to their superiors.[61]

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[57] Abramowski, "Der Streit," 253–54. Rabbula's letter (Cyril, ep. 73), by which he hoped to drag Cyril into the fray, is extant only in Latin (*ACO* IV, 1, p. 89, no. 20). Cyril responded warmly (ep. 74), and forwarded to Rabbula copies of his anti-Nestorian writings (i.e., his *Libri v contra Nestorium*, and the *Oratio ad Arcadiam et Marinam augustas de fide*), asking that they be read in public. Rabbula obliged, and dutifully translated both of these works into Syriac. On Theodore of Mopsuestia, see Quasten, *Patrology*, 3:401–23; Young, *Nicaea to Chalcedon*, 199–213; and Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 421–39.

[58] Barhadbešabba, *Foundation of the Schools*, reports that Rabbula burnt 'all' of Theodore's writings so that there survived 'only his commentaries on John and Ecclesiastes' (ed. Scher, *PO* 4.4, 381, line 2); cf. Devreese, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, 138, n. 1.

[59] See, for example, the letter of Ibas quoted above, and that of Andrew to Alexander (extant only in Latin; *ACO* I, 4, 2, pp. 86–87). Despite their differences, Andrew was one of the first to be reconciled with Rabbula, ibid., pp. 57–58.

[60] In the encyclical, John stated that if the charges against Rabbula were true then all communion with him was to be severed until he appeared in Antioch to explain himself, *ACO* I, 4, p. 87 (= *Synod.* 133 [44]).

[61] Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 108–109. It is not clear if the Armenians were included in these persecutions, although Rabbula, who is known to have suppressed the use of the Pešitta, may have alerted Sahak to the dangers of the Biblical translation

Closely associated with Rabbula in his campaign against Theodore was Acacius of Melitene, the metropolitan of (Roman) Armenia Secunda, a province that bordered the two Cilicias, Euphratensis, and (Persian) Great Armenia. Acacius was a forceful exponent of Alexandrian christology and had been a dominating figure at the Council of Ephesus. Shortly after the Council, and in the presence of the emperor, Acacius allegedly shocked a gathering of bishops by casually remarking that the 'divinity was capable of change.' At these words, the emperor is said to have recoiled so abruptly that his purple robe fell to the floor. In 432, Acacius wrote to Cyril urging him to denounce those who 'speak of two natures after the union.' In the same letter, Acacius reported that he had found individuals in nearby Germanicia who reject the notion of 'two sons' but not 'two natures,' one passible, the other impassible, both acting individually. This, Acacius insisted, amounted to talking of 'two sons.' Moreover, the same 'poison' had been discovered at Antioch itself, where the pro-Cyrillian deacon Maximus and his circle were threatening to sever communion with John.[62] As a result, Acacius and Rabbula continued their crusade against the followers of Theodore and endeavored to thwart their propagation of his ideas by condemning dyophysitism as heretical.[63]

The Syrian dyophysites responded to these attacks by attempting to discredit Rabbula and Acacius, not only in Syria, but within the pro-Syrian wing of the Armenian church where the dyophysites had important contacts. Rabbula and Acacius had long known that Syrian dyophysitism was making progress in Roman Armenia. To their great alarm, however, they soon discovered that Theodore's works were now circulating behind the Persian border in fresh Armenian translations.[64]

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project. In any case, the Armenians seem to have remained in the vicinity of Edessa for some time.

[62] Cyril, *Ad Maximum* (ep. 57; ed. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus*, 21, lines 2–12).

[63] On Acacius, see *CPG* 5792–96; cf. 5340, 5368–69; U. Rouzies, "Acace de Mélitène," *DHGE* 1:242; and Garsoïan, *L'Église Arménienne*, 71–72, who argues for a more nuanced interpretation of Acacius' theological position. For Acacius' theopaschite statement, see *ACO* I, 1, 7, p. 77, lines 23–27; and *ACO* I, 1, 3, pp. 36–37. For Acacius' letter to Cyril, see *ACO* I, 4, pp. 118 and 232. Apart from the letter to Cyril, there survives a sermon delivered during the Council of Ephesus, *ACO* I, 1, 2, pp. 90–92. See also the letters of Cyril to Acacius: ep. 40 (*ACO* I, 1, 4, pp. 20–31); ep. 68 (ibid., pp. 231–32) and ep. 69 (ed. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus*, 15–16).

[64] See the Armenian *libellus*, below, pp. 102–103. Innocent of Maronea, *De his qui unum ex Trinitate vel unam subsistentiam seu personam Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum dubitant confiteri* (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 68); and Liberatus of Carthage, *Breviarum causae nestorianorum et eutychianorum*, 10 (*PL* 68.989–90), note that the impetus to translate and disseminate

It was further reported that these translations[65] were accompanied by cover letters containing pointed denunciations of Rabbula and Acacius.[66] Having been apprised of these rumors by his Armenian confederates, Acacius wrote to Sahak denying the validity of the charges laid against him.[67] Acacius knew that Sahak had been neither present nor represented at the Council of Ephesus, and may have surmised that he most likely had not received copies of its official proceedings. Exploiting the ignorance of his addressee on this matter, Acacius informed Sahak that the Council of Ephesus had ordered the writings of Theodore[68] to be burnt and had anathematized Theodore along with Nestorius.[69] Not

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the writings of Theodore was provided by the August 435/36 ban on the writings of Nestorius. However, as early as 429 or 430, Cyril, without naming its author, condemned a fragment of Theodore's in his *Commentary on Hebrews*, on which see Parvis, "The *Contra Theodorum* of Cyril," 415–19. Further, Rabbula's campaign against Theodore began no later than 432, see Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme," 303, n. 1; id., "Acace de Mélitène," 409, n. 1; and Devreese, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, 137, n. 2.

65 The titles of these works are not mentioned in the sources, but cf. Devreese, ibid., 44; and Sarkissian, *Chalcedon*, 133, n. 2, who both suggest that among the translations was Theodore's *De incarnatione*. On this work, which survives only in fragments, see Richard, "Fragments du traite *De incarnatione* de Théodore" (1943); and Devreese, ibid., 44–48.

66 The letter of Ibas, which characterized Rabbula as a duplicitous tyrant who attacked the memory of Theodore for purely personal reasons, may be considered as an example of such correspondence. According to Richard, "Acace de Mélitène," 401–404, the calumnies against Acacius were related to the theopaschite statements he was said to have made before the emperor at Chalcedon shortly after the Council of Ephesus, *ACO* I, 1, 7, p. 77.

67 Sahak had been deposed and exiled in 428, and subsequently replaced by a Persian appointed Syrian prelate to whom Acacius would probably not have written. Around 432 Sahak was permitted to resume his episcopal functions although his administrative authority was greatly curtailed. However, as the last living member of the family of Gregory the Illuminator, Sahak continued to exercise considerable moral and political influence, Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 91–109; Garsoïan, *L'Église Arménienne*, 47, 58–65.

68 Some have questioned applying the pronoun *znora* to Theodore's writings and not to those of Nestorius. In a lengthy note, Tallon, *Livre des Lettres* (1955), 33, n. 1, concludes that 'il s'agit des écrits de Nestorius.' Sarkissian, *Chalcedon*, 115, n. 1, noted that 'The Armenian pronoun *znora* surely refers to Theodore and not Nestorius.' Richard, "Acace de Mélitène," 403–404, admitting that "le dernier paragraphe de cette lettre est un peu plus délicat à commenter," concluded that "il y a donc quelque brouille et l'on peut se demander si elle provient d'un remaniement du texte ou si elle n'est pas tout simplement le fait de l'auteur." Winkler, ibid., 110, reviews the problem without drawing a conclusion; while recognizing the 'serious possibility' of interpolation she concedes that Acacius was "firmly convinced that … the condemnation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in 431 also included the works of Theodore."

69 The exchange of letters between Acacius and Sahak was first published by Ismireantz, *Book of Letters* (1901), 14–18. There is a Latin translation of these letters (with com-

long afterwards, three Armenian clergymen arrived in Melitene and informed Acacius that the works of Theodore,[70] which had been circulating in (Persian) Armenia, were confiscated by certain noblemen or government officials (*naxarars* or *satraps*) and removed from circulation. Acacius promptly wrote to these officials commending their efforts and exhorting them to continued vigilance.[71]

The Unofficial Armenian Delegation

It was not long before the controversy over Theodore of Mopsuestia was brought to the attention of the archbishop of Constantinople. Sometime before August 435, a delegation of Armenian clergymen arrived at the capital seeking an audience with the city's highest ranking prelate.[72] Ten years earlier, Atticus of Constantinople had welcomed a similar delegation of Armenian clergymen headed by Maštocʿ, a meeting at which Proclus himself may have been present as a deacon. It could not have been long before Proclus discovered that the monks

mentary) in Richard, ibid., 394–400; and a French translation (with commentary) in Tallon, *Lettres*, 29–44. Tallon's translation, with a number of modifications, is reprinted in Garsoïan, *L'Église Arménienne*, 412–14; cf. ibid., 77. See also Inglizian, "Die Beziehungen," 35–50; Sarkissian, ibid., 113–39; and Schmidt, "Das armenische Buch der Briefs" (1993), 511–33. Winkler, ibid., 109–11, comments on only a few lines of the *ad Sahak* and seems unable to decide if the *ad Acacium* is a 'pious forgery,' a deliberately evasive response, or a corrupted version of a lost exemplar.

70 And Diodore as well? The Armenian text from which this information is derived confounds the names of Theodore and Diodore. However, the context seems to rule out the latter's inclusion. See Richard, ibid., 398, n. 2; Sarkissian, ibid., 118, n. 3, and 229; and Garsoïan, ibid., 83, n. 145. On the three Armenian clergymen, see Sarkissian, ibid., 136–37, 231; and Garsoïan, ibid., 83–84.

71 The letter may be found in Ismireantz, *Book of Letters*, 19–21; Tallon, *Lettres*, 39–44; Richard, ibid., 398–400; Garsoïan, ibid., 417–20. For events in Armenia at this time see Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 143–45. On the naxarars, see Güterbach, *Römisch-Armenien und die römischen Satrapien* (1900); and Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*.

72 The *terminus ante quem* for the delegation is the writing of Proclus' *Tomus*, i.e., 435; cf. Grumel, *Les regestes*, 64, no. 78; Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, 26, n. 1; Vardanian, "Ein Briefwechsel zwischen Proklus und Sahak" (1913), 425; Richard, ibid., 407, n. 5; and Garsoïan, ibid., 91–100, with extensive discussion. Devreese, "Debut," 550, dated the delegation to "un jour de l'année 436, impossible à déterminer plus exactement," although he later emended this to 435, id., *Théodore de Mopsueste*, 136. Cf. Theodore Lector, *H.E.*, 338 (ed. Hansen, *GCS*, 54, p. 338, lines 12–16): μοναχοί τινες καταλαβόντες Κωνσταντινούπολιν παρηνώχλουν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κατὰ Θεοδώρου τοῦ γενομένου ἐπισκόπου Μοψσουεστίας πάλαι τελευτήσαντος, ὡς αἱρετικὸν διαβάλλοντες. οἱ δὲ Πρόκλῳ ἐπέτρψαν τοῖς τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόποις σημᾶναι ποιήσασθαι τῶν λεγομένων ζήτησιν καὶ, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ ὦσι, τοῦτον ἀναθεματίσαι καὶ μετὰ θάνατον. On the principal members of this delegation, see Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 111–13.

who now stood before him were themselves the students of Maštoc'.[73] Granting the monks an audience, Proclus listened to their account of recent events in Armenia and Syria. The substance of their report is preserved in a *libellus* that they presented to Proclus,[74] which reads as follows:[75]

1. A copy of the letter (*libellus*) submitted to Proclus, the faithful bishop of Constantinople, by the bishops and priests of Armenia Major, regarding the writings (βιβλία) of Theodore of Mopsuestia.
2. Leontius and Abel, priests of Armenia Major, together with the brethren accompanying them, to Proclus, the most holy and God-loving bishop of the catholic and apostolic church.
3. Your Holiness: in accordance with the tradition of our fathers we believe and confess the true and right confession of the bishops assembled in the city of Nicaea. However, we have been approached by certain individuals from the diocese of Oriens who, thinking perhaps that we are simple people, endeavored to disturb us, having in their possession certain works (συγγράμματα) of Theodore, the one-time bishop of Mopsuestia. We have learned from the letters of Rabbula the most-holy bishop of Edessa, and Acacius of Melitene, that this Theodore was a perverter who confused the unconfused faith. Moreover, certain individuals from Cilicia have approached us calumniating the most-holy bishop Acacius of Melitene and the God-loving bishop of Edessa Rabbula, saying that they reject the writings (βιβλία) of Theodore out of enmity and hatred. As a result, and after much counsel and

[73] Peeters, "Origines," 212; Sarkissian, *Chalcedon*, 103, n. 1; and Winkler, ibid., 92, n. 24.

[74] The text is extant in a Syriac translation published by Bedjan, *Nestorius. Le Livre de Héraclide de Damas* (1910), 594–96. A Greek retroversion is provided by Schwartz, *ACO* IV, 2, pp. xxvi–xxviii. A French translation produced by M. Dib is printed in Devreese, "Debut," 550–51; again in id., *Théodore de Mopsueste*, 136–37; again in Sarkissian, ibid., 131–32; again in Winkler, ibid., 147; and again, with some modifications, in Garsoïan, *L'Église Arménienne*, 91–92. A German translation is available in Inglisian, "Beziehungen," 36–37. Winkler, ibid., 117–18, 154–56, rejects the traditional view that the *libellus* was proffered at this time "because the content of the two documents (i.e., the *libellus* and the *Tome*) does not allow such a conjecture" (p. 154). Further, Rompay, "Proclus of Constantinople's Tomus ad Armenios" (1985), 433, argues that, on the basis of the available evidence, the genuineness of the Syriac letter "must remain unresolved," but cf. Garsoïan, ibid., 106–16, who argues convincingly for the letter's authenticity.

[75] My translation is based on the Greek retroversion of Schwartz. I am thankful to Victoria Erhart for kindly checking my translation against the Syriac version.

consideration, it seemed good to all the most-holy bishops to send us here in order to learn from your Piety if in fact these writings (συγγράμματα) and the statements in the collections (συντάγματα) are really corrupt.

4. We therefore supplicate you to prepare a statement (γράμματα) by which we and those who sent us might learn whether it is necessary to assent to those from Cilicia and accept the works (συγγράμματα) of Theodore or instead to heed the warnings of the most-holy bishops Rabbula and Acacius. Moreover, we have brought with us a compilation of Theodore's works (συντάγματα). We ask you to inspect it so that you might know if that which is written in it is pleasing, so that in accordance with the opinion of your Holiness, the men, women and children of Armenia Major, that is, all the people of the holy church, might attend to the faith traditionally set forth and confirmed by the Romans, and also that, by the grace of God, even the Cilicians who came to lead us astray might be corrected by your statement (γράμματα) of faith, and by this refutation they might themselves return and accept the apostolic faith as defined by the 318 fathers (i.e., of Nicaea). This faith we confess, and thereby we live in perfect peace as members of one body, and as true brothers of one mind and one common opinion, not being troubled by adversaries. With one mind we confess one Lord and one true faith confirmed in our souls. We commemorate your Piety.[76]

Proclus found himself in a difficult position. He certainly could not condemn Rabbula and Acacius as heterodox. Nor could he openly con-

[76] The text as such is not entirely clear and poses several problems: The contradiction in the *titulus* between the Armenian hierarchy and the priests Leontius and Abel points to some confusion regarding the nature of the delegation which does not seem to have been officially authorized by the Armenian church, but cf. Abramowski, "Der Streit," 254, n. 10a. Moreover, if, as is generally accepted, Proclus' *Tome* is a response to this document, it is somewhat odd that the *Tome* does not mention Leontius and Abel or directly answer their questions. However, if Proclus was aware of the delegation's unofficial character, he certainly would not have exposed the pro-Constantinopolitan wing of the Armenian church. Further, the apparently objective questions about Rabbula, Acacius, and about Theodore and the Cilicians seem somewhat disingenuous after Theodore is called a perverter of the faith and the Cilicians are accused of deliberately misleading the people, cf. Rompay, "Proclus of Constantinople's Tomus ad Armenios," 425–49; Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 111–13, 145–53; and Garsoïan, *L'Église Arménienne*, 106–16.

demn Theodore of Mopsuestia, not only because the latter had died in communion with the church, but because such a condemnation might serve as a rallying point for the Nestorians, alienate the moderate Antiochenes, and sabotage the precarious Union of 433. Moreover, Proclus must have realized that a condemnation of Theodore addressed to the pro-Constantinopolitan faction of the Armenian church would have dire political consequences for Sahak and his supporters.[77] Nonetheless, Proclus' interest in promoting the authority and jurisdiction of the church of Constantinople, his concern to arrest the growth of Nestorianism, and his commitment to the pro-Constantinopolitan faction of the Armenian church demanded that he act. Proclus' response came in the form of his *Tome to the Armenians on the Faith*, an important christological essay that has received relatively little attention from historians of theology.

The Tome to the Armenians

Proclus opens the *Tome*, which is addressed to the 'Bishops, presbyters and archimandrites of the Holy Orthodox Church throughout all Armenia' (187, 1–2),[78] with an expression of personal and pastoral concern:

> Our soul was greatly confused while our mind was grieved and severely wounded by the report (φήμη, but also 'hearing' [ἀκοὴ], and later, 'reports,' φήμαις) of the budding tares of deceit that the universal enemy of human nature has recently and so cunningly sown in your land (cf. Mt. 13.24). By giving heed to such abominations the unsuspecting soul is seriously stricken and injured, for the danger it portends is not against the body, but against the immaterial and honorable garment (ἱμάτιον) of the faith (187, 3–9).

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[77] "To openly condemn Theodore would serve the opponents of Sahak as undeniable evidence of his attachment to the Byzantine church, and, at the same time, of his antagonism to the Nestorianizing church favored by the Persian government," Sarkissian, *Chalcedon*, 142.

[78] All references to the *Tome* are given as page and line numbers in the edition of Schwartz, *ACO* IV, 2, pp. 187–95. On the *Tome*, see Grumel, *Les regestes*, 63–64, no. 78. On the address, see Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 122, 129–30, who writes that the "Tome was meant to carry all the authority which Proclus had at his command as the Patriarch of the imperial City," and "that the Tome is addressed to the entire episcopacy shows that Proclus intended his Tome to be interpreted as an official christological document, and that the Tome was not a private communication to an Armenian prelate."

These remarks are a clear reference to the immediate context and occasion of the *Tome's* composition, a more precise indication of which is given at the conclusion of the text:

> These things we have sent to you, my beloved, impelled by your petition (ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων προτραπέντες λιβέλλων) which you have sent to us, saying that certain people, who are destroyers and idle talkers, have come uninvited into your country, desiring to pervert, by means of evil writings (γράμματα) and arguments of 'falsely-called knowledge' (1 Tim. 6.20), the simple and unadorned beauty of the orthodox faith (195, 5–9).

In an important study on the history of the *Tome* in the period after Chalcedon, Rompay suggests that these two passages are at some variance with each other, arguing that it is unclear if the 'reports' (φήμαις) referred to in the opening lines of the *Tome* should be identified with the information provided by the *libellus* mentioned at the end.[79] However, there is no compelling reason to overemphasize the differences between the language of the introduction and that of the conclusion. Apart from the christological controversy set in motion by the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Proclus does not mention any additional 'tares of deceit' said to be budding in Armenia. As for the discrepancy between the language of oral and written reports, the church of Constantinople maintained important interests far beyond the confines of the imperial city, and it is highly likely that Proclus had received information regarding developments in Armenia from a number of different sources. Here it is worth recalling the delegation of Armenian clergymen received by Atticus, who had himself traveled the busy highway between Armenia and Constantinople. Moreover, in pursuit of his christological agenda, Proclus had to negotiate a series of political and diplomatic obstacles, and the *Tome* begins with a generic and somewhat veiled form of discourse that rules out the immediate disclosure of the factual information presented at the document's conclusion. At the level of its own rhetoric, the *Tome* presents itself as a statement of pastoral concern and authoritative teaching from the imperial church, and not as a reactionary response to an inflammatory memorandum. It therefore seems appropriate to acknowledge that the immediate occasion for the writing of the *Tome* is precisely the Armenian question regarding the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

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[79] Rompay, "Proclus of Constantinople's Tomus ad Armenios," 427; Winkler, ibid., 126–30, 130–35.

After these initial greetings and expressions of concern, Proclus embarks upon a comparative study of 'virtue' in the Greek and Christian traditions. This may seem to be an unusual and perhaps even pointless exercise in a document designed to address specific points of christology, but as we shall see, it is directly relevant to Proclus' argument. The discussion begins with the assertion that 'virtue' takes many forms, and that the 'four virtues' of the Greeks rest securely on human logic and are concerned purely with the right ordering of secular states and affairs. But rather than praise the wisdom and nobility of these rationalist constructions, Proclus contrasts them unfavorably with the 'three virtues' expounded by Paul: 'faith, hope, and love' (1 Cor. 13.3). Anthropocentric and earthbound, the virtues of the Greeks were the products of 'darkened' (ἐπισκοτούμενοι) minds that had not been 'illumined by the sun of righteousness' and were thus unable to attain 'faith' in God (187, 17–18). Proclus dwells at some length on the nature and definition of Christian 'faith' (πίστις), which is simultaneoulsy an epistemological category, an aspect of human religious experience, a set of beliefs inscribed within the creed and orthodox doctrine, and a binding commitment rooted in the sacrament of baptism.[80]

While it might appear that this introductory discussion of the virtues is intended simply as a general foundation for the subsequent theological argument, it is actually an attempt to reframe the christological question within a broader conceptual horizon. By supplanting human models of ethics with human experience of the divine, Proclus aims to refute and reject the use of rationalistic arguments by the Nestorians along with their distorted emphasis on a separate human subjectivity in Christ. As the *Tome* unfolds, it becomes clear that it is not simply the 'Greeks' but rather the Nestorians who are constructing 'specious syllogisms' (πλέκοντες συλλογισμοὺς ἀράχνης ἀσθενεστέρους) (191, 29–30). Similarly, it is the hearts and minds of the Nestorians that have been 'darkened' (ἐσκοτίσθη), as Proclus extends to his theological adversaries Paul's epistemological critique of the Greeks (cf. Rom. 1.21; 192, 2–3).[81]

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[80] 'Faith' raises the mind 'beyond nature' into the realm of the intellect (τοῖς νοητοῖς), grants knowledge of divine magnitudes surpassing the comprehension of angels, and participation in divine light (188, 16–24); on the baptismal context, cf. 189, 8. Note that, altogether, the various facets of 'faith' in the thought of Proclus are organized around an implicit experience of religious conversion.

[81] On the Nestorian use of Aristotelian and Porphyrian logic, see chap. 1, p. [20], n. 48.

At the conclusion of the *Tome*, the language of Paul is again invoked in order to dismiss the arguments of the Antiochene missionaries as the 'philosophy and empty deceit of men' (cf. Col. 2.8) (195, 10–11). Thus it seems clear that the initial diatribe against the 'virtues' of the Greeks has in view the 'anthropocentric' christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia and the rationalist dialectics of his followers. To this one might add that, in the numerical calculation of the virtues, the paradoxical 'subtraction' of value (which is in fact an 'addition') from 'four' to 'three' can itself be seen as a symbolic rejection of the Nestorian 'fourth hypostasis' that Proclus held to be the addition of a fourth member to the Trinity.[82] This oblique mode of discourse is largely dictated by the delicate circumstances surrounding the problems that the *Tome* seeks to address. Unable to indict Theodore of Mopsuestia by name, unwilling to jeapordize the tenuous Union of 433, and concerned about the predicament of the church in Armenia, Proclus had little choice but to produce a document which was highly circumspect but that would nevertheless effectively take up the gauntlet precisely where it had been thrown down.

Having praised Paul's triad of theological virtues, Proclus, in a passage reminiscent of his scriptural narrative in Homily 1 (70–99), beckons the 'eye of faith' to consider the span of sacred history from creation to incarnation (189, 15–30). The purpose of this exercise is to highlight the fact that God alone is the sole agent of both creation and redemption. Having created human beings, and unable to endure their subsequent subjection to the power of the devil, the "same God, who is formless, beginingless, uncircumscribable and omnipotent … 'took the form of a servant' (Phil. 2.7) and 'became flesh' (Jn. 1.14) from the Virgin" (189, 27–29).[83] Having emphasized through the use of narrative the unity of the divine subject in the person of Christ, Proclus arrives at one of the central tasks of the *Tome*: to reject the dualistic notion of 'two sons' without impairing the integrity of the human nature assumed by the divine Word. This theme is basic to the christology of the *Tome* which repeatedly affirms that the divine Word is the sole subject of the incarnation and of all incarnate experiences (e.g., 188, 30; 189, 27–28; 189, 13–14; 192, 7–8; 192, 13–15; 192, 30–34). At the same time, Proclus is careful

[82] "We do not calculate addition (προσθήκη) with respect to the Trinity" (188, 34); "We worship the consubstantial Trinity, not introducing a fourth to that number" (190, 24); cf. the commentary at 1.VIII, 129.

[83] On Proclus' use of Phil. 2.7 and Jn. 1.14, see the discussion in the 'Appendix.'

not to allow the preeminence of the Word to overshadow or compromise the fullness and perfection of the assumed human nature, and his discourse accordingly shifts back and forth between these two critical areas of emphasis.

Proclus reminds his addressees that "John the evangelist did not say that (the divine Word) entered into a perfect man (ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τέλειον ἄνθρωπον) but that he 'became flesh' (Jn. 1.14)" (189, 31–32). However, the word 'flesh' (σάρξ) in the Johannine prologue does not designate a docetic facade or illusion (ἄνθρωπος οὐ φανταστός) (193, 8) but rather the fullness of human nature. In virtue of the incarnation, the divine Word, who is of the 'same race as the Virgin' (ὁμόφυλος τῇ παρθένῳ) (193, 9) has himself 'become man' (γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος) (190, 18); is 'perfect man' (τέλειος ἄνθρωπος) (190, 16); and 'in truth became man' (κατὰ ἀλήθειαν γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος) (cf. 189, 30; 191, 15; 193, 6; 194, 18, 28). Consistent with these assertions, Proclus maintains that the incarnate Word necessarily assumed all the physiological and emotional characteristics that are natural to human life (ἀναγκαίως γὰρ τῇ φύσει παρέπονται αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ τὰ σχήματα) (189, 30–31). Proclus notes that the divine Word accommodated himself to 'the very root' of human existence, that is, to the natural origin and beginnings of human life, namely, conception, birth, and growth, including physical and intellectual maturation (189–90, 27–36/1–2). Alexandrian theologians had particular difficulty in attributing growth and development to the incarnate Word, for which they were typically accused of Apollinarianism, and Proclus' recognition that Christ 'advanced in wisdom and stature' (Lk. 2.52) (194, 2–3) marks an important step forward on the road to Chalcedon.

These, and similar remarks, are aimed at the christological dualism of Theodore and Nestorius as well as the accusations of the Nestorians that the christology of Ephesus, encapsulated in the epithet 'Theotkos,' had effectively truncated the humanity of Christ. However, it would be incorrect to present the christology of the *Tome*, which never mentions the names of either Nestorius or Theodore, as either strictly adversarial or purely apologetic. As noted above, the starting point for Antiochene christological reflection was the full humanity of Christ. In the aftermath of Ephesus, that principle was increasingly obscured by the Alexandrian emphasis on the full divinity of the Word. Thus the *Tome* of Proclus, with its forceful and expansive depiction of the full humanity of Christ, was an important recognition and timely retrieval of insights and perspectives that were central to the Antiochene christological tra-

dition. According to K. Baus, the *Tome* of Proclus adopts a 'mediating position' between the christologies of Antioch and Alexandria, a view held by virtually all commentators on this work.[84]

Nevertheless, the simple affirmation of Christ's humanity did not address the relationship of the immutable divinity of the Word to his mutable human nature. As mentioned above, the Nestorians accused their opponents of defining Christ as a semi-divine being with the appearance of humanity who endured birth, suffering and death in his divine nature. These accusations are taken up in the second task of the *Tome*: to qualify and balance the mutable human nature of Christ by affirming the absolute immutability of the Savior's divine essence. According to Proclus, if it is true that the 'Word became flesh' (Jn. 1.14), it is equally true that the Word did 'not change into flesh' (οὐ τραπεὶς εἰς σάρκα) (190, 1). Although the Word was truly incarnated, he was 'incarnated impassibly' (ἀπαθῶς ἐσαρκώθη) (188, 32), as a result of which his essential divinity did not undergo a 'change of nature' (τροπὴ φύσεως) (188, 34). The *Tome* abounds with such statements. Proclus speaks of the 'immutability of the (divine) nature' (ἄτρεπτον τῆς φύσεως) (190, 9; cf. 190, 13); the 'immutable nature' (ἄτρεπτος φύσις) (190, 7); the 'indestructible nature' (ἀνώλεθρος φύσις) (192, 10; 194, 31); the 'unchangeable nature' (ἀναλλοίωτον τῆς φύσεως) (190, 15–16); the 'divinity transcendent to change' (ἡ θεότης ἀλλοιώσεως ἀνωτέρα) (190, 2), and 'utterly invulnerable to passion' (ἀνεπίδεκτος ἡ θεία φύσις παντὸς πάθους) (192, 6–7), because 'according to the principle of divinity the Trinity is consubstantial and impassible' (κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς θεότητος ἡ Τριὰς

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[84] Baus, "From Ephesus to Chalcedon" (1980), 110; see also Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 1:521: "Proclus deliberately chooses the mean between the sharp Alexandrian and the pointed Antiochene terminology … the Chalcedonian mean is already achieved and anticipated in the dialectic of the different theological views"; Liébaert, *L'Incarnation* (1966), 204: "Proclus garder une position modérée entre le dualisme des Orientaux et la théologie d'Alexandrie"; Weischer, *Traktate des Epiphanios* (1979), 60: "Proclus auch in seiner Theologie bemühte er sich, einen zwischen dem Dualismus der Orientalen und der alexandrinischen Theologie vermittelnden Standpunkt einzunehmen"; Frivold, *Incarnation* (1981), 21: "Proclus made a real endeavor to write a theological work that would satisfy the Armenians, influenced as they had been to a great extent by Cyril's theology. By doing this Proclus wanted to confirm the mediating position of the Constantinopolitan see and renew its leading position after the failure of his predecessor Nestorius"; and McGuckin, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 118, n. 205, "It (i.e., the *Tome*) was a text that opened up the way for a new settlement in terms of agreed terminology in the christology debate, and thus an important bridge between Cyril's work and that of the council of Chalcedon."

ὁμοούσιός ἐστι καὶ ἀπαθής) (192, 4–5). Beyond these assertions, Proclus endeavors to clarify his position by means of a philosophical argument. The qualitative state described by the word 'suffering' (πάθος), according to Proclus, designates the tension and conflict which obtains among a multiplicity of juxtaposed elements (μάχη τῶν συνθέτων). However, with respect to the nature of the 'immaterial' there can be no juxtaposition or synthesis, and therefore one cannot attribute change or suffering to the divinity (192, 10–12)

Having established the irreducible distinction between the mutable human nature of Christ and his immutable divine nature, Proclus addresses the principle of unity in which these two different natures coinhere. Making use of a number of linguistic, rhetorical, and theological tools, Proclus establishes the ground of union within the one and only 'hypostasis' of the incarnate Son of God. For Proclus, there is 'only one Son' (εἷς ἐστὶν υἱός) (190, 23–25), who is both the Word of God and the Christ born of the Virgin (οὐκ ἄλλος ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἄλλος ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος) (190, 31–32). In the one and only Son, the two natures of divinity and humanity are so intimately and inseparably united that Proclus can speak of the 'indivisibility of the radical union' (ἀδιαίρετον τῆς ἄκρας ἑνώσεως) (190, 6); or the 'unity according to the radical union' (τὸ ἓν κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἕνωσιν) (190, 14.8); or the 'indivisibility of the mystery (i.e., of the incarnation)' (ἀδιαίρετον τοῦ μυστηρίου) (190, 14; cf. 188, 29). Proclus' christological understanding of the Marian epithet 'Theotokos' was yet another way to articulate the unity of experience in the person of the incarnate Word. But rather than insist on the adoption of the title 'Theotokos' as a non-negotiable theological datum, he constructs an argument encouraging his readers to recognize and affirm on their own the propriety of the contested epithet. "If the Virgin did not give birth to God (εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔτεκεν Θεὸν ἡ παρθένος), then she would not be worthy of great praise, for many women have given birth to righteous men" (193, 10–12).[85]

However, affirmations of the Savior's indivisible unity were not new and had long been subject to, or at least suspected of, heretical equivocation. Moreover, the christological terminology employed by Cyril of Alexandria was itself ambiguous, particularly his assertion that in

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85 Similar periphrastic allusions to the Theotokos are found throughout this section of the *Tome*, e.g., the argument that 'when the birth is beyond nature, then the one who was born is God' (ὅπου ὑπὲρ φύσιν ὁ τόκος, ἐκεῖ ὁ τεχθεὶς Θεός) (193, 20–21).

Christ there was only 'one nature' (μία φύσις).[86] In an obvious and ultimately successful attempt to rectify this terminological confusion, Proclus asserts that the ground of unity in the one Christ is to be found in the 'unity of his person' (τὸ ἑνικὸν τοῦ προσώπου) (190, 15). "We do not say that he suffered in the principle of his divinity, but we say that *he* (αὐτὸν) suffered' (192, 5–6). But this was not all. Proclus, clearly realizing the inadequacy of Cyril's terminology, recast the disputed μία φύσις formula to read 'one hypostasis' (μία ὑπόστασις). In a key sentence, Proclus states that "knowing and having been reverently taught only one Son, I confess only one hypostasis of God the Word made flesh, the same one who in truth both endured the passion and worked miracles" (ἐγὼ γὰρ ἕνα εἰδώς τε καὶ διδαχθεὶς εὐσεβῶς υἱόν, μίαν ὁμολογῶ τὴν τοῦ σαρκωθέντος Θεοῦ Λόγου ὑπόστασιν, ἑνὸς δὲ ὄντος τοῦ τε τὰ πάθη ὑπομείναντος καὶ τοῦ τὰ θαύματα τελεσουργήσαντος) (191, 20–22). With this formula, Proclus anticipated the christology of Chalcedon by finally distinguishing between nature and hypostasis,[87] establishing a fixed point of terminological consistency to which Cyril had never committed himself and which had greatly confused the christology of the period.[88]

Following his signature, Proclus appended to the *Tome* the συντάγματα or *capitula* gleaned from the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia which the unofficial Armenian delegation had presented to him for adjudication. By this juxtaposition, Proclus implicitly anathematized the christology contained in the *capitula* without, however, naming their author.[89] The completed *Tome*, together with the *capitula*, was dis-

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[86] For a concise treatment of this problem, see Grillmeier, ibid., 478–80; cf. Meunier, *Le Christ de Cyrille* (1997), 219–85.

[87] Cf. Grillmeier, ibid., 521, who, in his comments on Proclus' hom. 1, notes that Proclus' christological language is 'already the language of the Fathers of Chalcedon.' Scipioni, *Nestorio*, 288–89, remarks that the substitution of 'person' (hypostasis) for 'nature' "segnava una certa evoluzione in senso duofisita, se interpretata in quel nuovo contesto, sostanzialmente moderato, in cui Proclo amava collocarsi, fra il duofisismo degli orientali e la teologia Alessandrina." According to McGuckin, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 229: "It was Proclus who had been largely instrumental in that international process of brokering Cyril's principles for the vast areas within the sway of the imperial city, not least the Syrians and Armenians, and his celebrated Tome developed the central idea that Cyril's vision could be authentically expressed in the terminology of one person hypostasising two natures in a mutual communion of interchange. Such was to become the classical revolution at Chalcedon."

[88] See Scipioni, ibid., 430, who argues that, because of Cyril, the Council of Ephesus failed in its aim by legitimizing the ambiguous formula of 'one nature' in Christ.

[89] Proclus' insertion of the *capitula* in the *Tome* on this occasion remains a disputed point. That he did so, however, seems clear from a letter he later wrote to John of Antioch, *ACO* IV, 1, pp. 140–43, esp. p. 141, lines 31–2; cf. Grumel, *Les regestes*, 65,

patched to Armenia[90] where it exercised considerable and lasting influence. According to Bauer, "through the *Tome* of Proclus the Armenian church would reject forever the theology of Antioch." Sarkissian notes that the *Tome* "became the foundation stone of Armenian orthodoxy, irremovable at any price and by any means."[91]

Proclus, Ibas of Edessa, and John of Antioch

In 435 (or 436), Rabbula of Edessa died, and was succeeded by Ibas, an exponent of the christological views which Rabbula had sought to suppress. With the resources of the metropolitan throne of Edessa now at his disposal, Ibas renewed his campaign on behalf of his mentor Theodore of Mopsuestia. Part of this campaign involved the disputed *capitula* which Ibas had translated into Syriac around 436, and for which he wrote an accompanying work defending their orthodoxy. Shortly afterwards, Ibas was confronted by a group of his clergy and laity, including military and civil officials, who charged him with Nesto-

no. 80: "Il (i.e., Proclus) lui demande d'obliger Ibas, que l'on accuse d'avoir traduit en syriaque et de réprandre les capitula hérétiques condmanés par le tome ad Armenios." Abramowski, "Der Streit," 254, notes that "in diesem Widerstreit der Meinungen schickte die Synode der Armenier zwei Presbyter mit libelli der Armenier und einem Band von Theodor-Exzerpten zu Proklos, um seine Entscheidung einzuholen" (paraphrasing Schwartz), and that (p. 269) "Die einzige vollständig erhaltene Brief des Proklus an Johannes vor der Synode 438 ist das Schreiben, das sich über Ibas von Edessa beklagt, der die dem Tomus von Proklus angehängen capitula ins Syrische übersetzt." If the *capitula* had not been condemned by Proclus, why did Ibas find it necessary to defend them? And if Proclus had not already passed judgement on the *capitula* how is one to explain his reaction to their defense by Ibas? Or the uproar provoked by the same defense among the (Constantinopolitan appointed?) government officials in Edessa?

[90] Proclus also sent a copy of the *Tome* to John of Antioch (and probably to Cyril), without, however, enclosing the excerpts from the writings of Theodore. This is clear from the letters of John to Proclus (in Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, 1.1.11, ed. Clément and Plaetse, 6, lines 72–73); and to Cyril (*ACO* I, 5, pp. 37–39; cf. ibid., p. 310), which make no mention of the *capitula* in 436, and states that the *Tome*, which is called 'a truly correct and pious work,' was well received in Antioch. On John's initial reception and acceptance of the *Tome*, see Abramowski, ibid., 271–73.

[91] Bauer, *Proklos*, 81; Sarkissian, *Chalcedon*, 147. For the response of Sahak to Proclus, which survives in Armenian, see Ismireantz, *Book of Letters*, 9–13; Vardanian, "Briefwechsel," 415–41 (= German translation); Tallon, *Lettres*, 72–77 (= French translation); and Garsoïan, *L'Église arménienne*, 432–37 (= French translation). The *Ad Proclum* virtually denies the existence of a pro-Theodoran or Nestorian party in Armenia and is considered spurious, cf. Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 136–43.

rianism.[92] These charges reached the capital, and were brought to the attention of the anti-Nestorian archimandrite Dalmatius. Sometime in 437 or early in 438, Proclus himself was apprised of the activities of Ibas, probably by Dalmatius,[93] and took immediate action.[94] Summoning the deacon Theodotus, who was the representative of John of Antioch to the church of Constantinople, Proclus provided him with a copy of the *Tome* with the appended *capitula*, along with a rather stern cover letter.[95]

In this letter, Proclus warns John to be on guard against the 'hirelings,' who are 'wolves and not shepherds,' and who 'pervert the sense of scripture in order to devour the faithful.' Proclus notes that the archbishop of Antioch will be held accountable for the behavior of his episcopal 'sons' just like the Old Testament priest Eli (1 Kg. 2–4). John would have known that Eli, because of the sins of his children, was threatened by a prophet with the destruction of his house after which Eli's family line was subject to numerous calamities. Proclus next apprises his colleague of the outcry that has arisen in Edessa and Constantinople over the activities of Ibas. In open defiance of the *Tome*,

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92 See the letter of Proclus to John of Antioch, *ACO* IV, 1, p. 142: "multi inclamant hic Edessenorum episcopum Ibam, non solum clerici quidam Edesseni et monachi, sed enim etiam primates et clari militia, quibus rectae fidei calidus zelus accenditur, quod tantum diligit Nestorii insaniam."

93 There is evidence to suggest that Proclus may have also been informed by pro-Constantinopolitan Armenian monks, cf. Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 157–58, n. 298.

94 Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, 26, relying on information provided by Innocent of Maronea (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 68), and repeated by Liberatus (*PL* 68.989–990), suggests that Proclus was kept informed by the monastic deacon Basil. Basil hailed from Antioch, but his theological tastes were decidedly Alexandrian. According to John Rufus, *Plerophoriae*, 35 (ed. Nau, *PO* 8.1, 78), Basil spent thirty-five years in the Theban desert followed by another twelve years in a cave in Lycia, settling in Constantinople during the patriarchate of Nestorius. Disappointed by Proclus' refusal to condemn Theodore by name, Basil left for Alexandria with a dossier of texts including the Armenian *libellus*; Proclus' *Tome*; and a *libellus* of his own composition (*PG* 65.851–56). Basil is then said to have returned to Constantinople (encouraged by Cyril?) in order to plead his case before the emperor, but met with no success. However, Abramowski, "Der Streit," 254, n. 11a, maintains that "Dieser Basilius, den Schwartz und auch Devreese als historische Persönlichkeit behandeln, ist gerade in dieser Eigenschaft höchst zweifelhaft. Richard neigt zu der Ansicht, das er nur überlieferungsgeschichtlich eine Rolle spielt," but admits that "Es bedarf noch einer Untersuchung des Gegenstandes."

95 Proclus' letter, which survives only in Latin, can be found in *ACO* IV, 1, pp. 140–43. It is possible that John of Antioch already had in his possession a copy of the *capitula*, perhaps forwarded to him by Ibas or one of his agents. Thus John may have been well informed of these events by the time of Theodotus' arrival in Antioch, cf. Abramowski, ibid., 269–70. Some sources suggest that a number of Armenian monks studying in the capital, as well as the accusers of Ibas, may have accompanied Theodotus to Antioch, Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme," 305, 309–10, n. 4.

Ibas had translated and disseminated the condemned *capitula*, and it was now John's duty to obtain Ibas' signature to the *Tome* as well as his explicit condemnation of the appended *capitula*.[96] Before closing, Proclus promises that if Ibas complies, he will earn the admiration of the 'most holy father, presbyter and archimandrite Dalmatius.'[97] In another letter to John written after the departure of Theodotus, Proclus further demanded John's own signature to the *Tome*, along with the signatures of his suffragans, as well as their joint condemnation of the anonymous *capitula*.[98]

It was about this time that Proclus transferred the remains of John Chrysostom to Constantinople where, after a seventy-day journey, they arrived on 28 January 438. The translation of the relics, and their dramatic reception by the population of Constantinople, was among other things a pastoral concession to the 'Johannites,' mentioned above, who thereupon returned to the fold of the Great Church.[99] Proclus may have also wagered that the official recognition of Chrysostom would

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[96] "Festinare digneris cum omni alacritate eum compellere tomo quidem scripto ad Armenios subscribere, uaniloquium autem, magis uero monstriloquium uel, quod est uerius dicere Iudaicam impietatem capitulorum illorum condemnantum uiua uoce et sua manu anathematizare dementiam" (*ACO* IV, 1, pp. 141–42).

[97] "Habebit enim non solum eos qui nunc de ipso dubitant, mirantes eum, sed etiam sanctissimum nostrum patrem presbyterum et archimandritam Dalmatium nimium honorantem et mirantem, si uideant sapientem ea quae piae fidei sunt" (*ACO* IV, 1, pp. 142–43). The reference to Dalmatius was perhaps intended to move John to action. John was undoubtedly aware of the power that Dalmatius wielded in the capital, especially the sway he held over the emperor and which he had used with devastating effect in the deposition of Nestorius.

[98] Grumel, *Les regestes*, 65–66, no 81. On this point the sources are unclear. Grumel, ibid., 65, no. 80, noted that "il n'est pas croyable qu'il (i.e., the deacon Theodotus) soit revenu à Constantinople une première foi, car Proclus mande de hâter le retour de Théodote. Cette raison ne se comprendrait pas si Théodote avait déjà apporté à Constantinople l'adhésion de Jean et du synode oriental"; cf. Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme," 323–28. Devreese, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, 143, n. 6, put forward the unlikely theory of two separate missions to John of Antioch by two different deacons both named Theodotus or Theodosius.

[99] According to Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.25.2 (ed. Hansen, 372, lines 25–27), Atticus had resumed the commemoration of Chrysostom in the liturgy; the *Chronicon* of Marcellinus Comes (ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH* AA [Berlin, 1894], 11:77) notes that a feast-day of Chrysostom was established by Nestorius on 28 September 428. On the *translatio* see Socrates, ibid., 7.45.2–7 (392–93); Theodoret, *H.E.*, 5.36.1–2 (ed. Parmentier, *GCS* 5 [1954], 338, lines 10–18); Theodore Lector, *H.E.*, 333 (ed. Hansen, *GCS*, 54, p. 95, lines 18–22); George Monachos, *Chronicon*, 4.203, 206 (*PG* 110.737, 744); John Zonaras, *Annalium*, 13.22 (*PG* 134.1189); Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.43 (*PG* 146.1206–9); and Proclus, hom. 20 (*PG* 65.827–34). See also Ommeslaeghe, "La fête de S. Jean Chrysostome" (1978), 338; and Devos, "La translation de S. Jean Chrysostome" (1989).

win approval from the moderate Antiochenes who might then distance themselves from their more radical compatriots. Chrysostom, after all, had once written a sharp letter of rebuke to the 'fallen' Theodore of Mopsuestia. Given Proclus' mediating christological agenda, the rehabilitation of Chrysostom may have also served as a counter-weight to the rising anti-Antiochene temperament of much contemporary christology.

Once again, John of Antioch found himself in an extremely delicate situation. He had formerly welcomed the interference of Constantinople in the affairs of his archdiocese, but that precedent was now operating to his disadvantage. If John did not already know their source, it would not have taken him long to realize that the *capitula* were the work of the revered Theodore of Mopsuestia. As Richard suggests, Proclus was somewhat naïve if he thought the author of the *capitula* would remain unidentified.[100] Ibas certainly knew their source, as did his enemies in Edessa, Armenia, and Constantinople. Although John had sacrificed Nestorius in order to protect his own position and in the interests of peace, he now refused to concede in the case of Theodore, and called a synod of the entire Eastern episcopacy to meet at Antioch in August of 438.[101] Proclus, having learned of the synod,[102] and probably concerned to minimize the resistance that such a gathering might generate, circulated an encyclical *Ad universos episcopos Orientis*, which has not survived. Based on a fragment preserved by Cyril of Alexandria in which Proclus artfully balances the unity of Christ with his duality, the encyclical may have been written to clarify the christology of its author.[103]

100 Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme," 304.

101 Ibid., 304–305.

102 Ibid., 305 (following Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, 27), notes that at this time, "Maxime partit pour Constantinople, alla prévenir Proclus de l'opposition qui s'organisait." This is repeated by Abramowski, "Der Streit," 270, who writes that "Maximus reist offenbar nach Konstantinopel und informiert Proklus über die Blockbildung, und geht sogar der Brief des Proklus an alle orientalischen Bischöfe auf sein Drängen zurück."

103 See Grumel, *Les regestes*, 66, no. 82; and Abramowski, ibid., 269–70. The letter is known from a fragment preserved in Cyril, ep. 55, *Ad Anastasium*, 29 (*ACO* I, 1, 4, p. 60): καὶ σαρκοῦται μὲν ἀτρέπτως ὁ ἀνείδεος, τίκεται δὲ κατὰ σάρκα ὁ ἄναρχος, προκόπτει δὲ τῇ κατὰ σῶμα ἡλικίᾳ ὁ φύσει παντέλειος καὶ παθῶν ἀνέχεται ὁ παθῶν ἀνώτερος, οὐχ ᾧ ἦν ὑπομείνας τὰς ὕβρεις, ἀλλ' ᾧ γέγονε, καταδεξάμενος τὰ τοῦ σώματος πάθη. The same fragment is independently reproduced by Severus of Antioch, *Liber contra impium Grammaticum*, 3.41, who provides the letter's *titulus* and *incipit*: "Ex epistula ad universos episcopos Orientis cujus initium est 'Multifariam revera multisque modis'" (Heb 1.1), followed by the fragment preserved by Cyril (ed. J. Lebon, *CSCO* ser. 4.6, vol. 102 [Paris, 1933], 247, lines 21–28).

As planned, the synod convened in Antioch in the summer of 438.[104] According to one source, the gathering was composed of seventy-five bishops,[105] while another fixes the number at eighty.[106] The synod attracted the attention of partisan observers from both sides of the debate, some of whom attempted to disrupt the proceedings.[107] The minutes of this gathering have not been preserved, but the synod's resolutions can be generally reconstructed from the three letters that it promulgated: one to Theodosius II, and one each to Proclus and Cyril.[108] According to these letters, the synod's attention appears to have been almost exclusively given over to the question of the *capitula*. Not surprisingly, the Antiochene bishops were appalled that the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia had not only been called into question, but condemned as heretical. While John and his bishops readily accepted the christological teaching of the *Tome*, which they considered to be the foundation of doctrinal unity between Antioch and Constantinople, they could

[104] Inferred from the date of the feast of the Maccabees, mentioned in *ACO* I, 5, p. 310, cf. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, 31, n. 3.

[105] 'Septuaginta quinque episcoporum facta synodo,' Pelagius, *In defensione Trium Capitulorum*, 3; ed. Devreese, *ST* 37 (1932), 15, line 20.

[106] 'Un concile de quatre-vingts évêques,' Barhadbešabba, *H.E.*, 29 (ed. Nau, *PO* 9.5, 572, line 10).

[107] See, for example, the letter of John and his synod to Proclus in Pelagius, *In defensione*, 3: "Haec nos confusione et turbis compleuerunt, non autem nos solos, sed et cristianos populos, qui haec cognoscentes nullatenus sine turba ecclesiasticas celebrationes impleri permittunt, sed aduersum nos seditiones faciunt nec usque ad auditum passi sunt sustinere, quod aduersus praecedentes patres meditantur anathema, et decem milia aduersum nos mala minantur si quid ab aliquo fuerit tale praesumptum" (ed. Devreese, 16, lines 10–16). There is a fragment from this letter in Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, 8.1.4 (ed. Clément and Plaetse, 228–29, lines 29–36); and Barhadbešabba, ibid. (ed. Nau, 575): "les peuples sont partout dans le trouble, les églises dans la confusion, les clercs dans l'agnoisse et nous dans la douleur." Similar sentiments are expressed in the synod's letter to the emperor, ibid., 576; cf. Facundus, ibid., 8.3.4 (235, lines 29–33).

[108] These letters do not survive in their original language or in translations that preserve the integrity of their exemplars and must be pieced together from the extant Latin and Syriac fragments. For the *ad Theodosium*, see Barhadbešabba, ibid. (ed. Nau, 576–78); Pelagius, *In defensione*, 3 (ed. Devreese, 18–19); Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, 2.2.12–16; cf. ibid., 8.3.5 (ed. Clément and Plaetse, 46–47; 235). For the *ad Proclum* see Facundus, ibid., 9.1.3–7 (228–29, lines 19–61); Barhadbešabba, ibid. (573–75); the notes of Nau, ibid., correlate the Latin and Syriac fragments for the *ad Theodosium* and the *ad Proclum*; cf. Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme," 306, n. 5; and Abramowski, "Der Streit," 273–74. The *ad Cyrillum* has survived in somewhat better condition, although only in a Latin translation (*ACO* I, 5, pp. 310–15).

not acquiesce in a condemnation of the 'blessed Theodore' and thus refused to sign a condemnation of the *capitula*.[109]

In explanation of its noncompliance, the synod enumerated the following six points. First, not all the excerpts contained in the *capitula* were 'heretical.' On the contrary, some were unambiguously orthodox. Second, even though some of the excerpts were admittedly 'uncertain and obscure,' and perhaps 'susceptible of various interpretations,' they had been deliberately shorn from their context in order to defame the dead bishop of Mopsuestia. Third, not only had the *capitula* been removed from their proper literary context, they had been similarly detached from their proper historical and theological circumstances.[110] The synod acknowledged that Theodore, in his polemics with the Arians, had been driven by necessity to a

> certain great distinction (i.e., between the natures in Christ), not coming to it from a depraved understanding, but deciding to use that mode of expression more efficaciously against the heretics, and he was not ignoring nor denying the total unity, far from it, for all his books are full of this mode of expression, but he was dividing the properties of the natures more fully as the fight which he had against the heretics dictated that he should do.[111]

Fourth, to condemn Theodore would only further the cause of the Nestorians by ranking the exiled patriarch with the 'blessed Theodore' whose orthodoxy was beyond question and who was revered throughout the entire East.[112] Fifth, the synod maintained that many of the admittedly obscure passages in the writings of Theodore find paral-

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[109] On the refusal of the Syrian bishops to sign their names, not only to the *capitula*, but to the *Tome* at this time, see below, n. 114.

[110] Is the synod's sensitivity to literary and historical contexts related to cognate principles of Antiochene exegesis? That Cyril of Alexandria, for one, cared relatively less for such contextualization is evidenced in a letter of his to Acacius of Melitene (ep. 69): "I selected certain of the chapters (i.e., from the books of Theodore and Diodore) in the approved manner (and) set myself against them revealing that their teaching was in every way full of abomination," ed. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus*, 16, lines 17–18.

[111] The passage is from the letter to Cyril, *ACO* I, 5, p. 314; cf. the letter to Proclus, Barhadbešabba, *H.E.*, 29 (ed. Nau, *PO* 9.5, 574), where the same defense is put forward. Cyril himself was well aware of this fact and had revealed as much in a letter (ep. 40) written long ago to Acacius of Melitene. The great 'necessity' of course was Arianism, which attributed change and suffering directly to the divinity of the incarnate Word, an attribution which Theodore's 'distinction' was meant to thwart.

[112] In the letter to the emperor, John and his synod point out that Theodosius II's grandfather, Theodosius I, had great respect for Theodore, cf. Barhadbešabba, ibid. (ed. Nau, 577); cf. Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, 2.2.12–15 (ed. Clément and Plaetse, 46–47).

lels in the writings of other deceased church fathers, such as Ignatius, Eustathius, Meletius and Flavian of Antioch, Diodore of Tarsus,[113] Athanasius (as well as others present at Nicaea), Basil and the two Gregories, Amphilochius of Iconium, Ambrose, and John Chrysostom. In the letter to Cyril of Alexandria, the synod removed the name of Chrysostom and in its place added the names of Alexander of Alexandria, Theophilus of Alexandria, Proclus of Constantinople (citing the *Tome*) and even that of Cyril himself.[114] Similarly, in the letter to Proclus, the synod inserted the name of 'blessed Atticus, your own father.'[115] If then, the synod asked, the disputed writings of Theodore concur with passages in the writings of such august authorities, must one then anathematize these fathers as well? Certainly not, for there would be no end to the turmoil and confusion if "a door should be opened to those who wish to overthrow the sayings of the dead fathers," and thereby topple the entire edifice of sacred tradition. To condemn the *capitula* would be to condemn all the fathers of the church. Sixth, the synod charged that it would be presumptuous to anathematize the statements of those who had died in the peace of the church, and who must now be left to the judgment of God.[116] The synod concluded by reaffirming its adherence to the faith of Nicaea and its commitment to the Union of 433.

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[113] The inclusion of Diodore implies that his orthodoxy was not in question at the time of the August synod.

[114] Cyril was enraged at this comparison and responded with a sharp rebuttal, cf. his letter (ep. 67) to John and his synod, *ACO* I, 1, 4, pp. 37–39; and his encyclical (ep. 68) to Acacius of Melitene, Theodotus of Ancyra, and Firmus of Caesarea, ibid., pp. 231–32. See also Cyril's letter to Acacius of Melitene (ep. 69, ed. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus*, 16, lines 11–13), where he states that "I did not endure them writing these things, but said with frankness that Theodore had both a blasphemous tongue and a pen that served it." Cyril also wrote to the emperor on this matter (ep. 71) pointing out that the bishops who drew these comparisons were 'lying against holy men,' and advised the royal family to preserve their 'souls entirely intact and clean of the impieties of Theodore and Diodore' (*ACO* I, 4, pp. 210–11).

[115] 'Nec non et apud Atticum tuum patrem,' according to Pelagius, *In defensione*, 3 (Devreese, 16, lines 31–32); cf. Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, 8.1.6 (ed. Clément and Plaetse, 229, lines 53–55): 'nec non et apud beatum Atticum tuum patrem.'

[116] "Non nostrum est ergo gloriosis eorum qui praecesserunt opinionibus insultare, neque iudicare eos qui honorate defuncti sunt, sed solius iudicis uiuorum et mortuorum," Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum* , 8.1.7 (ed. Clément and Plaetse, 229, lines 59–61). It remained for Justinian to elaborate the legitimacy and forensic technicalities of post mortem condemnations, detailed in his *Epistula contra tria capitula* and *Confessio rectae fidei*. Justinian found a precedents in the fact that the apostles condemned Judas after his

These arguments failed to sway Proclus who responded with a letter to the deacon Maximus,[117] who was his official legate (ἀποκρισιάριος) to the church of Antioch.[118] Proclus assured Maximus that, in the aftermath of the Antiochene synod, the church of Constantinople had not modified its position with respect to the *capitula*. Consequently, Maximus was charged to secure the signatures of John and his synod to both the *Tome* and the *capitula* which, Proclus insisted, were to remain anonymous.[119] Proclus addressed himself vigorously to this latter detail and insisted that he had never called for the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, or for that matter anyone else, living or dead.[120] Pro-

death and established another in his place, and, conversely, that both John Chrysostom and Flavian of Constantinople (Proclus' immediate successor) were, after their deaths, rehabilitated.

[117] This deacon Maximus should not be confused with the Antiochene deacon and archimandrite of the same name. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, 15:632, identifies the two deacons, but Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, 29, argues that Proclus would not have instructed an Antiochene deacon to 'make haste like a son being obedient to his father,' and so postulated that the recipient of this letter was Proclus' legate at Antioch, ibid., 34, n. 2; cf. Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme," 312; and Grumel, *Les regestes*, 65.

[118] The text survives in several Latin fragments and paraphrases, foremost that of Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, 8.3.6–7 (ed. Clément and Plaetse, 232–33); Pelagius *In defensione*, 3 (ed. Devreese, 24–25); and two citations in Vigilius, *Constitutum* (*PL* 69.100); cf. Grumel, ibid., 68, no. 85. There is a French translation in Richard, "Proclus," 311–12.

[119] It is perhaps odd that Proclus would continue to insist upon the signed ratification of the *Tome* when it had already found general acceptance in the East, cf. the letter of John and his synod to Cyril: "When the most holy bishop Proclus was sending to us the *Tome* which he wrote to the Armenians, a truly correct and pious work ('tomum recte revera et pie habentem'), and was asking our agreement, everything was done by us and we have left nothing undone. Moreover, at the present time this was even superfluous, because by the grace of God all men everywhere hold one and the same holy opinion," *ACO* I, 5, p. 311. See also the synod's laudatory letter to Proclus (in Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, 1.1.11; ed. Clément and Plaetse, 6, lines 72–84). Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme," 313, has suggested that "ce que Proclus voulait c'est qu'on lui retourne l'exemplaire même qu'il avait envoyé à Antioche par l'intermédiaire du diacre Théodote, exemplaire sur lequel le texte du *Tome* était immédiatement suivi des *Capitula*, de sorte qu'il était impossible de signer le premier sans, en même temps, rejeter les *Capitula*."

[120] The phrase 'et aliorum quorundam nomina (qui) ad Deum iam migraverint' (ed. Clément and Plaetse, 232, lines 50–51) finds an echo in Proclus' response to John: 'aut Theodorum, aut alios quosdam qui pridem defuncti sunt' (ibid., 231, lines 11–12). Who were these 'others'? While the name of Diodore of Tarsus readily comes to mind, the letters of the synod rank him with church fathers of unimpeachable orthodoxy. Richard, ibid., 311, n. 3, suggests that this subtle reference to 'others' is "une manoeuvre de l'archevêque de Constantinople pour détourner dans une petite mesure l'attention trop centrée sur le seul Théodore." See also the comments of Abramowski, "Der Streit," 278.

clus further denied having any interest in or personal knowledge of the authorship of the *capitula*.[121] Upon securing the episcopal signatures to the *Tome* and the *capitula*, Proclus directed Maximus to give these documents to the Antiochene deacon Theodotus and hasten his return to Constantinople. According to Proclus, the prompt return of Theodotus with the signed documents was necessitated by the intrigues of the Nestorians who were causing unrest in the capital.[122]

At the same time, Proclus responded to the letter addressed to him by John of Antioch and his synod.[123] Proclus expresses his surprise that a man of John's intelligence would believe such reports. When, he asks, did he ever demand the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, or of any one else who has departed from this life? Proclus insists that he never made such a request either in writing to John, or personally to Theodotus. While there is no indication that Proclus asked for the condemnation of Theodore by name, it is difficult to believe that by now he did not know who was the author of the *capitula*.[124] Nonetheless, he maintained his position and again called upon John and his bishops to sign the *Tome* and condemn the *capitula* for the glory of Christ and the final overthrow of Nestorius who, Proclus assured them, was the sole founder of this heresy. Proclus brings his letter to a close with the assurance that, if John and his bishops comply, the deacon Maximus

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121 'Capitulorum, quae cuius sint ignoramus' (ed. Clément and Plaetse, 232, line 57).

122 It is not impossible that these 'intrigues,' if not entirely fabricated, where exaggerated by Proclus in a move to procure the signatures by linking them with 'tempests and tumults' in the imperial capital, cited in Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, 8.2.7 (ed. Clément and Plaetse, 232, lines 58–59).

123 The letter survives in Pelagius, *In defensione*, 3 (ed. Devreese, 24–25). A fragment has been preserved by Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, 8.2.2–3 (ibid., 231, lines 10–22), cited by Vigilius, *Constitutum* (*PL* 69.100). Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme," 310, notes that "la version latine qu'ont utilisée aussi bien Pélage que Facundus d'Hermiane est assez difficile à interpréter."

124 If the extant sources can be trusted, not only was Proclus fully apprised of these matters by the unofficial Armenian delegation of 435, but there is ample evidence to suggest that the Theodoran authorship of the *capitula* was fairly common knowledge by 436 (e.g., the affair of Ibas) and certainly by 438. Cyril's letter (ep. 68) to Acacius (*ACO* I, 4, p. 231–32) written just after the Antiochene synod states that "perhaps you may have already learned that all the bishops of the Oriens came to Antioch, since Proclus directed a volume to them … To it were appended some *capitula* excerpted from the books of Theodore, which had a meaning suited to the evil teachings of Nestorius." Cyril had already said as much in his letter to John and his synod. If Cyril's letter had arrived in Antioch before the response of Proclus, John may have shown it to Proclus' envoy to demonstrate that the *capitula* were hardly anonymous.

would require nothing more from them.[125] With the full weight of the imperial church once again pressing in on all sides, and as a result of the campaigning of the Antiochene archimandrite Maximus and his monks,[126] as well as the renewed literary activity of Cyril of Alexandria, who had recently taken up his pen, not only against Theodore of Mopsuestia, but against Diodore of Tarsus,[127] John of Antioch convened another synod, perhaps sometime early in 440.[128]

The synod's extant letters condemn certain Antiochene clerics (i.e., the archimandrite Maximus and his entourage) who, abandoning their flock and making their way to Constantinople 'defile the ears of those who live there by slandering their bishops.'[129] Moreover, the synod

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[125] Pelagius, *In defensione*, 3 (ed. Devreese, 24, lines 25–28): "Arbitror enim neque carissimum diaconum Maximum rectum circa fidem existentem eligere amplius uel in subscriptione, quae de fide est, uel in subiectorum capitulorum abdicatione exigere a sanctissimis episcopis." That the Maximus referred to here is Proclus' *apocrisiarius* in Antioch, see Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme," 311–12.

[126] Maximus was a fanatical opponent of Nestorianism which he detected everywhere. He refused to accept the Union of 433 but was eventually persuaded to do so by Cyril. Maximus seems to have been present in Antioch for the 438 synod and it is possible that, upon discerning the mood of the bishops, departed with his entourage for Constantinople to report on these matters to the emperor and the patriarch. After leaving the capital, he made his way to Alexandria, where, according to Cyril (ep. 69) "he was so distressed and had a mind so full of anxieties that he was gladly willing to endure any toil for the sake of tearing out by the roots the evil teachings of Nestorius from the districts of the East" (ed. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus*, 15, lines 30–32).

[127] Maximus, during his visit to Alexandria, had inspired Cyril to write his epistolary treatise, *De symbolo* (ep. 55), expensive copies of which were sent to the emperor and the members of the royal family. Commenting on this text, Wickham, *Letters*, 131, n. 8, remarks that "the name of ill omen (i.e., Theodore of Mopsuestia) is reserved to the very end, though all the piece has it in mind." At the same time, Cyril was moved to write his tripartite treatise *Contra Diodorum et Theodorum* (*PG* 76.1437–52), on which see Richard, "Les traités de Cyrille d'Alexandrie contre Diodore et Théodore" (1946).

[128] The convocation of a second synod was first posited by Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, 32, n. 5, and can be inferred from the synod's letter to Proclus preserved in Barhadbešabba, *H.E.*, 29 (ed. Nau, *PO* 9.5, 573, lines 5–12). According to Barhadbešabba, this passage stood at the beginning of the letter of the August 438 synod to Proclus. But as Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme," 318, n. 2, has pointed out, this is impossible. The beginning of the 438 letter to Proclus has been preserved by Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, 1.1.11 (ed. Clément and Plaetse, 6, lines 72–84), and begins with a reference to Theodotus and the *Tome*. Moreover, the text preserved by Barhadbešabba, is, due to the intrigues of Maximus, marked by a bitterness not found in the synod's letters of 438. On the fragment of Barhadbešabba, see Abramowski, "Der Streit," 271–72. With respect to the second synod, Abramowski, ibid., 285, notes that its immediate causes were "die erneute Agitation in Konstantinopel, Kyrills Schriften, des Maximus Reisen, die Hartnackigkeit Proklus."

[129] Ed. Nau, *PO* 9.5, 573; cf. 576. The same passage has been preserved in *ACO* I, 4, p. 208 (= *Synod.* 286 [196]): "Si quidem sobrie agere uelint qui turbis et iuvenalibus

declared that "because the slanderer seems to have acquired great power against the church, to the point of disturbing the entire East with the assistance of a few men, we have come together again in synod."[130] In a move apparently calculated to play on the church of Alexandria's anxieties about the rising prominence of Constantinople, John and his bishops turned to Cyril. Praising the authority and influence of Cyril, the synod petitioned the bishop of Alexandria to write to Proclus and deter him from "the novelties that have been set in motion against us and (ask that he) might work to preserve the peace."[131]

Cyril's reaction remains a traditional puzzle, for in the end he complied with John's request and brought the controversy to a close. It has been suggested that Cyril was under pressure from the court to maintain the hard-won peace, or that he was weary of theological battle. It is just as likely that he was alarmed by the increasing influence of his counterpart in Constantinople in the affairs of Antioch and Armenia. Moreover, Cyril does not appear to have favored a formal church-sponsored condemnation of the dead, if only because it would have given rise to further schisms in Syria. But he may also have considered the possibility, raised by the Antiochenes, that a similar condemnation might be cast upon others, including Cyril's dead uncle Theophilus.[132] In his carefully-worded letter to Proclus, Cyril recognizes Proclus' contribution to the overthrow of Nestorianism, but immediately adds that this has created a heavy burden for the Syrians. Cyril then informs Proclus that 'John has written to me (about) another storm (that) has arisen among them,' namely, a movement to condemn Theodore of Mopsuestia which, he has been told, originated in Constantinople. With great diplomacy, Cyril attributes this movement to certain nameless individu-

leuitatibus contra commune corpus ecclesiae nunc nescio unde potestate sumpta utuntur et suas quidem patrias relinquentes, uenientes uero ad imperii urbem et calumnia aduersum proprias episcopos eorum qui illic sunt, sordidantes auditus, non utique nunc necessarium fuerat"; cf. *CPG* 6356–57; and Abramowski, ibid., 271–73. See also *ACO* I, 5, p. 311; and Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus*, 18.

[130] Barhadbešabba, ibid. (ed. Nau, 573, lines 11–13).

[131] *ACO* I, 5, pp. 314–15.

[132] Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, 35, attributed Cyril's acquiescence to the pressure of the court, particularly to Pulcheria; Sellers, *Chalcedon*, 28: "(Cyril was) influenced, as it seems, by the earnest desire of the emperors that the peace of the church should be preserved"; cf. Winkler, "Obscure Chapter," 164: "There can be only one reason for Cyril's unexpected retreat from the battle-ground: strong pressures from Constantinople." Wickham, *Letters*, xxviii, writes that "The watch-dogs of orthodoxy had barked, yet it was a tired shepherd who dutifully responded. Cyril would not press for the condemnation of Christian men's memories."

als (φασὶ γὰρ τινὰς) whom he associates, not with Proclus, but with the emperor, from whom they were said to have requested a decree anathematizing Theodore and his writings. Although Theodore was wrong, Cyril writes, he should, for the sake of peace, be left to God's judgment. In any case,

> since the blasphemies of Nestorius have been anathematized and rejected, there have been rejected along with them those teachings of Theodore which have the closest connection to those of Nestorius … to what end then, do we rekindle the flame that has quieted down and stir up inopportunely the disturbances which have ceased?

Before closing, Cyril requested a written response from Proclus so that they might present a unified front. Finally, and in what must be a reference either to the anti-Theodoran Armenians or to (the Antiochene) Maximus (or both), Cyril suggests that

> it is possible, even to those who ask for these things (i.e., the condemnation of Theodore), to explain the prudence (οἰκονομία) of the matter (i.e., Proclus' retreat) and persuade them to choose to be quiet and not become an occasion of scandal to the churches.[133]

In the letter, Cyril prudently neglects to mention the solution proposed by Proclus, namely, an anonymous condemnation of the *capitula*. Cyril seems to have realized that such a solution had been rendered completely untenable, for the anonymous *capitula* were by now anything but anonymous. In the words of Richard, "Cyril's silence on this question should be taken as an extremely discrete invitation for Proclus to renounce his project."[134] Cyril's message was clear: a public condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia would not serve the interests of church unity and would almost certainly unleash the cataclysm already looming over the East.

Proclus found himself alone in an embarrassing cul-de-sac. However, he was not slow to realize that the unified resistance of Antioch,

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[133] Cyril's letter to Proclus (ep. 72) is the only document from this phase of the controversy that has survived in the original Greek. The text is in Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus*, 17–19. As far as his statements on Theodore, Cyril had already said as much in ep. 55: "Indeed the holy synod (of Ephesus) gave a hallowed and precise judgment against Nestorius' evil dogmas; along with its condemnation of Nestorius it also imposed exactly the same sentence on the empty verbiage of any precursors or successors of his," trans. Wickham, *Letters*, 99. Cyril is referring to the charges brought forward by the Philadelphian presbyter Charisius which resulted in the condemnation of a creed attributed to Theodore of Mopsuestia (*ACO* I, 1, 7, pp. 95–100).

[134] Richard, "Proclus et le théopaschisme," 321.

together with the desire of the court for peace, and now Cyril's apparent lack of interest in condemning the *capitula*, signaled the affair's complete demise. In 440, and at Proclus' request, Theodosius II issued a rescript ordering that the peace of the church should be maintained and that those who died in communion with the church should not be calumniated.[135] The churches were reconciled, the court was relieved, and the christological controversy was, for the time being, brought to a close. The quarrel over the legacy of Theodore of Mopsuestia was among the last acts of its major participants. John of Antioch died soon after in 441 or 442. Cyril was to follow on 27 June 444. Two years later, Proclus of Constantinople died on 12 July 446. A remark by Socrates serves as a fitting epitaph:

> Proclus was a man of moral excellence equal to any other; for having been trained by Atticus he was a zealous imitator of all that bishop's virtues. Patient forbearance, however, he exercised to a greater degree than his master, who was occasionally severe to the heretics. But Proclus was gentle toward everybody, being convinced that kindness is far more effective than violence in advancing the cause of truth. Resolving therefore to vexatiously interfere with no heresy whatsoever, he restored to the church that gentle dignity of character which had so often before been unhappily violated.[136]

As we have seen, the extant sources documenting Proclus' twelve-year tenure in the see of Constantinople are almost exclusively concerned with the christological controversy. The religious and political debate surrounding the basic outlines of an orthodox christological model is foremost in the conciliar proceedings, imperial legislation, and in the exchanges of letters between the interested parties. However, it should not be concluded that Proclus abandoned the devotional and doctrinal interests in the Virgin evinced during his tenure as the bishop of Cyzicus. On the contrary, Proclus continued to promote the newly-established feast in honor of the Theotokos (and in general the cult of the Virgin) as an important corollary to his beliefs regarding the person of Christ. The terse formulations of doctrine must be seen in conjunction with the more extravagant flowerings of liturgy and worship. The homilies of Proclus, to which this study now turns, serve to round out this picture by opening up a richly symbolic universe of Marian discourse and theology.

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[135] The text of the rescript is in *ACO* I, 4, p. 241 (= *Synod.* 310 [219]).

[136] Socrates, *H.E.*, 7.41.4–6 (ed. Hansen, 390, lines 16–20).

CHAPTER FOUR

PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, HOMILIES 1–5

Introduction

The sermons of Proclus of Constantinople on Christ and the Theotokos are undoubtedly his finest achievements as a preacher and theologian. Expertly schooled in the exquisite forms and ornamental figures of late-antique rhetoric, Proclus mastered the art of the festal sermon first as a devoted 'secretary' to Atticus of Constantinople, and subsequently as the titular bishop of Cyzicus, when he acquired increasing celebrity as a popular preacher. With a baroque flair for imagery, alliteration, assonance, rhythm and rhyme, Proclus inflects his sermons with the lilting lyricism of the second sophistic. It is therefore not surprising that passages from his writings were effortlessly set to music by later Byzantine hymnographers. Proclus' surviving sermons, less than forty in number, are surely but a fraction of what must have been a much larger corpus of rich homiletical material.

This chapter provides the Greek texts and English translations for five of Proclus' festal sermons on the incarnation and the virgin birth. Numbered 1–5 in the Proclan corpus, these homilies constitute an integral cycle of Proclus' most important works on Christ and the Theotokos. Homily 1 is Proclus' most celebrated discourse on the Mother of God, and is perhaps the most famous sermon of its kind in the history of Christianity. With its rhythmically cadenced constructions, vertiginous profusion of innovative Marian images, and dramatic reading of salvation history, Homily 1 is a veritable masterpiece of patristic literature and theology. Homily 1, together with Homilies 3 and 5, is the crown jewel in this trilogy of sermons delivered on, or in anticipation of, the newly-established feast of the Theotokos. Homily 2 approaches the incarnation through key images from the Old Testament, including the music of the Psalter, the figure of Adam as a type of Christ, and an extended commentary on Zechariah's vision of the golden lampstand, which Proclus interprets as a type of the Virgin's womb ablaze with the 'immaterial light made flesh.' Homily 3, the shortest sermon in the cycle, is a soaring song in praise of the feasts

of the church, culminating in joyfully exuberant praises of the incarnation and the mystery of the virgin birth. Homily 4, a sermon for the feast of the Nativity, contains some of Proclus' most remarkable images of the incarnation, including that of the Virgin's womb as a 'textile loom' which weaves the body of God incarnate, a striking image which also figures prominently in Homily 1. In Homily 5, Proclus stages a contest between a procession of male saints and Mary the Theotokos, against whom the former are no match. Their female counterparts, on the other hand, fare somewhat better. 'On account of Mary,' Proclus assures us, 'all women are now blessed,' and he concludes with a pageant of powerful women drawn from the pages of the Bible. Here too, however, the crown belongs to Mary.

The critical editions of the five sermons which appear below are based on the collation of a large number of textual witnesses preserving the works of Proclus either whole or in part. Foremost among these are direct witnesses in the form of manuscripts which contain the texts of Proclus' sermons in their entirety. Also included are a number of indirect witnesses provided by patristic and Byzantine writers who cite passages from Proclus' sermons in the body of their own works. These citations often preserve the best readings of the passages in question and also serve as an index for the reception of Proclus' work in the subsequent tradition. The indirect tradition for Homily 1 is particularly vast and complex. The indirect tradition for Homilies 2–5 includes the works of writers such as Atticus of Constantinople, Theodotus of Ancyra, Ps.-Anastasius of Sinai, John of Damascus, and Photius of Constantinople, as well as a number of anonymous doctrinal anthologies and florilegia.

Before turning to a description and analysis of these various witnesses, it will be helpful to bear in mind the following general points pertaining to the *corpus Proclianum*. The sequential arrangement of Proclus' sermons found in J. P. Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* might suggest that these works were transmitted and circulated as an organized and independent collection. However, unlike the works of many other patristic writers, the works of Proclus do not seem to have been preserved in a single compilation or edition. Instead, the *corpus Proclianum*, if such ever existed, was dismembered and scattered throughout the various lectionaries and panegyrica of the Byzantine church. These latter are for the most part voluminous collections of patristic sermons delivered on the major feast days of the ecclesiastical year. With respect to their structure and contents, these collections tend to be organized in one of

three basic forms: some contain primarily homilies and sermons for the feast days of saints; others are devoted more exclusively to the movable cycle of feasts; and still others attempt to combine elements from both.

With the exception of Proclus' Homily 1, to which we shall return in a moment, the homilies of Proclus edited below have been preserved in virtually all types of the above mentioned collections. In nearly all of these manuscripts, Homilies 2–5 are found among the readings designated for the feast of the Nativity on 25 December. Exceptions to this general rule are a number of witnesses for Homily 5, which assign the text to the Sunday before the Nativity, or (in one case) to the feast of the Annunciation on 25 March, or have simply grouped it among a random collection of sermons and miscellaneous texts. As will be discussed below, many of these assignments are incorrect, and reflect the structure of the Byzantine liturgical calendar in the period when the sermons were copied. Homilies 1, 3, and 5, for example, were composed for delivery on a Marian feast originally associated with the Nativity cycle, but which was later relocated to 25 March, where some of these sermons were subsequently assigned. Homily 1, while also anthologized in Byzantine collections of homilies and sermons, nevertheless has an additional and rather different history of textual transmission. Appended to the official proceedings of the Council of Ephesus, Proclus' Homily 1 is extant in the manuscript collections of that Council, and as such was critically edited by Eduard Schwartz in the first volume of his monumental *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927). Schwartz's edition remains the definitive reading of Homily 1 and it is his text which is reproduced below.

The critical editions of Homilies 1–5, which appear below, are prefaced by introductions summarizing their structure, a synopsis of their contents, and, whenever possible, information regarding the time, place, and circumstances of their delivery. In the case of Homilies 2–5, each preface will be followed by a detailed description and discussion of the manuscripts and related textual witnesses which provide the basis for the critical editions of the texts. The descriptions are followed by the Greek texts and English translations of the Homilies, which are further supported by a series of notes and commentary.

HOMILY 1

ON THE HOLY VIRGIN THEOTOKOS

Introduction

The 'Virgin's festival' provides the occasion for Proclus' celebrated sermon on the Theotokos. A masterpiece of patristic preaching, Homily 1 is perhaps the most famous sermon on the Mother of God in the history of Christianity. The literary and theological drama of the text is matched by the historical drama of its context, for Proclus' rapturous praises of the Virgin were delivered at the height of a heated struggle over the place of Mary in the history of salvation and in the devotional life of the church. The controversy was set in motion by His Eminence, the inexperienced and controversial Archbishop Nestorius, a somewhat prudish outsider who was scandalized by the excesses of the Constantinopolitan cult of the Virgin and the extravagant prerogatives it granted to the virgin empress Pulcheria. As it happened, Homily 1 was a spectacular triumph for Proclus, then Bishop of Cyzicus, who brilliantly seized the moment and established the veneration of the Theotokos upon theological and exegetical principles which defined the rhetoric and rationale for the cult of the Virgin Mary throughout the Byzantine period.[1]

Homily 1 has been preserved in an extraordinary number of manuscripts in virtually every language of the ancient church.[2] Less than one year after its delivery, it was included among the official proceedings of the Council of Ephesus where it acquired *de facto* canonical status and attained wide circulation. As an authoritative and eloquent statement of unimpeachable orthodox christology, it was extensively quoted and anthologized. In the sixth century, it was cited approvingly in the dogmatic works of the emperor Justinian. In the seventh and eighth centuries, passages from it were incorporated into the *Hodegos* of Anastasius of Sinai, and the anonymous florilegium *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*. By the eleventh century, lectionary rubrics indicated that 'this

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[1] For discussion on the history and theology of Homily 1, see above, chap. 2.

[2] See above, chap. 2, p. 57, n. 45.

Homily is to be read at all the feasts of the Theotokos.' The Homily's rhythmic prologue was effortlessly set to music and assigned an important place in the Byzantine *Oktoechos* where it continues to be chanted once every eight weeks. By the fourteenth century, the hymn had evidently become so well known that the historian Xanthopoulos, when describing the tumultuous events surrounding the Homily's delivery in the fifth century, mistakenly quotes not the Homily but the hymn. Modern interest in the study of Proclus began in sixteenth-century Western Europe at a time when the person and role of the Virgin Mary once again became the focus of heated debate. In an effort to demonstrate the patristic and conciliar authorization for the Christian veneration of the Theotokos, Iohannes Reuchlin published his *Sermo Procli Cyzicensis Episcopi, habitus Constantinopoli, in die natiuitatis Domini* (Tübingen, 1529). Elaborately dedicated to Ferdinand I of Hungary, and with an essay on the Council of Ephesus, the centerpiece of Reuchlin's small pamphlet is a Latin translation of Proclus' celebrated Homily 1 on the Theotokos.[3]

Richly decorated with ornate figures of speech, the rhetorical texture of Homily 1 is deeply interwoven with its content as exquisite chiasms and antitheses structure the contrapuntal typologies of scripture and the theological paradox of God lodged in a virgin's womb. Virtualizing the very dualities of which it speaks, euphorically non-discursive and staccato-like litanies alternate jarringly with iron-clad concatenations of logical hypotheses and deductions.[4] In magnificently soaring high notes, the Virgin is vaunted as a vessel, a garden, a workshop, a market, a chamber, a cloud, a fleece, a loom, a forge, a field, and a temple.

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[3] For the Justinianic citations, see Schwartz, ed., *Drei dogmatische Schriften*, 96 [54], lines 25–32; for those by Anastasius of Sinai, see Uthemann, ed., *Viae Dux*, *CCSG* 8 (1981), VII.2, p. 110, lines 52–55; X.1, p. 152, lines 105–108; X.2, p. 176, lines 19–20; ibid., p. 189, lines 196–98; for the *Doctrina Patrum*, see Diekamp (1981), 49, no. vii, lines 15–17; this citation occurs within a cluster of three citations from Proclus' sermons; see also, ibid., 134, no. vi, lines 5–9. The eleventh-century lectionary rubrics are cited in Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 50, no. 17 (= *Lesbos*, *Leimon* 13, where Homily 1 is grouped with sermons for the feast of the 'Virgin's Entry into the Temple'); and 53, no. 27 (= *Panag. Kamar*. 1, where it follows the *Protoevangelium* in a group of sermons for the feast of the 'Nativity of the Virgin'). In the *Oktoechos*, Proclus' opening 'hymn' to the Virgin has been granted a place of honor as the first 'Dogmatic' *Theotokion* of the Small Vespers for Saturday Evening, First Tone (*Παρακλητικὴ* [Athens, 1964], 1). For Xanthopoulos, see his *H.E.*, 14.32 (*PG* 146.1164C). Reuchlin's Latin translation of Homily 1 appears on pp. 7–13 of his pamphlet, a rare copy of which is housed in the Houghton Library of Harvard University.

[4] On this aspect of Proclus' rhetoric, see above, chap. 2, p. 61–62; cf. chap. 1, p. 16, n. 30.

In more measured phrases, Proclus posits a sequence of causalities in closely-linked logical chains: "If she had not remained a virgin, then the one born would have been a mere man"; or, "if he had not been born from a woman, he would not have died; and if he had not died, he would not have defeated death"; or, "if the Word had not dwelt in a womb, then the flesh would not have sat upon the throne," and so on.

Similarly, the lengthy 'Anselmian' narrative (the parallel is inexact, 'Athanasian' might perhaps be better) revolving around the debt of Adam and the bondage of the human race to the devil, is itself a logical proof for the necessity of the incarnation. In the first premise, Proclus argues that, through Adam, all human beings have subscribed to the 'bond of indebtedness.' In the second, the 'devil held us all as slaves,' a situation eventuating in two possibilities: (1) the 'penalty of death had to be imposed on all,' or (2) a 'substitute is required who was fully entitled to plead on our behalf.' This is followed in turn by two caveats: (1) 'no man could save us, for he too would be liable to the debt'; and (2) 'no angel could buy us out, for such a ransom was beyond his powers,' and thus the main conclusion: 'one who was sinless had to die for those who had sinned.' In these relentless soteriological deductions, the exigencies of the human predicament necessitate nothing less than the subjective unity of the incarnate Word, a unity which in turn serves as the major premise for the daring conclusion that Mary 'gave birth to God.'

In terms of its overall rhetorical structure, Homily 1 can be parsed as follows: the *exordium* (lines 4–13) extols the grandeur of the great feast, followed by a *laudatio* (13–25) with a litany of acclamations to the Theotokos climaxing in the image of the textile loom. This is followed by a typological *narratio* (26–35) drawn from the protologies of Genesis, followed by a christological *reductio ad absurdum* (35–46); followed by another *laudatio* (47–54); and another christological *reductio ad absurdum* (54–69). The rhetor next embarks upon his 'Anselmian' *propositio* (70–99), recounting the story of sin and salvation in terms of mounting debt and impossible payment plans. The narrative is then reduced to a summary *confutatio* (100–21) supported by a series of proofs. The argument is rounded out by a concluding *confirmatio* (122–65), and closes with a pointed *peroratio* (165–69).

Images of the Virgin

Patristic exegesis understood and interpreted the Old Testament as a symbolic preparation and typological foreshadowing of the New. Seeing the New in the Old, however, was not an illusion of the antique Christian mind. The New Testament itself had already and quite self-consciously presented its message in the symbolic vocabulary of the Old. In the Gospel of Matthew, for example, Christ is reported to say: "As Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so will the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" (Mt. 12.39). In John's Gospel, the perishable manna of the book of Exodus (16.4) becomes a symbol of Christ as the 'Bread of Life': "Your fathers ate the manna and died, but I am the living bread which has come down from heaven" (Jn. 6.35). In the writings of Paul, Christ is understood as the 'second Adam' (Rom. 5.14; 1 Cor. 15.21–22, 45–49) who came to undo the damage of the first. When the person and role of Mary became a matter of doctrinal dispute, it was both imperative and natural that her place in theology be secured on similar scriptural foundations. Proclus therefore challenges his listeners to "give heed to the books of the prophets. Inspect them and see the entire mystery of the incarnation ordered into theology (θεολογούμενον); behold the entire miracle of the virgin birth hidden in the shadows (σκιαγραφούμενον)" (hom. 2.IX, 124–25).

Consistent with this affirmation, Proclus depicts the Virgin as the spiritual garden of Eden in which dwells the second Adam (cf. Gen. 2.8; Rom. 5.14). She is the New Eve, whose obedience nullified the disobedience of her primal mother and fulfilled the saying, 'Let us make woman as a helper to man' (Gen. 2.18). She is the ark in whose cabin slumbers the spiritual Noah (Gen. 6.15). She is the ladder of Jacob by which God descended to earth and by which humanity ascends to heaven (Gen. 28.12). She is the fleece of Gideon drenched with the dew of heaven (Jg. 6.37); the swift cloud overshadowed and penetrated by the sun (Is. 19.1); the 'sealed book' which 'cannot be read' (Is. 29.11); the burning bramble bush ablaze with but not consumed by the fire of divinity (Ex. 3.2); the tranquil surface of the Red Sea intact after the passage of Israel (Ex. 15.27); the temple of Solomon in which God himself served as a priest (Heb. 8); the unopened gate of the sanctuary through which the King alone may pass (Ezek. 44.1); the living tabernacle containing not the law but the giver of the law (Ex. 25.10); the jar filled with the manna that came down from heaven

(Ex. 16.4); the rod of Aaron that miraculously blossomed (Num. 17.8); the throne of the cherubim upon which rests the glory of God (Ex. 25.18); and the seven-branched candelabra fashioned from the purest gold (Zech. 3.11f.).

Many of these correspondences are simply the corollaries of christological typologies authorized by scripture. If Christ, for example, was the 'Bread of Life' foreshadowed by the 'manna in the wilderness' (cf. Jn. 6.35; Ex. 16.4), then it was only logical that the Theotokos herself was foreshadowed by the golden urn in which that manna was contained (cf. Ex. 16.33; Heb. 9.4). The direct christological referent of these typologies exemplifies the Virgin's pronounced theological function as a guarantee of the incarnation. This was not, in other words, veneration of Mary for her own sake, but more significantly an argument in defense of the perfect, and perfectly paradoxical, unity of divinity and humanity in the person of the incarnate Word. The title 'Theotokos' was therefore the quintessential synopsis of the belief that the Word of God was the direct and immediate subject of all the incarnate experiences attributed to Jesus of Nazareth in the Gospels.

In addition to these relatively direct correspondences, the religious imagination of early Christian exegetes ingeniously combined disparate passages of scripture in order to illuminate particular doctrinal themes.[5] In Homily 1, Proclus associates the 'closed womb' of the virgin birth with the 'closed doors' through which Christ passed after the resurrection (Jn. 20.26), both of which can be dimly glimpsed in Ezekiel's vision of mysterious passage through the 'closed gate' of the sanctuary (Ezek. 44.1).[6] The divinely sovereign freedom of such 'impassible passages' is also central to Proclus' notion of the Virgin's conception

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[5] For a discussion of this phenomenon as it appears in the context of Biblical midrash, see Kugel, *Potiphar's House* (1990), 247–68.

[6] These same passages are densely intermeshed in Hesychius of Jerusalem, hom. 5.2, *De s. Maria Deipara*: "Another prophet called you a 'closed gate' (Ezek. 44.1–2) 'facing East' (Ezek. 44.1), ushering in the King, even though 'the doors were closed' (Jn. 20.19). And this is why he called you a gate which 'brings forth,' for you became a door (θύρα) unto the present life for the 'Only Begotten,' and a 'gate facing East,' because 'the true light that enlightens every man came into the world' (Jn. 1.9) from your womb as if from a royal nuptial chamber. You introduced the King, even though 'the doors were closed,' and again you brought him forth. For neither when he was conceived, nor when he was born, did the 'King of Glory' (1 Cor. 2.8) open your womb or loosen the bonds of your virginity" (ed. Aubineau, *Homélies festales* [1978], 160–62, lines 19–29; for Hesychius' dependence on Proclus, see ibid., 145–47). See also, Amphilochius of Iconium, below, 1.IX, 160.

of the Word through her 'sense of hearing.' In the paradoxical experience of being 'struck' by sound, that which is far off is experienced as near, the voice of the other becomes a part of oneself, and a 'terrible beauty is born.' In a theological appropriation of the human sensorium, the physiological and psychological processes whereby intangible sounds actively communicate and embody deeply felt sentiments are intriguingly transposed by Proclus into an analogy for penetration without physical contact.[7] In the fifth century, these typological associations were stunningly innovative and provoked euphoric reactions from late-antique audiences. In fact, the nearly exhaustive profusion of Old Testament Marian typologies in the sermons of Proclus was without precedent in Greek patristic literature and served as the basic template for nearly all subsequent Byzantine exegetical evocations of the Theotokos.

In addition to the various Biblical types described above, Proclus also established a series of more conventional images drawn from everyday life in the capital. He portrays the Virgin as a harbor, a sea, a ship, a wall, a bridge, a city, a palace, a throne, a festival, a workshop, a forge, a book, a translucent alabaster flask, a flower, a bridal chamber, the morning sky, heaven, and more spacious than heaven.[8] Also in this category, although not without significant overlap with a number of Biblical images, are Proclus' numerous renderings of the Theotokos as a 'place' or 'locus.' For Proclus, the Virgin is the earth; she is rich uncultivated soil. She is a fertile field yet unploughed, a pasture spontaneously yielding grain, a meadow blossoming with fruit and flowers; a generous valley sprouting forth the corn that feeds the starving world; a full and capacious source giving birth to all the goods that humanity requires. Although modified by the requirements of Christian discourse, Proclus' aestheticization of the reproductive process with a

[7] See below, chap. 5.

[8] Although I have designated these images as 'conventional,' many of them resonate with the rich vocabulary of attributes associated with the goddesses of Greece, Egypt, and Rome, cf. Benko, *Virgin Goddess* (1994); and Limberis, *Divine Heiress* (1994). Not surprisingly, such associations were singled out by Nestorius in his campaign against the Theotokos: ἀνέγκλητος Ἕλλην μητέρας θεοῖς ἐπεισάγων … οὐκ ἔτεκεν, ὦ βέλτιστε, Μαρία τὴν θεότητα (*Principium dogmatis*, ed. Loofs, 252, lines 3–6), and prompted Isidore of Pelusium in a letter 'Against the Nestorians' to address the question of how Christian faith in the 'Mother of God' was related to pagan beliefs in a 'mother of the gods' (*PG* 78.216–17); cf. the response to this question by Daniélou, "Le culte mariale et le paganisme" (1949).

vision of the earth as parthenogenetic finds many parallels in classical Greek religion and myth.[9]

Proclus developed the idea of a 'place' producing goods into the notion of a 'space' protecting goods in the sense of a container or receptacle.[10] He thus envisages the Virgin as a shelter, a dwelling, a chamber, a temple, a royal hall rendered sacred by the presence of the king, a vessel of divinity, a repository, the container of the uncontainable. In these images, the Theotokos becomes a space entreasuring things of value with an emphasis on untouchability and unavailability. She is a sacred precinct or threshold that cannot be crossed, a closed frontier, a protected virgin interiority. These images signal a certain 'thesaurization' of the female body and one sees, at a higher level of abstraction, a parallel to the Caryatids, those serenely billowing figures guarding and supporting the classical Erechteum on the Athenian Acropolis. The Erechtheum was itself a treasury containing the most ancient and precious of the city's sacred objects, chief among which was the olive-wood statue of the virgin goddess Athena.[11]

Perhaps the most striking of Proclus' conventional images, and one which he developed in considerable detail, is that of the Virgin as a textile loom. In this image, the Virgin's womb is depicted as a workshop containing the loom upon which the flesh of God is knit, woven together, and, upon its completion, wrapped around the bodiless divinity, giving it form and texture. This intriguing image, at once mythical and mundane, is tightly knotted together with the Biblical exegesis of cloth and clothing, contemporary fashions in fabrics and textiles, and the metaphors of ancient Greek gynecology and histology. In this sumptuous broadloom of influence, the central thread may have been provided by the empress Pulcheria, who took public vows of virginity and modeled herself boldly on the pattern of the Theotokos. Transforming her palace into a convent, the virgin empress was said to have shunned the company of men in order to spend her time spinning and weaving with her sisters. Women's workrooms, especially those were

[9] Benko, ibid., 206–16; DuBois, *Sowing the Body* (1988); and Sissa, *Greek Virginity* (1990), 73–86; cf. Rousselle, *Porneia* (1988), 24–46.

[10] Note that while Aristotle (*Phys.* 212A) posited a notion of 'space' as essentially receptive and passive, Plato (*Tim.* 47E–52D) maintained that the concept of 'place' or 'space' not only has an affinity to the realm of Forms but is the 'nurse of all Becoming,' taking an active role in giving shape to that which is contained within it; cf. Sambursky, *Concept of Place in Late Neoplatonism* (1982), 11–29.

[11] See below, chap. 6, p. 346.

yarns were spun and woven, were the favored sites for the fabrication of stories and aphorisms, often intoned to the rhythm of the loom. Proclus' distinctive images of the virginal body as a textile loom may thus have been authored or at the very least encouraged by Pulcheria and her circle of aristocratic spinsters.[12]

Homily 1 was delivered on the great Marian festival established in Constantinople during the second decade of the fifth-century. One of the small number of Proclus' works that can be dated with any accuracy, Homily 1 was most likely delivered during the Nativity cycle of 430. The day appointed for the festival was probably 26 December, on which the Byzantine church continued to celebrate a 'synaxis' of the Theotokos.[13] As noted above, the manuscript witnesses indicate that Homily 1 was delivered in the Great Church of the Holy Wisdom, in a ceremony presided over by Nestorius, who unwittingly invited Proclus to preach.

The Greek text of Homily 1 printed below is from E. Schwartz, *ACO* I, 1, 1 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), pp. 103–107. The Greek text of the Homily is given in its entirety, although only the most important variants from Schwartz' critical apparatus are provided. The English translation of Homily 1 has been taken, with some modifications, from M. Wiles and M. Santer, *Documents in Early Christian Thought* (Cambridge, 1975), 61–66. There is a French translation in A. J. Festugière, *Éphèse et Chalcédoine* (Paris, 1982), 154–60; and a German translation in O. Bardenhewer, *Marienpredigten aus der Väterzeit* (Munich, 1934), 98–107.

SIGLA

V	*Vaticanus graecus* 830	saec. XV
M	*Ambrosianus M.* 88 *sup.*	saec. XIII
P	*Parisinus graecus* 416/*Monac. gr.* 43	saec. XVI
S	*Parisinus Coislinianus* 32	saec. XI
D	*Monacensis graecus* 115/116	saec. XVI
A	*Atheniensis graecus* 9	saec. XII
W	*Vindobonensis theol. graecus* 40	saec. XII
R	*Vaticanus graecus* 1431	saec. XI

[12] For further discussion, see below, chap. 6.

[13] See above, chap. 2, pp. 67–68.

Ὁμιλία Πρόκλου ἐπισκόπου Κυζίκου λεχθεῖσα καθεζομένου Νεστορίου ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως

I. Παρθενικὴ πανήγυρις σήμερον τὴν γλῶτταν, ἀδελφοί, πρὸς εὐφημίαν καλεῖ καὶ ἡ παροῦσα ἑορτὴ τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν ὠφελείας γίνεται πρόξενος. καὶ μάλα εἰκότως· ἁγνείας γὰρ ἔχει ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν γυναικῶν καύχημα τὸ τελούμενον καὶ δόξα τοῦ θήλεος διὰ τὴν ἐν καιρῷ μητέρα καὶ παρθένον. ἐπέραστος ἡ σύνοδος· ἰδοὺ γὰρ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα δορυφορεῖ τῇ παρθένῳ, ἣ μὲν τὰ νῶτα ταῖς ὁλκάσιν γαληνῶς ὑφαπλώσασα, ἣ δὲ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν βαδιζόντων ἀκωλύτως παραπέμπουσα. σκιρτάτω ἡ φύσις, καὶ γυναῖκες τιμῶνται· χορευέτω ἡ ἀνθρωπότης, καὶ παρθένοι δοξάζονται. “ὅπου γὰρ ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις.”[1] συνεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἡ ἁγία Μαρία, τὸ ἀμόλυντον τῆς παρθενίας κειμήλιον, ὁ λογικὸς τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀδὰμ παράδεισος,[2] τὸ ἐργαστήριον τῆς ἑνότητος τῶν φύσεων, ἡ πανήγυρις τοῦ σωτηρίου συναλλάγματος, ἡ παστὰς ἐν ᾗ ὁ Λόγος ἐνυμφεύσατο τὴν σάρκα, ἡ ἔμψυχος τῆς φύσεως βάτος, ἣν τὸ τῆς θείας ὠδῖνος πῦρ οὐ κατέκαυσεν,[3] ἡ ὄντως κούφη νεφέλη[4] ἡ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ μετὰ σώματος βαστάσασα, ὁ τοῦ ἐξ οὐρανῶν ὑετοῦ καθαρώτατος πόκος[5] ἐξ οὗ ὁ ποιμὴν τὸ πρόβατον ἐνεδύσατο,[6] ἡ δούλη καὶ μήτηρ,[7] ἡ παρθένος καὶ οὐρανός, ἡ μόνη Θεῷ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους γέφυρα, ὁ φρικτὸς τῆς οἰκονομίας ἱστὸς ἐν ᾧ ἀρρήτως ὑφάνθη ὁ τῆς ἑνώσεως χιτών,[8] οὗπερ ἱστουργὸς μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἔριθος δὲ ἡ ἐξ ὕψους ἐπισκιάσασα δύναμις,[9] ἔριον δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τοῦ Ἀδὰμ κῴδιον, κρόκη δὲ ἡ ἐκ παρθένου ἀμόλυντος σάρξ, κερκὶς δὲ ἡ ἀμέτρητος τοῦ φορέσαντος χάρις, τεχνίτης δὲ ὁ δι’ ἀκοῆς εἰσπηδήσας Λόγος.

[1]Rom. 5.20 [2]cf. Rom. 5.14; 1 Cor. 15.21–22, 45–49 [3]Ex. 3.2 [4]Is. 19.1 [5]Jg. 6.37–38 [6]cf. Jn. 10.11 [7]cf. Lk. 1.38, 43. [8]Jn. 19.23 [9]Lk. 1.35

13 post ἡμᾶς add. ἐνταῦθα VPSW | ἡ ἁγία μαρία MAR ἁγία καὶ θεοτόκος παρθένος VPS ἁγία θεοτόκος D ἁγία παρθένος καὶ θεοτόκος W **15** ἑνότητος codd. ἑνώσεως D

Proclus of Constantinople

Homily I

On the Holy Virgin Theotokos Delivered while Nestorius was seated in the Great Church of Constantinople

I. The Virgin's festival, my brethren, summons us today to words of praise, and the present feast has benefits to bestow on those who assemble to keep it. And surely this is right, for its subject is chastity. What we celebrate is the pride of women and the glory of the female, thanks to the one who was at once both mother and virgin. Lovely is the gathering! See how both the earth and the sea serve as the Virgin's escorts: the one spreading forth her waves calmly beneath the ships, the other conducting the steps of travelers on their way unhindered. Let nature leap for joy, and let women be honored! Let all humanity dance, and let virgins be glorified! For "where sin increased, grace abounded yet more."[1] She who called us here today is the Holy Mary; the untarnished vessel of virginity; the spiritual paradise of the second Adam;[2] the workshop for the union of natures; the market-place of the contract of salvation; the bridal chamber in which the Word took the flesh in marriage; the living bush of human nature, which the fire of a divine birth-pang did not consume;[3] the veritable swift cloud[4] who carried in her body the one who rides upon the cherubim; the purest fleece[5] drenched with the rain which came down from heaven, whereby the shepherd clothed himself with the sheep;[6] handmaid and mother,[7] virgin and heaven, the only bridge for God to mankind; the awesome loom of the divine economy upon which the robe[8] of union was ineffably woven. The loom-worker was the Holy Spirit; the wool-worker the overshadowing power from on high.[9] The wool was the ancient fleece of Adam; the interlocking thread the spotless flesh of the Virgin. The weaver's shuttle was propelled by the immeasurable grace of him who wore the robe; the artisan was the Word who entered in through her sense of hearing.

[1]Rom. 5.20 [2]cf. Rom. 5.14; 1 Cor.15.21–22, 45–49 [3]Ex. 3.2 [4]Is. 19.1 [5]Jg. 6.37–38
[6]cf. Jn. 10.11 [7]cf. Lk. 1.38, 43 [8]Jn. 19.23 [9]Lk. 1.35

II. Τίς εἶδεν, τίς ἤκουσεν ὅτι μήτραν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπεριγράπτως ᾤκησεν; ὃν οὐρανὸς οὐκ ἐχώρησεν, γαστὴρ οὐκ ἐστενοχώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἐγεννήθη ἐκ γυναικὸς Θεὸς οὐ γυμνὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐ ψιλός, καὶ πύλην σωτηρίας ὁ τεχθεὶς τὴν πάλαι τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἔδειξεν θύραν. ὅπου γὰρ ὁ ὄφις διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τὸν ἰὸν ἐνέχεεν, ἐκεῖ ὁ Λόγος διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς εἰσελθὼν τὸν ναὸν ἐζωοπλάστησεν· ὅθεν ὁ πρῶτος μαθητὴς τῆς ἁμαρτίας Κάϊν προέκυψεν, ἐκεῖθεν ὁ τοῦ γένους λυτρωτὴς Χριστὸς ἀσπόρως ἐβλάστησεν. οὐκ ᾐσχύνθη ὁ φιλάνθρωπος τὴν ἐκ γυναικὸς ὠδῖνα· ζωὴ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πραγματευόμενον. οὐκ ἐμιάνθη οἰκήσας μόρια, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἀνυβρίστως ἐδημιούργησεν. εἰ μὴ παρθένος ἔμεινεν ἡ μήτηρ, ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ τεχθεὶς καὶ οὐ παράδοξος ὁ τόκος· εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τόκον ἔμεινεν παρθένος, ἐκεῖνος ἀφράστως ἐγεννήθη ὁ καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων ἀκωλύτως εἰσελθών,[10] οὗ τὴν συζυγίαν τῶν φύσεων ὁ Θωμᾶς ἀνακεκράγει λέγων "ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου."[11]

III. Μὴ ἐπαισχυνθῇς τὴν ὠδῖνα, ὦ ἄνθρωπε· αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν γέγονε σωτηρίας ἀφορμή. εἰ μὴ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἐγεννήθη, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν· εἰ μὴ ἀπέθανεν, οὐκ ἂν "διὰ τοῦ θανάτου κατήργησεν τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τουτέστι τὸν διάβολον."[12] οὐχ ὕβρις ἀρχιτέκτονι μεῖναι ἐν οἷς ᾠκοδόμησεν, οὐ μιαίνει πηλὸς τὸν κεραμέα ἀνακαινίζοντα ὅπερ ἔπλασεν· οὕτως οὐδὲ μιαίνει τὸν ἄχραντον τὸ ἐκ παρθενικῆς γαστρὸς προελθεῖν. ἣν γὰρ πλάσσων οὐκ ἐμολύνθη, διὰ ταύτης προελθὼν οὐκ ἐμιάνθη. ὦ γαστὴρ ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας γραμματεῖον συνετάγη· ὦ κοιλία ἐν ᾗ τὸ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου ὅπλον ἐχαλκεύθη· ὦ ἄρουρα ἐν ᾗ ὁ τῆς φύσεως γεωργὸς Χριστὸς ὡς στάχυς ἀσπόρως ἐβλάστησεν· ὦ ναὸς ἐν ᾧ ὁ Θεὸς γέγονεν ἱερεύς, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλών, ἀλλὰ τὸν "κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδὲκ"[13] δι' οἶκτον ἐνδυσάμενος. "ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο"[14] κἂν Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπιστῶσιν εἰπόντι τῷ Κυρίῳ· ὁ Θεὸς μορφὴν ἀνθρώπου ἐφόρεσεν,[15] κἂν Ἕλληνες κωμῳδῶσι τὸ θαῦμα. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο "Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον, ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρία" τὸ μυστήριον,[16] ἐπειδὴ ὑπὲρ λόγον τὸ θαῦμα. εἰ μὴ ὁ Λόγος ᾤκησεν γαστέρα, οὐκ ἂν ἐκαθέσθη ἡ σάρξ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου· εἰ τῷ

[10]Jn. 20.19, 26 [11]Jn. 20.28 [12]Heb. 2.14 [13]cf. Heb. 6.20; 7.11; Ps. 109.4 [14]Jn. 1.14 [15]cf. Phil. 2.7 [16]1 Cor. 1.23

27 post γαστὴρ add. παρθένου AR τῆς παρθένου D **54** post θαῦμα add. ὁ παῦλος ἐβόα τοῦ γὰρ μυστηρίου τὴν δύναμιν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν SA δύναμιν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἐπειδὴ ὑπὲρ λόγον τὸ θαῦμα εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν, οὐκ ἄν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν VPSDW

II. Who ever saw, who ever heard, of God dwelling without restriction in a woman's womb? Heaven itself cannot contain him, and yet a womb did not constrict him. He was born from a woman, God but not solely God, and man but not merely man, and by his birth what was once the door of sin was made the gate of salvation. Through ears that disobeyed, the serpent poured in his poison; through ears that obeyed, the Word entered in order to build a living temple. From the place where Cain, the first disciple of sin, emerged, from there also did Christ, the redeemer of the race, sprout unsown into life. The loving God was not ashamed of the birth pangs of a woman, for the business at hand was life. He was not defiled by dwelling in places which he himself had created without dishonor. If the mother had not remained a virgin, then the child born would have been a mere man and the birth no miracle. But if she remained a virgin even after birth, then indeed he was wondrously born who also entered unhindered "when the doors were sealed,"[10] whose union of natures was proclaimed by Thomas who said, "My Lord and my God!"[11]

III. So do not be ashamed of the birth pangs, O man! For they were the beginning of our salvation. Had he not been born of a woman, he would not have died. Had he not died, he would not "through death have destroyed him who has the power of death, that is, the devil."[12] A master builder is not dishonored if he dwells in buildings of his own design. Clay does not defile the potter who repairs what he himself had fashioned. Neither was the pure one defiled by coming forth from a virgin's womb. From what he formed without pollution he came forth without defilement. O womb, in which was drawn up the bond that gave us all liberty! O belly, in which was forged the sword that defeated death! O field, in which Christ, nature's farmer, himself sprouted forth unsown as an ear of corn! O temple, in which God became a priest, not by changing his nature, but by his mercy clothing himself with him who was "according to the order of Melchizedek"![13] "The Word became flesh,"[14] even if the Jews disbelieve the Lord who said so. God has put on the from of a human being,[15] even if the Greeks ridicule the wonder. For this reason, the mystery is a "scandal to the Jews" and "folly to the Greeks"[16] because the miracle transcends reason. Had the Word not dwelt in a womb, the flesh would never have sat on the throne. Were it

[10]Jn. 20.19, 26 [11]Jn. 20.28 [12]Heb. 2.14 [13]cf. Heb. 6.20; 7.11; Ps. 109.4 [14]Jn. 1.14
[15]cf. Phil. 2.7 [16]1 Cor. 1.23

Θεῷ ὕβρις εἰς μήτραν εἰσελθεῖν, ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὕβρις ἀνθρώπῳ διακονεῖν.[17]

IV. Ὁ οὖν κατὰ φύσιν ἀπαθὴς γέγονε δι' οἶκτον πολυπαθής. οὐκ ἐκ προκοπῆς γέγονε Θεὸς ὁ Χριστός, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ δι' οἶκτον γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, ὡς πιστεύομεν. οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀποθεωθέντα κηρύττομεν, ἀλλὰ Θεὸν σαρκωθέντα ὁμολογοῦμεν. τὴν οἰκείαν δούλην ἐπεγράψατο μητέρα ὁ κατ' οὐσίαν ἀμήτωρ καὶ κατ' οἰκονομίαν ἀπάτωρ. ἐπεὶ πῶς ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ Παῦλον "ἀμήτωρ" καὶ "ἀπάτωρ";[18] εἰ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἀμήτωρ· ἔχει γὰρ μητέρα. εἰ γυμνὸς Θεὸς, οὐκ ἀπάτωρ· ἔχει γὰρ πατέρα. νῦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμήτωρ μὲν ὡς πλάστης, ἀπάτωρ δὲ ὡς πλάσμα.

V. Αἰδέσθητι κἂν τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου. ὁ τὴν Μαριὰμ εὐαγγελισάμενος Γαβριὴλ ἐλέγετο.[19] τί δὲ ἑρμηνεύεται "Γαβριήλ"; Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελιζόμενος Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, προέλαβεν ἡ προσηγορία τὸ θαῦμα, ἵνα πιστώσηται τὴν οἰκονομίαν. μάθε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς παρουσίας καὶ δόξασον τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ σαρκωθέντος. πολλὰ ὤφειλεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος καὶ πρὸς τὸ χρέος ἠπόρει. διὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ πάντες τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐχειρογραφήσαμεν· δούλους ἡμᾶς κατεῖχεν ὁ διάβολος· τὰς ὠνὰς ἡμῶν προέφερεν, χάρτῃ κεχρημένος τῷ πολυπαθεῖ σώματι. εἱστήκει ὁ κακὸς πλαστογράφος, ἐπεισείων ἡμῖν τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπαιτῶν ἡμᾶς τὴν δίκην. ἔδει τοίνυν δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ πᾶσιν ἐπαχθῆναι τὸν ἐκ τῆς δίκης θάνατον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ "πάντες ἥμαρτον,"[20] ἢ τοιοῦτον δοθῆναι πρὸς ἀντίδοσιν ᾧ πᾶν ὑπῆρχεν δικαίωμα πρὸς παραίτησιν. ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὖν σῶσαι οὐκ ἠδύνατο· ὑπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ χρέει. ἄγγελος ἐξαγοράσαι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν· ἠπόρει γὰρ τοιούτου λύτρου. ἀναμάρτητος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων ἀποθανεῖν ὤφειλεν· αὕτη γὰρ ἐλείπετο μόνη τοῦ κακοῦ ἡ λύσις.

VI. Τί οὖν; αὐτὸς ὁ πᾶσαν φύσιν εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγών, ᾧ μηδὲν πρὸς παροχὴν ἄπορον, ἐξεῦρε τοῖς κατακρίτοις ζωὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ λύσιν εὐπρεπεστάτην, καὶ γίνεται ἄνθρωπος ὡς οἶδεν αὐτός (λόγος γὰρ ἑρμηνεῦσαι τὸ θαῦμα οὐ δύναται), καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει ᾧ ἐγένετο, καὶ λυτροῦται ᾧ ὑπῆρχεν κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν λέγοντα· "ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων."[21]

[17]Mt. 4.11; cf. Heb. 1.14 [18]Heb. 7.3 [19]Lk. 1.26 [20]Rom. 3.23 [21]Eph. 1.7

58 post φύσιν add. ὡς θεός R **60** οὐκ ἄνθρωπον codd. τὸν γὰρ χριστὸν οὐκ SW **66** μαριάμ VM μαρίαν PSDAW **73** χάρτῃ SDA γραφῇ VMPW **74** ὁ κακὸς πλαστογράφρος codd. τῶν παθῶν πλαστογράφος DAR **84** post ἄνθρωπος add. ἐκ παρθένου VMPSDW

a disgrace for God to have entered a womb, it would also be a disgrace for angels to serve a man.[17]

IV. So he who is by nature impassible became in mercy most passible. Christ did not by progress become God—heaven forbid!—but in mercy he became man, as we believe. We do not preach a divinized man, but instead we confess an incarnate God. His own handmaid he acknowledged as mother, he who in essence is without mother and in the incarnation is without father. How otherwise could Paul speak of one and the same (Christ) as both "without mother" and "without father"?[18] Were he merely man, he would not be without mother; and yet he has a mother. Were he solely God, he would not be without father, and yet he has a Father. But now the same one is both without mother, as Creator, and without father, as creature.

V. You should also pay attention to the name of the archangel. He who brought the glad tidings to Mary was called Gabriel.[19] What is the meaning of "Gabriel"? God and man. Now he of whom Gabriel was bringing these tidings was God and man, and thus his name was an anticipation of the miracle, given to assure us of the incarnation. Listen to the reason for his coming and glorify the power of the one who became flesh. The human race was deep in debt and incapable of paying what it owed. By the hand of Adam we all signed a bond to sin. The devil held us all in slavery. He kept producing our bills, using our suffering body as his paper. There he stood, the wicked forger, threatening us with our debts and demanding satisfaction. One of two things had to happen: either the penalty of death had to be imposed on all, because "all had sinned,"[20] or else a substitute had to be provided who was fully entitled to plead on our behalf. No man could save us; the debt would have been his liability too. No angel could buy us out, for such a ransom was beyond his powers. One who was sinless had to die for those who had sinned; that was the only way left by which to break the bonds of evil.

VI. What happened then? The very one who brought every creature into existence and whose bounty never fails, he it was who for the condemned won life most sure and for death secured a fitting dissolution. He became man (he alone knows how—to explain the miracle is beyond the power of speech). By what he became he died; by what he was, he redeemed—as Paul says, "in him we have redemption through

[17]Mt. 4.11; cf. Heb. 1.14 [18]Heb. 7.3 [19]Lk. 1.26 [20]Rom. 3.23

ᾧ τῶν πραγμάτων· ἄλλοις ἐπραγματεύσατο τὸ ἀθάνατον, αὐτὸς γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν ἀθάνατος. τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἄλλος κατ' οἰκονομίαν οὔτε ἦν οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτε ἔστιν οὔτε ἔσται ἢ μόνος ὁ ἐκ παρθένου τεχθεὶς Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἀντιταλαντεύουσαν μόνον ἔχων τὴν ἀξίαν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὑποδίκων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσαις ψήφοις ὑπερέχουσαν, ἐν μὲν τῷ υἱὸς εἶναι τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον σῴζων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ἐν δὲ τῷ δημιουργὸς τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπροσδεὲς ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῷ φιλοικτίρμων τὸ εἰς συμπάθειαν ἀνυπέρβλητον δημοσιεύων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀρχιερεὺς τὸ πρὸς παραίτησιν ἀξιόπιστον φέρων,[22] ὧν οὐδὲν εὕροι τις ἂν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἴσον ἢ παραπλήσιον πώποτε. ὅρα γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν· ἑκὼν κατακριθεὶς τὸν κατὰ τῶν σταυρωσάντων ἔλυσεν θάνατον καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν τὴν τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων ἀνομίαν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀνομησάντων σωτηρίαν.

VII. Ἀνθρώπου τοίνυν ψιλοῦ τὸ σῶσαι οὐκ ἦν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐδεῖτο τοῦ σῴζοντος κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν λέγοντα· "πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον."[23] ἡ ἁμαρτία τῷ διαβόλῳ προσῆγεν, ὁ διάβολος τῷ θανάτῳ παρέπεμπεν, ἐν μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς προῆγεν, ὑπῆρχεν ἐν ἀπόροις ἡ λύσις, οἱ πεμφθέντες ἰατροὶ κατηγόρουν. τί οὖν; ὡς εἶδον οἱ προφῆται κρεῖττον τέχνης ἀνθρωπείας τὸ τραῦμα, τὸν ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἐπεβόων ἰατρόν. καὶ ὃ μὲν ἔλεγεν "κλῖνον οὐρανούς σου καὶ κατάβηθι"·[24] ἄλλος "ἴασαι με, Κύριε, καὶ ἰαθήσομαι"·[25] ἕτερος "ἐξέγειρον τὴν δυναστείαν σου καὶ ἐλθὲ εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς"·[26] ἄλλος "εἰ ὄντως κατοικήσει Θεὸς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων;"[27] ἄλλος "ταχὺ προκαταλαβέτωσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκτιρμοί σου, Κύριε, ὅτι ἐπτωχεύσαμεν σφόδρα"·[28] ἕτερος "οἴμοι ψυχή, ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν εὐλαβὴς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὁ κατορθῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐχ ὑπάρχει"·[29] ἄλλος "ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου πρόσχες, Κύριε, εἰς τὸ βοηθῆσαί μοι σπεῦσον"·[30] ἄλλος "ὅσον ὅσον ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ"·[31] ἄλλος "ἐπλανήθην ὡς πρόβατον ἀπολωλός· ζήτησον τὸν δοῦλόν σου τὸν ἐλπίζοντα ἐπὶ σέ"·[32] ἄλλος "ὁ Θεὸς ἐμφανῶς ἥξει, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐ παρασιωπήσεται."[33] οὐ περιεῖδεν τοίνυν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν φύσιν τυραννουμένην ὁ φύσει βασιλεύς, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν εἰς τέλος εἶναι τῷ διαβόλῳ ὑπεύθυνον ὁ φιλοικτίρμων Θεός, ἀλλ' ἦλθεν ὁ ἀεὶ παρὼν καὶ κατέβαλεν λύτρον τὸ οἰκεῖον αἷμα καὶ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους ἀντάλλαγμα τῷ θανάτῳ ὃ ἐκ παρθένου ἐφόρεσεν σῶμα, καὶ ἐξηγοράσατο

[22]cf. Heb. 3.1 [23]Rom. 3.23 [24]Ps. 143.5 [25]Jer. 17.14 [26]Ps. 79.2 [27]3 Kg. 8.27 [28]Ps. 78.8 [29]Mic. 7.1–2 [30]Ps. 69.1 [31]Hab. 2.3; cf. Heb. 10.37 [32]Ps. 118.176 [33]Ps. 49.3

103 post λύσις add. τοῦ θανάτου VA

his blood, the remission of our trespasses."[21] What a transaction! It was for others that he procured immortality, since he himself was immortal. Another, able to do this work, there neither was nor has been nor is nor will be, beside him alone who was born of a virgin, God and man. His dignity was such as not only to outweigh the multitude of the condemned, but also to prevail against all sentences given against them. For he was the Son, maintaining his unchangeable likeness to the Father; the creator, possessed of unfailing power; the merciful, revealing his unsurpassable compassion; the high priest, who was worthy to plead on our behalf.[22] None of these qualities could ever be found in another, whether in equal or in similar degree. Behold his love! Freely accepting condemnation, he destroyed the death that was due to those who crucified him; and the transgression of those who killed him he turned into the salvation of the transgressors.

VII. A mere man could not save; for he would have needed a savior himself, since, as Paul said, "all have sinned."[23] By sin we were delivered to the devil, and by the devil handed over to death. Our affairs were in utmost peril; there was no means of rescue. This was the verdict of the physicians who were sent to us. What happened then? When the prophets saw that our wounds were beyond human resource, they cried for the heavenly physician. "Bow thy heavens and come down,"[24] says one. Another, "Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed."[25] One says, "Stir up thy might, and come to save us!"[26] Another, "Will God indeed dwell with men?"[27] One says, "Let thy mercies speedily overtake us, for we are brought into great poverty."[28] And another, "Alas my soul, for the godly man has perished from the earth, and there is none upright among men."[29] Another says, "O God, come to my help; O Lord, make haste to help me."[30] Another, "Yet a little while and the coming one shall come and not tarry."[31] Another, "I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost; seek thy servant whose hope is in thee."[32] And another, "God, even our God, shall come manifestly and shall not keep silence."[33] So our natural King did not allow our nature to remain for ever under tyranny. The merciful God did not permit us to remain subject to the devil to the end. He came, who was always present. He paid the ransom of his own blood. He gave to death in

[21]Eph. 1.7 [22]cf. Heb. 3.1 [23]Rom. 3.23 [24]Ps. 143.5 [25]Jer. 17.14 [26]Ps. 79.2 [27]3 Kg. 8.27 [28]Ps. 78.8 [29]Mic. 7.1–2 [30]Ps. 69.1 [31]Hab. 2.3; cf. Heb. 10.37 [32]Ps. 118.176 [33]Ps. 49.3

τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ νόμου κατάρας θανάτῳ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας καὶ βοᾷ Παῦλος· "Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου."[34]

VIII. Ὁ τοίνυν ἀγοράσας οὐ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε· ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ δεδούλωτο. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Θεὸς γυμνὸς ἀνθρωπότητος· σῶμα γὰρ εἶχεν, ὦ Μανιχαῖε· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐνεδύσατο ἐμέ, οὐκ ἂν ἔσωσεν ἐμέ. ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς παρθένου ὁ ἀποφηνάμενος τὸν κατάδικον ἐνεδύσατο καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ φρικτὸν γέγονεν συνάλλαγμα. δοῦς γὰρ πνεῦμα ἔλαβεν σάρκα· ὁ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου· ᾧ μὲν ἐπεσκίασεν,[35] μετ' αὐτῆς· ᾧ δὲ ἐσαρκώθη, ἐξ αὐτῆς. εἰ ἄλλος ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἄλλος ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, οὐκέτι τριάς, ἀλλὰ τετράς. μὴ σχίσῃς τὸν τῆς οἰκονομίας χιτῶνα τὸν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντόν·[36] μὴ μαθητεύσῃς Ἀρείῳ. ἀσεβῶς ἐκεῖνος τὴν οὐσίαν τέμνει· σὺ τὴν ἕνωσιν μὴ μέριζε, ἵνα μὴ μερισθῇς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. τίς "ἐπέφανεν τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις";[37] ἄνθρωπος; καὶ πῶς; ὅς γε ἐν "σκότει" διῆγεν κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν λέγοντα· "ὃς ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους"[38] καὶ πάλιν "ἦτε γάρ ποτε σκότος."[39] τίς οὖν ἐπέφανεν; Δαυίδ σε διδάσκει λέγων "εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου."[40] εἰπὲ φανερῶς, ὦ Δαυίδ, "ἀναβόησον τῇ ἰσχύι καὶ μὴ φείσῃ· ὡς σάλπιγγα ὕψωσον τὴν φωνήν σου,"[41] εἰπὲ τίς οὗτος; Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων· "Θεὸς Κύριος, καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν."[42] "ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο"·[43] συνῆλθον αἱ φύσεις καὶ ἀσύγχυτος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἕνωσις.

IX. Ἦλθεν σῶσαι, ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν καὶ παθεῖν. πῶς ἦν δυνατὸν ἑκάτερα; ἄνθρωπος ψιλὸς σῶσαι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν· Θεὸς γυμνὸς παθεῖν οὐκ ἠδύναντο. τί οὖν; αὐτὸς ὢν Θεὸς [ὁ Ἐμμανουὴλ] γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ᾧ μὲν ἦν, ἔσωσεν, ᾧ δὲ γέγονεν, ἔπαθεν. διὰ τοῦτο ὡς εἶδεν ἡ ἐκκλησία στεφανώσασαν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἀκάνθαις τὴν συναγωγήν, θρηνοῦσα τὴν τόλμαν ἔλεγεν· "θυγατέρες Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐξέλθατε καὶ ἴδετε τὸν στέφανον, ᾧ ἐστεφάνωσεν αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ."[44] αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἐφόρεσεν στέφανον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀκανθῶν ἔλυσεν ἀπόφασιν.[45] ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν κόλποις

[34]Gal. 3.13 [35]cf. Lk. 1.35 [36]cf. Jn. 19.23 [37]Lk. 1.79 [38]Col. 1.13 [39]Eph. 5.8
[40]Ps. 117.26 [41]Is. 58.1 [42]Ps. 117.27 [43]Jn. 1.14 [44]Song 3.11 [45]cf. Gen. 3.18–19

131 ἕνωσιν DR συνάφειαν VMPSAW **143** ὁ ἐμμανουὴλ codd. om. AR

exchange for mankind the body taken from the virgin that he bore. And he redeemed the world from the curse of the law, by death destroying death—as Paul cries, "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law."[34]

VIII. So he who bought us was no mere man, you Jew! For the nature of man was enslaved to sin. Nor was he solely God, without humanity. For he had a body, you Manichee! Had he not clothed himself in me, he would not have saved me. Rather, when he appeared in the Virgin's womb he clothed himself in him who was condemned; there it was that the awesome contract was concluded. He gave spirit and took flesh. The same one was both with the Virgin and of the Virgin; by his "overshadowing,"[35] he was with her; by becoming incarnate, he was of her. If Christ is one (person) and God the Word another, then there is no longer a Trinity, but a quaternity. Do not rend the robe of the incarnation which was "woven from above."[36] Do not be the disciple of Arius, for he in his impiety divided the divine essence; you must take care not to sunder the union, lest you be sundered from God. Who was it that "shone on those who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death"?[37] A man? But how? For men dwelt in "darkness," as Paul says: "He has delivered us from the power of darkness,"[38] and again: "Once you were darkness."[39] Then who was it who "shone"? David teaches you when he says, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!"[40] Tell us plainly, David: "Cry with strength and spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet,"[41] and tell us who this is. The Lord the God of hosts! "The Lord is God, and he has shined upon us!"[42] For "the Word became flesh,"[43] the natures came together and the union remained unconfused.

IX. He came to save, but he also had to suffer. How were both possible? Mere man had no power to save. One who was solely God could not suffer. What happened then? He who was God became man. By what he was, he saved; and by what he became, he suffered. When therefore the church saw the synagogue crowning him with thorns, she bewailed the outrage in these words: "Daughters of Jerusalem, go forth and behold the crown with which his mother crowned him."[44] For he both wore the crown of thorns and undid the sentence of the thorns.[45]

[34]Gal. 3.13 [35]cf. Lk. 1.35 [36]cf. Jn. 19.23 [37]Lk. 1.79 [38]Col. 1.13 [39]Eph. 5.8
[40]Ps. 117.26 [41]Is. 58.1 [42]Ps. 117.27 [43]Jn. 1.14 [44]Song 3.11 [45]cf. Gen. 3.18–19

πατρὸς[46] καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ παρθένου, ἐν ἀγκάλαις μητρὸς καὶ ἐπὶ πτερύγων ἀνέμων,[47] ὑπ' ἀγγέλων προσεκυνεῖτο[48] καὶ τελώναις συνανέκειτο·[49] τὰ σεραφεὶμ οὐ προσέβλεπεν[50] καὶ Πιλάτος ἠρώτα·[51] ὁ δοῦλος ἐράπιζεν[52] καὶ ἡ κτίσις ἔφριττεν. ἐπὶ σταυροῦ ἐπήγνυτο καὶ ὁ θρόνος οὐκ ἐγυμνοῦτο· ἐν τάφῳ κατεκλείετο καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξέτεινεν ὡσεὶ δέρριν·[53] ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλογίζετο καὶ τὸν ᾅδην ἐσκύλευεν. κάτω πλάνος ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο[54] καὶ ἄνω ἅγιος ἐδοξολογεῖτο. ὢ τοῦ μυστηρίου· βλέπω τὰ θαύματα καὶ ἀνακηρύττω τὴν θεότητα· ὁρῶ τὰ πάθη καὶ οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, ἀλλ' ὁ Ἐμμανουὴλ φύσεως μὲν πύλας ἀνέῳξεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, παρθενείας δὲ κλεῖθρα οὐ διέρρηξεν ὡς Θεὸς, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐκ μήτρας ἐξῆλθεν, ὡς δι' ἀκοῆς εἰσῆλθεν· οὕτως ἐτέχθη, ὡς συνελήφθη. ἀπαθῶς εἰσῆλθεν, ἀφράστως ἐξῆλθεν κατὰ τὸν προφήτην Ἰεζεκιὴλ τὸν λέγοντα· "ἐπέστρεψέν με, φησί, Κύριος κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πύλης τῶν ἁγίων τῆς ἐξωτέρας τῆς βλεπούσης κατὰ ἀνατολάς, καὶ αὕτη ἦν κεκλεισμένη. καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος πρός με· υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, ἡ πύλη αὕτη κεκλεισμένη ἔσται, οὐκ ἀνοιχθήσεται. οὐδεὶς οὐ μὴ διέλθῃ δι' αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἢ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, μόνος αὐτὸς εἰσελεύσεται καὶ ἐξελεύσεται, καὶ ἔσται ἡ πύλη κεκλεισμένη."[55] ἰδοὺ ἀπόδειξις ἐναργὴς τῆς ἁγίας καὶ Θεοτόκου Μαρίας· λελύσθω λοιπὸν ἀντιλογία πᾶσα, καὶ τῇ τῶν γραφῶν φωτιζώμεθα διδασκαλίᾳ, ἵνα καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν τύχωμεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

[46]cf. Jn. 1.18 [47]Ps. 103.3 [48]Heb. 1.6 [49]Mt. 9.10; Mk. 2.15 [50]cf. Is. 6.2 [51]Mk. 15.2, 4 [52]Jn. 18.22 [53]Ps. 103.2 [54]Mt. 27.63 [55]Ezek. 44.1–2

152 post θρόνος add. τῆς δόξης VMPSDW **154** κάτω AR ὧδε VMPSDW **159** ἀπαθῶς codd. ἀφθάρτως VPS **166** τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου παρθένου μαρίας S

For the same one was in the "Father's bosom"[46] and in the Virgin's womb, in his mother's arms and on the "wings of the wind,"[47] adored by angels[48] and "dining with tax collectors."[49] Seraphim would not look at him,[50] and "Pilate interrogated him."[51] A "servant struck him,"[52] and creation trembled. While nailed on the cross, he did not depart from his throne; while shut in the tomb, he was "stretching out the heavens like a curtain";[53] while numbered with the dead, he was plundering Hades. Below he was accused as a "deceiver,"[54] above he was glorified as the Holy One. What a mystery! Beholding his miracles, I extol his divinity; seeing the sufferings, I cannot deny his humanity. As man, Emmanuel opened the gates of human nature; as God, he left the bars of virginity unbroken. As he entered through the ear, so too did he come out from the womb; as he was conceived, so was he born. His entering in was altogether without passion, and his coming out was altogether beyond understanding—as the prophet Ezekiel said: "The Lord brought me back by the way of the outer gate of the sanctuary, which faces east; and it was shut. And the Lord said to me, 'Son of man, this gate shall be shut; it shall not be opened. No one shall pass through it, but the Lord, the God of Israel, he alone shall enter and come out, and the gate shall be shut'."[55] There you have a clear testimony to the Holy and 'God-bearing' Mary. Let all contradiction now cease, and let us be enlightened by the teaching of the Scriptures, so that we may attain to the kingdom of heaven in Christ Jesus our Lord. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

[46]cf. Jn. 1.18 [47]Ps. 103.3 [48]Heb. 1.6 [49]Mt. 9.10; Mk. 2.15 [50]cf. Is. 6.2 [51]Mk. 15.2, 4 [52]Jn. 18.22 [53]Ps. 103.2 [54]Mt. 27.63 [55]Ezek. 44.1–2

HOMILY 1

NOTES AND COMMENTARY

1.I, 1–3: Riccardi, the first editor of Homily 1, entitled the work a '*laudatio* (ἐγκώμιον) on the Holy Theotokos,' which is consistent not only with the sermon's contents but with an abundance of ancient witnesses that copy or cite from the 'sermon (λόγος) on the Holy Theotokos by Proclus.' The lemma provided by Schwartz reflects the forensic and archival requirements of the Council of Ephesus which, in one version of its proceedings, identifies Proclus' sermon as a 'Homily on the Incarnation.' In the Greek text printed above, I have retained the Ephesine lemma with its important historical information, and in the English translation have chosen to foreground the sacred figure of the Theotokos who provided the occasion for this work.

1.I, 4: 'Festival' (πανήγυρις): cf. Proclus, hom. 3.I, 3.

1.I, 5: 'Those who assemble to keep it' (τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν): cf. chap. 2, p. 59, n. 52.

1.I, 5–6: 'The present feast has benefits to bestow,' cf. Proclus, hom. 3.II, 8–13.

1.I, 6: 'Subject' (ὑπόθεσις): cf. Proclus, hom. 4.I, 3. A common literary term for the summary review of a book, the pretext for a plot, or a subject proposed for discussion; but also groundwork, foundation, basis, cause, reason, occasion, and opportunity; cf. Ps.-Chrysostom, *princip. ieiunii* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, 58, no. 53): εἴδετε πάντες πῶς ἀνοίγει τῶν ἑορτῶν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἡ νηστεία; βούλεσθε σαφεστέρως αὐτῆς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν μαθεῖν; (*PG* 56.527D); id., *annunt.* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, 68–69, no. 72): πᾶσαν γλῶτταν νικᾷ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡ ὑπόθεσις (*PG* 60.756D); Theodotus, hom. 2.12: ὑπόθεσις τοίνυν τῆς σήμερον πανηγύρεως τὸ Θεὸν γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον, ἑλόμενον τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἵνα δῷ τὰ θεϊκά (*ACO* I, 1, 2, p. 79, line 20); id., hom. 4.3: οὐ γὰρ περιγράφεται ῥητορικοῖς λόγοις τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν (*PG* 77.1393AB); Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.1: 'The great Basil used to constantly furnish me with subjects (ὑποθέσεις) for my discourses' (ed. Bernardi, *SC* 384 [1992], 31,

cf. ibid., n. 2, for further attestations); and Chrysostom, *pent.*, 1: λέγω τῶν ἑορτῶν τάς ὑποθέσεις (*PG* 50.454).

1.I, 8: 'Lovely is the gathering!' (ἐπέραστος ἡ σύνοδος): cf. chap. 2, p. 68.

1.I, 13: 'Called us here today' (συνεκάλεσεν): cf. Chrysostom, *pan. Barl.*, 1: συνεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἑορτὴν καὶ πανήγυριν ὁ μακάριος Βαρλαάμ (*PG* 50.675); Ps.-Chrysostom, *laud. s. Ioannis Theol.* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, 27–28, no. 16): συνεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὁ ἁγιώτατος Ἰωάννης (*PG* 61.719); Cyril of Alexandria, hom. 4: φαιδρὸν ὁρῶ τὸ σύστημα, τῶν ἁγίων πάντων συνεληλυθότων, κεκλημένων ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας (*ACO* I, 1, 2, p. 102, lines 14–15).

1.I, 14: 'Vessel' (κειμήλιον): cf. *Apoc. Esdrae*, where God desires the righteous to be a κειμήλιον τῆς παρθενίας (ed. Tischendorf [1886], 24, line 14); Cyril of Alexandria, hom. 4: χαίροις παρ' ἡμῶν, Μαρία θεοτόκε, τὸ σεμνὸν κειμήλιον ἁπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης (*ACO* I, 1, 2, p. 102, line 20); Ps.-Athanasius, *descrip. deip.* (attributed to Proclus, cf. Marx, 77–79, no. 86): ἀκηλίδωτον ἔμεινε τὸ παρθενικὸν κειμήλιον (*PG* 28.957A); Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.*: (attributed to Proclus, cf. Marx, 68–69, no. 72): ἀμόλυντον τὸ σκεῦος, ἄσπιλον τὸ κειμήλιον (*PG* 60.759A); Ps.-Epiphanius, *laud. Mariae*: Μαρία τὸ πανάρρητον τῆς οἰκονομίας κειμήλιον ... τὸ φρικτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κειμήλιον ... τὸ ἀνεκλάλητον τοῦ παραδείσου κειμήλιον (*PG* 43.489AB; 497AB; 501B); John of Damascus, *nat. Mariae*, I.5: τὸ τῆς παρθενίας κειμήλιον προσηγάγατε (ed. Kotter [1988], 5:173, line 5); Ps.-John of Damascus, *annunt.*: Θεοῦ θεοφόρον κειμήλιον (*PG* 96.649CD). See also Basil of Seleucia, *annunt.*, 6 (attributed to Proclus, cf. Marx, 85–89, no. 89): "If Paul was called a 'chosen vessel' (Acts 9.15) because he carried about the honorable name of Christ and preached it throughout the world, what sort of vessel (σκεῦος) might the Theotokos be? Not one like the golden urn which held the manna, but rather one who contained (χωρήσασα) in her womb the Heavenly Bread" (*PG* 85.449B).

1.I, 14: 'Workshop' (ἐργαστήριον): cf. Proclus, hom. 4.II, 30; Ps.-Proclus, hom. 6.13: ἀμόλυντον τῆς φύσεως τὸ ἐργαστήριον (ed. Leroy, 316, line 6); Philo, *v.Mos.*, 2.85 (cited below, chap. 6, p. 331, n. 36); Clement, *strom.*, 3.12.83: ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ διαπλαττομένου τοῦ σπέρματος εἰς ἔμβρυον (ed. Stählin, *GCS* 52 [15] [1960], 234, lines 13–14); ibid., 4.23.150: ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ μυστικῶς ἀνθρώπου ἐκτελεῖται γένεσις (ibid., 315, lines 2–4); Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 28.22:

'What was the first stage in the process of molding us and bringing us together in nature's workshop?' (ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ) (ed. Gallay, *SC* 250 [1978], 146, lines 11–12); Gregory of Nyssa, *hom. opif.*: μὴ ἄψυχον ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ γενέσθαι τῆς φύσεως (*PG* 44.240A); Theodoret, *comm. Pss.*: ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ διαπλάττοντα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆν φύσιν (*PG* 80.1940A); Epiphanius, *anc.*, 75.5: ὁ σωτὴρ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀπ' οὐρανῶν κατελθών, ὁ ἐν ἐργαστηρίῳ παρθενικῷ καταξιώσας τὴν ἡμετέραν ποιήσασθαι σωτηρίαν (ed. Holl, *GCS* 25 [1915], 1:94, lines 23–25); Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.*: εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν ... ὅτι τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας γέγονας ἐργαστήριον καθαρώτατον (*PG* 62.766B).

1.I, 16–17: 'The Living Bush of Human Nature,' cf. Proclus, hom. 2.IX; hom. 24.16–17: "In the burning bush Moses described in advance the mystery of the Word's birth in the flesh" (ed. Martin, 42). The Marian typology of the burning bush was established by Gregory of Nyssa, *v.Mos.* 2.21 (ed. Musurillo, *GNO* 7.1 [1964], 39, lines 17–20); cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *adv. Anthropom.*, 26 (*PG* 76.1129A); id., *hom. pasch.* 17 (*PG* 77.781–84); and Nestorius, in Drivers and Hodgsen, *Heracleides*, 2/1:160. This image, employed by virtually all factions in the christological controversy, stresses, according to Grillmeier, the "unmingledness in becoming one, or rather the imperishability: the thornbush is not consumed. Thus we have an 'unmingled unity,' represented, however, in physical processes," cf. *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 2/2:39–40.

1.I, 18–19: 'The Purest Fleece' (cf. Jg. 6.37–38). Gideon's bedewed fleece was a sign that God would lead Israel to victory, and may perhaps have some resonance with the polemical context of Proclus' homily. See also Joseph the Hymnographer, *Canon ad hymnum Acathiston*, 6.2: χαῖρε ὁ πόκος ὁ ἔνδροσος ὃν Γεδεών, Παρθένε, προεθεάσατο (*PG* 105.1024A); and chap. 6, p. 341, n. 56.

1.I, 20–21: 'Bridge' (γέφυρα): cf. *Acathistos Hymnus*, 3: χαῖρε κλίμαξ ἐπουράνιε δι' ἧς κατέβη ὁ Θεός· χαῖρε γέφυρα μετάγουσα τοὺς ἐκ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανόν (ed. Wellesz [1957], 69, lines 12–15); Joseph the Hymnographer, ibid., 4.2: χαῖρε ἡ γέφυρα ὄντως ἡ μετάγουσα ἐκ θανάτου πάντας πρὸς ζωὴν τοὺς ὑμνοῦντας σε (*PG* 105.1021B).

1.I, 21: 'Loom' (ἱστός): A detailed description of cloth-making is provided by Theodoret, *prov.*, 4: "(God) said in conversation to Job: 'Who has given the wisdom of weaving to women and the knowledge of embroidery?'" (Job 38.36). Truly this beautiful art also is a gift of God

… For the fleece (ἔρια) is sheared and washed with water. It is first sorted and carded (διαξαίνεται καὶ διαιρεῖται) into fine shreds, then the thread (κάταγμα) is made into a skein (μήρυμα). The next stage is the actual spinning, and in this stage the weaver (ταλασιουργία) takes threads that are entire and have the appearance, so to speak, of straight lines and separates these from the rest. When the rest is separated, the woof (κρόκη) is prepared for the warp (στήμων). Next, women take it in hand and weave the fine yarns (τὰ λεπτὰ νήθουσι νήματα). First they place the woof (κρόκη) like strings in order on the looms (ἐν τοῖς ἱστοῖς) and pass them through the warp (στήμονας), separating the threads with the combs, loosening some of the broken lines and tightening others; then they thrust and compress the woof (κρόκη) with the instruments made for this purpose and in that way complete the web (ὕφασμα). Who would not justly marvel at this wisdom given to mortals? Notice how on a single color of underlying threads, woolen (ἐρίων) or silken, imitations of all kinds of living things are embroidered, the forms of men, hunters, worshipers, and the images of trees and countless other objects" (*PG* 83.617CD; trans. Halton [1988], 54–55, slightly modified). On the image of the loom and the symbolism of weaving, see below, chap. 6.

1.I, 22: 'The interlocking thread' (ἔριθος): cf. the prayer of Hezekiah cited in Is. 38.12: "My breath was with me like cloth on the loom (ἱστός), when she that weaves draws nigh to cut off the thread" (ἔριθος).

1.I, 25: On the notion of the Virgin's *conceptio per aurem*, cf. Proclus, hom. 3.V, 47–48; and below, chap. 5.

1.II, 27: 'Restriction … did not constrict him,' cf. Proclus, hom. 4.I, 15; hom. 24.20: ὅν γὰρ οὐρανὸς οὐκ ἐχώρησεν, γαστὴρ παρθένου οὐκ ἐστενοχώρησεν (ed. Martin, 43); hom. 36: "Those who receive the sacred mystery in faith shall contain (χωροῦσιν) me in their hearts, whom heaven itself cannot contain (ὅν αὐτὸς ὁ οὐρανὸς οὐκ ἐχώρησεν)" (ed. Amand, 233–34); Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Christi natalem diem* (= Proclus, cf. Marx, 30–31, no. 18; Leroy, 272): χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη· ὁ λαμπρός οὐρανὸς ἡ τὸν ἀχώρητον ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἔχουσα Θεὸν ἀχώρητον καὶ ἀστενοχώρητον (*PG* 61.737); Ps.-Chrysostom, *pasch.*: ὅν οὐρανὸς οὐκ ἐχώρησεν, οὐκ ἐστενοχώρησεν ἡ γαστὴρ τῆς παρθένου (ed. Baur [1953], 55, who attributes this sermon to Nestorius, or to a Nestorian writer of the fifth century); Theodotus, hom. 4.3: χαίροις, χώρημα ἐλάχιστον, χωρήσασα τὸν τοῖς πάσιν ἀχώρητον (*PG* 77.1393C); Ps.-Epiphanius,

laud. Mariae: Θεὸν ἀχώρητον ἐν σοὶ δὲ χωρητὸν καὶ ἀστενοχώρητον (*PG* 43.492A); and Ps.-John of Damascus, *annunt.*: χαῖρε, ὅτι μόνη ἀστενοχωρήτως ἐχώρησας ὅνπερ κόσμος χωρῆσαι οὐ δύναται (*PG* 96.656A).

1.II, 33: 'Birth pangs' (ὠδῖνα): cf. Proclus, hom. 2.IV, 40–41. While this word refers primarily to the labor and travail of childbirth, it also has a range of metaphorical applications, particularly in the context of Socratic maieutics; cf. Plato, *Theaetatus*, 148E, 151a, 210B; *Symposium*, 206E; and *Republic*, 6.490AB: 'To beget intellect and truth, attain knowledge and truly live and grow, and so find surcease from travail' (γεννήσας νοῦν καὶ ἀλήθειαν, γνοίη τε καὶ ἀληθῶς ζῴη καὶ τρέφοιτο καὶ οὕτω λήγοι ὠδῖνος); and the λόγων ὠδῖνες of Himerius, *In adventum Cypriorum civium* (ed. A. Colonna, *Himerii Declamationes et Orationes* [Rome, 1951], 105, line 9); *Or. extemp. in auditorium suum* (ibid., 231, line 29).

1.II, 33–34: 'The business at hand' (πραγματευόμενον); cf. 1.VI, 88: ἐπραγματεύσατο; Proclus, hom. 23.15: τὴν γὰρ ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν ἡ φρικτὴ ἐπραγματεύσατο οἰκονομία (ed. Martin, 47); Ps.-Chrysostom, *ascen.*: ὤ πόσα ὁ ἀγαθὸς διὰ δούλων πονηρῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπραγματεύσατο (= Proclus, cf. Marx, 45, no. 35; Leroy, 272).

1.II, 34–35; cf. 43–44: On the notion of 'inhabitation without defilement,' cf. Proclus, hom. 5.II, 44–45; and the close parallel in Ps.-Chrysostom, *in illud: Hic est filius meus* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, 71–72, no. 78): ἣν γὰρ κτίσας οὐκ ἐμολύνθη, ταύτην οὐδὲ κατοικήσας ἐχράνθη (*PG* 64.35BC). See also Atticus of Constantinople: "If it was shameful for God to dwell in the Virgin, it would have been even more shameful for God to have created her. But the Creator was not insulted, neither did he consider it shameful to dwell in his own creation" (εἰ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν Θεῷ τὸ παρθένον οἰκῆσαι, αἰσχρότερόν που πάντως καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι. εἰ δὲ δημιουργῶν οὐχ ὑβρίσθη, οὐδὲ οἰκῆσαι τὸ δημιούργημα αἰσχύνης ἄξιον ἔκρινε) (*ACO* I, 1, 7, p. 95, lines 11–13; cf. above, chap. 2, p. 61, n. 56); Athanasius, *inc.*, 17.5: "The Word did not suffer (ἔπασχεν) when he was born from the Virgin, neither was he polluted (ἐμολύνετο) by being in a body. Instead, he sanctified the body" (ed. Kannengiesser, *SC* 199 [1973], 328, lines 30–32); and Theodotus, hom. 1.11: "Do not make the Virgin's reproductive organs (μέλη) a cause of offense to the divinity, for the nature of these are not without their own dignity … for the reproductive organs are not by nature shameful, but are dishonored by disordered desires. If they were shameful by nature, God would not have fashioned them with his own hands, for God is not the maker

of loathsome things, but only of the most beautiful … if God was not defamed when he created these organs, neither is it a disgrace for him to inhabit them" (*ACO* I, 1, 1, p. 89, lines 8–17).

1.II, 37: 'When the doors were sealed,' cf. Proclus, hom. 36: "Correcting his faithlessness by faith, Thomas cried out, 'My Lord and my God' (Jn. 20.28) who in his birth kept intact the seals of virginity, who came forth from a sealed tomb, and who entered in to his disciples 'when the doors were sealed' (Jn. 20.26)" (ed. Amand, 249, lines 4–10); cf. I.IX, 160.

1.III, 47: 'The bond that gave us all liberty' (ἐλευθερίας γραμματεῖον): cf. Proclus, hom. 23.8: ἐλευθερίας γραμματεῖον συντάττεται (ed. Martin, 45); Sozomen, *H.E.*, 1.9.7: "The records of these pious regulations are still extant, it having been the custom to engrave on bonds all laws relating to manumission" (ταύτης τῆς ἐσεβοῦς ἐφευρέσεως εἰσέτι νῦν ὁ χρόνος φέρει τὸν ἔλεχγον, ἔθους κρατοῦντος τοὺς περὶ τούτου νόμους προγράφεσθαι ἐν τοῖς γραμματεῖοις τῶν ἐλευθεριῶν) (ed. Bidez, *GCS* 4 [1995], 21, lines 6–8); Basil of Seleucia, *Or. in Cainum et Abelum*: τί δὲ μὴ πρότερον τῇ Εὔᾳ τῆς τελευτῆς τὸ γραμματεῖον ὑπηγορεύετο; ἀλλ' ἐνδίδωσιν ὁ Θεὸς πρῶτον ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν Ἄβελ … καὶ τοῦ θανάτου γραμματεῖον ἀβέβαιον γένηται (*PG* 85.65B).

1.III, 48: 'Sword,' lit. 'weapon' (ὅπλον): cf. Proclus, hom. 4.II, 45; and chp. 6, p. 358, n. 103.

1.III, 49: 'Sprouted forth … as an ear of corn' (στάχυς): cf. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Christi natalem diem* (= Proclus, as above, 1.II, 27): χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, οὐρανίου στάχυος ἀθέριστος ἄρουρα (*PG* 61.737); Basil of Seleucia, *Or. in Cainum et Abelum*: ἐντεῦθεν (i.e., with the union of Adam and Eve) ἤρξατο τοὺς λογικοὺς στάχυας βλαστάνειν ἡ φύσις (*PG* 85.68A); Joseph the Hymnographer, *Canon*, 3.1: στάχυν ἡ βλαστήσασα τὸν θεῖον, ὡς χῶρα ἀνήροτος σαφῶς (*PG* 105.BC).

1.III, 55: 'The flesh … sat on a throne,' cf. Proclus, hom. 21 (*PG* 65.833–37).

1.IV, 63: 'Without mother and without father' (Heb. 7.3). Here, Proclus interprets a contested passage of scripture concerning the 'double generation' of Christ that had been misunderstood by Nestorius, cf. Loofs, 252, lines 4–7 (= Nestorius, 'First Sermon against the Theotokos').

1.V, 67: 'The name of Gabriel.' Proclus' etymology is essentially correct: the Hebrew name is composed of the words *Gever*, which means a young or strong man, especially a warrior, and *El*, a word for God. For further discussion on Gabriel's role in the incarnation, and on his confusion with the figure of Christ, see chap. 5.

1.V, 71f.: Proclus' narrative of the Fall and subsequent plight of humanity, cast in legalistic and contractual terms, bears comparison with Athanasius, *inc.*, 6–7 (ed. Kannengiesser, 282–88); for commentary, see Meijering, *Athanasius* (1989), 70–86.

1.V, 72: 'Signed a bond to sin' (ἐχειρογραφήσαμεν): cf. Proclus, hom. 4.I, 23–24; hom. 23.8: χειρόγραφον σχίζεται (ed. Martin, 45). Based on the 'cheirograph' of Col. 2.14, it was believed that humans, by their sins, incurred a 'bill of indebtedness' annulled or erased by Christ through his baptism and crucifixion; cf. Chrysostom, *hom.* 6.3 *in Col.*: "We were all under sin and punishment. He himself, through suffering punishment, did away with both the sin and the punishment, and he was not punished on the cross. He affixed the bond to the cross and tore it asunder. What bond (ποῖον χειρόγραφον)? ... the one which the devil held possession of (κατεῖχεν), the bond which God made for Adam, saying, 'In the day thou eatest of the tree, thou shalt die' (Gen. 2.17). This bond the devil held in his possession (κατεῖχεν)" (*PG* 62.340–41). See also *Acathistos Hymnus*, 23: "Wishing to forgive long outstanding payments (ὀφλημάτων ἀρχαίων), the discharger of all human debts (ὁ πάντων χρεωλύτης ἀνθρώπων) came to those who were exiled from his grace, and having torn up the bond of indebtedness (καὶ σχίσας τὸ χειρόγραφον) he hears from all: 'Alleluia'" (ed. Wellesz, 79, lines 1–7). Similarly, one renounced the devil and joined Christ through a baptismal ritual in which the tongue signs its verbal agreement to the creed, cf. Proclus, *Tome*: τῇ (πίστει) δι' ἧς ἐσώθημεν καὶ ἥν ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι τῇ γλώττῃ ἐχειρογραφήσαμεν (189, line 9). On the entire subject, see Stone, *Adam's Contract* (2001).

1.V, 73–74: 'Using our suffering body as his paper,' cf. Theodoret, *eran.*, 3: "When Paul says that the Lord affixed our 'bond' to the cross, he means that he affixed our body to it, for every man inscribes (πήγνυσι) his body with the marks of sins as if they were letters (οἷόν τινα γράμματα)" (ed. Ettlinger, 264, line 22).

1.VI, 95: On the priesthood of Christ, see above, p. 67.

1.VIII, 122: This is a thinly-veiled slur on the 'low' and thus 'Judaizing' christology of Nestorius, cf. Riccardi, *Procli Analecta*, 92, who notes that 'per metonymiam Nestorium intelligit.' In the *Tome*, Proclus alludes to the Nestorians as those who have introduced a "novel blasphemy worse than that of Judaism, for the Jews merely denied the true Son, while the (Nestorians) introduce another son alongside the true one" (193, lines 27–28). See above, chap. 3, p. 114, n. 96. See also Anastasius of Sinai, *Hodegos*, 4: τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος περὶ Νεστορίου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς ἰουδαιόφρονος καὶ χαλδαίου ἀσσυρίου χοίρου (ed. Uthemann, *CCSG* 8 [1981], 88, lines 141–42). Theological interpretations of Christ which minimized or denied his divinity were frequently said to be 'Jewish' or 'Judaizing' based in part on Jn. 10.33 ("The Jews answered him … 'We stone you for blasphemy; because you, being a man, make yourself God'"), and received initial impetus in the fourth-century debates over the place of Christ in the godhead. Basil of Caesarea, for example, regularly compares the views of his theological opponents to 'Judaism,' cf. *Sabell.* (*PG* 31.600); ep. 210: ἰουδαϊσμός ἐστιν ὁ σαβελλισμός ἐν προσχήματι χριστιανισμοῦ (ed. Courtonne, 2:192, lines 13–14); ep. 189 (ibid., 2:133, lines 26–30); cf. Graham, *The True Israel* (1996); and Brakke, "Jewish Flesh and Christian Spirit" (2001). In addition, debates about the virgin birth figure prominently in anti-Jewish literature, such as the anonymous sixth-century *dialogus cum Iudaeis* edited by Declerk, *CCSG* 30 (1994), which deals extensively with a series of Marian typologies (chp. 5, 1–50). Declerk notes that the *dial.* cites a 'theopaschite' passage from the *Tome* (*ACO* IV, 192, line 7, at chp. 2, 255–56), and that the phrase τὸ ἀδιάφθορον τῆς ἁγνείας κειμήλιον (chp. 5, 217–18) is indebted to Proclus, hom. 1.I, 14 (as above).

1.VIII, 129: 'No longer a Trinity but a quaternity,' cf. Proclus, hom. 3.V, 41–42; *Tomus*, 16: 'There is only one Son, and worshipping the consubstantial Trinity, we do not introduce a fourth in number' (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 190, lines 23–24). Charges of material additions to the Trinity thereby producing a quaternity were not uncommon in Christian antiquity, cf. Athanasius, *ep. Epictet.*, 2, 8, 9 (*PG* 26.1053B, 1064BC, 1065B); Ps.-Athanasius (= Apollinarian), *quod unus sit Christ.*, 4 (ed. Lietzmann, 296, line 9); Apollinarius, *fid. sec. part.* (ibid., 179, line 3); Theodoret, ep. 142 (ed. Azéma, *SC* 111 [1965], 196); Eutherius of Tyana, *Antilogia*, 7 (ed. Tetz [1964], 13–14); *Synodus Ephes.* (*ACO* I, 1, 4, p. 10, line 7); *Synodus CP* (*ACO* III, p. 8, line 18). See also Galot, "Une seule personne" (1989), 261, n. 26; and above, chap. 3, p. 107, n. 82.

1.IX, 148f.: 'In the Father's bosom and in the Virgin's womb,' cf. Ps.-Athanasius, *descr. deipar.* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, *Procliana*, 77–79, no. 86): "Who would not marvel at the Lord's condescension? Above he is free, and below he is registered for a census; above he is a Son, below he is a slave; above, a King, below, a hireling; above, he is rich, below, he is in need; above, he is worshipped, below he is taxed; above, the divine throne, below, a rustic cave; above he dwells in the incomprehensible bosom of the Father, below he resides in a small trough for cattle" (*PG* 28.945BC).

1.IX, 152–53: 'While nailed to the cross … he was glorifed as the Holy One.' This passage is cited by John of Damascus, *De hymno Trisagio*, 17 (ed. Kotter [1981], 4:323, lines 3–6). For polemical purposes, the Damascene amplifies the closing verse as follows: "He was glorifed as 'Holy, Holy, Holy'," but admits that "in one, two, and in many ancient books I have read Saint Proclus using the designation 'Holy' only once," arguing that in either case the meaning is the same. In proof of this assertion, he cites a passage from Proclus, Homily 5.II, 50–58. As noted above, chap. 1, p. 11, n. 12, the Trisagion was believed to have been miraculously revealed to the people of Constantinople, after which the 'thrice-blessed' Proclus inserted it into the Divine Liturgy, a tradition repeated by John of Damascus, ibid., 6 (Kotter, 314, lines 35–43); and again in his *fid. orth.*, 54.3.10 (ed. Kotter [1973], 2:130).

1.IX, 160: On the prophecy of Ezekiel, cf. Amphilocius, *occurs.*, 3: "One of the contradictors might say: 'If the verse: "Every male child which opens the womb is holy to the Lord" (Lk. 2.23, citing Ex. 13.2) is applied to the Lord, then the Virgin did not remain a virgin' … But I say that her virginal gates where in no way opened in accordance with the the will of the one who was born, for about him it is written: 'This is the gate of the Lord, and he shall enter and come out, and the gate shall be shut' (Ezek. 44.2)" (ed. Datema, *CCSG* 3 [1978], 45–46). See also, Hesychius, above, p. 132, n. 6, who similarly associates the 'closed womb' of the virgin birth with the 'closed gate' of Ezekiel, the 'sealed tomb' of the resurrection, and the 'closed doors' of the story of Thomas in the Gospel of John. Aubineau notes that the harmonization of these passages resides partly in the image of Christ as the 'rising sun' (ἀνατολή) dawning from the grave (i.e., from Ezekiel's gate which 'faces Eastward' [κατὰ ἀνατολάς]), and appearing to his disciples after the resurrection 'through closed doors' (Aubineau, 122–23). See also Babić, "Image symbolique de la porte fermée (1968).

HOMILY 2

ON THE INCARNATION AND ON THE LAMPSTAND OF ZECHARIAH

Introduction

Composed of two generically distinctive parts, Homily 2 begins as a discourse on the mystery of the incarnation (chaps. 1–8) but abruptly shifts focus and concludes with a detailed mariological interpretation of the lampstand of Zechariah (Zech. 4.1–6; cf. Heb. 9.2) (chaps. 9–12). The discourse begins with a rhythmic praise of the Psalter, the 'harp of the Holy Spirit,' which, like the harps of Apollo and Orpheus, has a wide range of enchanting effects. Here its chief virtue is to 'promulgate the doctrine of the Trinity' through the language and imagery of Ps. 109.1, a passage cited by Christ as a witness to his own divinity (Mt. 22.44; cf. Heb. 1.13). This is immediately followed by a reference to Ps. 103.24, which seems to have been recited in the order of worship prior to the delivery of the sermon. The psalmist's professed inability in that verse to 'magnify' the wisdom of creation serves as a rebuke to those who would venture to 'diminish' either the fullness of the Trinity (i.e., Arius and Eunomius), or the divinity of Christ (i.e., Nestorius) and the Holy Spirit (i.e., Macedonius).

Gesturing toward the majesty and mystery of creation was a way to persuade one's audience about the absolute transcendence of the creator. If knowledge of created being is ultimately beyond the grasp of human understanding, then it follows that the being of the creator cannot be the object of human scrutiny and disputation. This traditional approach, however, is modified by Proclus who argues for the reasonableness (if only to the logic of the Christian religious imagination) of the incarnation when viewed through the framework of Paul's notion of Adam as a 'type' of Christ (Rom. 5.14; cf. 1 Cor. 15.21–22, 45–49). Through a series of rhetorical antitheses, Proclus stresses both the continuity of these two archetypical figures as well as their points of divergence. In the last of these antitheses, the 'sleep of Adam' during the creation of Eve (Gen. 2.21) is compared to the death and burial of Christ, from whose wounded side emerged the church.

In an indication that Homily 2 was rather freely improvised, the discourse turns tangentially to the 'disputed question' of 'Adam's sleep' during the creation of Eve. This digression, however, effectively brings the discourse full circle, as the cosmological argument of the opening section is enfolded within the anthropology of its conclusion. Not only is the nature of the universe beyond the capacity of human understanding, but so too the mystery of human generation and birth. Because Adam was not permitted to witness the formation of Eve, believers should not busy themselves with inquiries about the birth of God in the flesh. 'If you are not able to understand the origin of man,' Proclus asks, 'why do you seek to know the dispensation of God?' While these are ostensibly christological and epistemological arguments, they are also mariological, for the formation of Adam from the dust of the earth is linked by Proclus directly to the birth of Christ from the Virgin.

The second part of Homily 2 begins at chapter 9 with a comment by Proclus on the uncomfortably crowded and perhaps somewhat unruly condition of the congregation. Placing the plight of his beleaguered listeners in the context of Mt. 11.12, the preacher implores them to be patient as he embarks on another exegetical foray, this time dealing with the lampstand of Zechariah. In what might be both a rhetorical ploy to capture the attention of his distracted audience, as well as a reference to contemporary Jewish criticisms of the virgin birth, Proclus suggests that a Jewish spy has infiltrated the congregation in order afterwards to 'mock our words.' In response, Proclus stages an imaginary debate with this figure concerning Moses' vision of God on Sinai. Proclus rejects the assertion that God was 'seen' by Moses, and argues instead for the visual exclusivity of the incarnation. (Elsewhere, Moses' vision of the burning bush [Ex. 3.2] is itself said to be a foreshadowing of the Virgin, who was 'ablaze with, but unconsumed by, the fire of divinity.') Proclus then challenges his Jewish critic to judge the truth of the incarnation solely on the basis of the writings of the prophets. It is at this point that he invokes the narrative of Zechariah's vision of the seven-branched lampstand in order to provide the Theotokos with a detailed, and admittedly enigmatic, Biblical pedigree.

The dialogue continues, although now the preacher converses with the prophet, who is made to answer a series of allegorical queries. Proclus' interpretation of this passage, although perhaps remotely inspired by Hebrews 9.2, is without precedent in the history of patristic commentary on Zechariah. In the context of Jewish-Christian debates, such a move had the added advantage of usurping for Christian conceptual

use a central liturgical object from the Jewish Temple. Moreover, the sense of urgency and excitement that introduces and permeates Proclus' interpretation of the prophetic lampstand highlights the innovative character of these Marian allegories in the first half of the fifth century. It should also be stressed that much of Proclus' anti-Jewish rhetoric, evident in a number of his sermons, is often a rhetorical strategy that serves both to malign the 'Judaizing' christology of the Nestorians, and to render the complex issues of the christological controversy in categories that could be readily understood and remembered by the public (cf. 1.VIII, 122).

In terms of its structure, the text of Homily 2 seems to present the reader with two rather disjunctive discourses exhibiting at first glance virtually no coherence or integration. The first discourse is a rather finely-polished rhetorical piece, the second more prosaic and conversational. What is one to make of this curious situation? Given the often rough-hewn process whereby manuscripts were copied and transmitted, it is not impossible that these two disparate sections stem from two different sermons that were rather ineptly, if not accidentally, sewn together by a later scribe. The conflation of Proclus' homilies with those of his predecessor Atticus of Constantinople, noted earlier in this study, is an example of precisely this sort of editorial misconstruction. However, the lack of a comprehensive manuscript tradition for Homily 2 makes such a hypothesis impossible to verify. At the same time, it is not absolutely necessary to venture upon such a radical deconstruction of the text, both sections of which exhibit the freedom and fluidity of what was surely an extemporaneous delivery. It may therefore simply be the case that a disturbance in the congregation, alluded to by the preacher, which seems to have been related either to arguments over the Virgin's cult, or prompted by the attendance of Jewish (or Nestorian) detractors, impelled Proclus to embark *ex tempore* upon a polemical interpretation of Zechariah's lampstand.

As mentioned above, there are only a small number of Proclus' homilies that can be dated with any certainty. While Homily 2 cannot be precisely dated, the vehement condemnation of Nestorius, who appears at the outset in the sordid company of famous heretics, indicates that this sermon was almost certainly delivered after the Council of Ephesus in 431. Moreover, given Proclus' extensive arguments on behalf of the Theotokos, including his efforts to establish her veneration firmly on the basis of scripture, one could reasonably argue for a date in the period immediately following the Council, when such defensive argu-

mentation continued to be necessary. The sole manuscript witness for Homily 2, described below, assigns this sermon to the feast of the Nativity on 25 December. If this information is correct, then one might hazard a date as early as the winter of 431 or 432, when Proclus was still the titular bishop of Cyzicus, or perhaps the winter of 434, his first as archbishop of Constantinople.

Manuscripts

The sole witness for Proclus' Homily 2 is *Vaticanus graecus* 1633 and its direct copy *Vaticanus Barberinus graecus* 497.

V = *Vaticanus graecus* 1633. Ninth-tenth century, parchment 280 x 210 mm, fols. 359 (fols. 52–55 = Homily 2). The manuscript is an Italo-Greek *panegyricon* containing 122 homilies for the entire ecclesiastical year beginning with the feast of the 'Indiction' on 1 September, and ending with the 'Beheading of John the Baptist' on 29 August. Proclus' Homily 2 is among the nine readings for the feast of the 'Nativity' on 25 December.[1]

B = *Vaticanus Barberinus* 497 (IV.79). Seventeenth century, paper 275 x 205 mm, fols. 331 (fols. 198–202 = Homily 2). The manuscript is, in part, the autograph of the Vatican librarian Lucas Holsten (d. 1661), although folios 51–216v, which contain the text of Homily 2, were copied by an unidentified hand thought to be contemporaneous with Holsten.[2]

Although he did not collate **V** with **B**, F. J. Leroy concluded that "Le Vatic. 1633 étant le seul ms. pour les homélies 2 et 3 de Proclus, doit être le modèle de notre Barber."[3] Leroy's impression was correct, and the collation of the two manuscripts reveals **B** to be a nearly perfect copy of **V**. For example, the few incorrections in **V** have been passed on to **B**: 8 ἀποσφογγίζει || 61 ἀρχαιτύπου || 77 ἐμφυσίματος, as well as the lacuna in **V** at line 37 which has left only the words πῦρ and ὕδωρ. Moreover, and almost certainly due to the homoioteleuton in **V** of ψαλμῳδία (fol. 52v, line 2) and μελωδία (fol. 52v, line 3), **B** omits the

[1] The manuscript has been catalogued by Gianelli, *Codices Vaticani graeci* (1950), 319–31 (321.8 = Homily 2); and Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* (1938), 51:134–42 (135.19 = Homily 2). See also the detailed study and remarks of Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 67–75; as well as the comments of Devreese, *Manuscrits Grecs de l'Italie Méridionale* (1955), 11, 19, 39.

[2] See the summary note of Delehaye, "Catalogus codicum" (1900); and the more detailed description of Leroy, ibid., 74–75.

[3] Ibid., 74.

phrase τὰ πάθη κοιμίζουσα τῇ μελωδίᾳ which appears in **V** at lines 5–6. At line 120, **B** mistakenly copied five words accidentally repeated, and then deleted with a line, in **V** (fol. 54, lins 11–13: εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ σοὶ λέγω), which **B** subsequently deleted with a line and placed in parentheses.

Indirect Witnesses

a = Ps.-Anastasius of Sinai, *Quaestiones et responses*, 49 (*PG* 89.608–609). This ninth or tenth-century work[4] preserves an indirect witness to a passage in Proclus, Homily 2, cited in response to the question: 'What are the seven ἐπαρυστρίδες (i.e., conduits) which Isaiah saw?' This question, derived from an obscure passage in Zechariah (and not from Isaiah, as the *Quaestio* mistakenly states), is answered primarily by a complex citation from Homily 2, lines 150–52, 155–56, 162–77, 179–87. J. Munitiz, who is preparing a critical edition of the authentic Anastasian *Quaestiones*, has indicated that the variant readings from *Qu.* 49 should not be given any priority over the direct tradition,[5] and they have therefore been relegated to the apparatus. Proclus' Homily 2 is also cited in the florilegium known as the *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione Verbi*, 32.VII (ed. Diekamp [1907]; reprinted with corrections and additions [1981], 245–46). This anonymous eighth-century florilegium preserves an indirect witness to Homily 2, lines 162–77. Diekamp's edition provides only the *incipit* and the *desinit* from this passage, referring the reader to the printed text of Migne *PG* 65.701A.

Printed Editions

Ri = V. Riccardi, *Sancti Patris Procli Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Analecta* (Rome, 1630), 101–110 (= Homily 2), 110–29 (= notes and commentary). The text of Homily 2 was first published in 1630 by V. Riccardi, who based his *editio princeps* on the text of **V** (*Vaticanus graecus* 1633): 'Descripsi hanc orationem ex vestustissimo codic. Cryptaeferr. A. λογ. ιη.'[6] Riccardi's *Analecta*, copies of which are now few and difficult of

[4] *Qu.* 49 is not one of the authentic *Quaestiones* of Anastasius of Sinai, but one of the so-called 'Collection of 88 Questions' (itself made up of still smaller collections) appended to the original text sometime after the ninth century, on which see Richard, "Les véritables Questions et réponses d'Anastase le Sinaïte" (1967–1968), 39–56.

[5] *Per litt.*, 8 February 1993.

[6] Riccardi, *Procli Analecta*, 10; cf. Gianelli, *Codices Vaticani*, 330: "Ff. III–V pinax graecus auctore ⟨Luca Felici hieromon. Cryptensi⟩, praeeunte nota A nec non, alia

access, has provided the basis for virtually all subsequent editions and studies of Proclus, and it will be worthwhile to provide a conspectus of this important work. Making use of an admittedly limited number of Greek manuscripts, Riccardi published the first critical editions of nineteen homilies by Proclus, which continue to be reckoned as Homilies 1–19 in the Proclan corpus (*CPG* 5800–19). Under the name of Proclus, Riccardi also included a *laudatio s. Protomartyris Stephani* (Homily 17, pp. 485–95), which has since been attributed to Asterius of Amasea (= Asterius, Homily 12, ed. C. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea* [Leiden, 1970], 165–73).

Together with the homilies, Riccardi included Ps.-Proclus, *Tractatus de traditione divinae missae* (pp. 580–82; *CPG* 5893); three genuine Greek fragments (pp. 599–600): (1) *De dogmate incarnationis dictus in sabbato ante quadregesimam* = Homily 23, *De dogmate incarnationis*, 11 (ed. Martin, 46); (2) *Sermo in illud: 'Puer natus est nobis'* (Is. 9.5) (Martin, ibid., 25, n. 22); (3) *De dogmate incarnationis* (Martin, ibid.); and a collection of sixteen letters (*CPG* 5896–913).

Riccardi prefaced his editions with a series of *vetera testimonia de S. Proclo* culled from notices in menologia and synaxaria, and from the works of late-antique and Byzantine historians (pp. 1–15). On the basis of these sources, Riccardi composed a detailed *vita Procli* (pp. 17–54), and concluded his introduction with a series of Byzantine hymns in praise of Saint Proclus (pp. 54–58). In a remarkable display of scholarly erudition, Riccardi provided his editions with an extraordinary number of references to parallels and allusions in patristic and Byzantine literature; with notes on matters of codicology, paleography, and the philology and etymology of dozens of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew words; with commentary on the history of theology and devotion; with lengthy digressions on points of canon law; with arguments about the exegesis of scripture; and with antiquarian forays into Roman history, Stoic philosophy, and Levantine geography.

Riccardi's editions of the works of Proclus were reprinted, with some revisions and corrections, by F. Combefis, *Graeco-latine Patrum Bibliothecae Novum Auctarium*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1648), 302–496. Proclus' works were again reprinted by A. Gallandius, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, vol. 9 (Venice, 1773), 601–74. In the following

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manu, animadversione τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἦν τῆς μονῆς τῆς Κρυπτωφέρρης"; and Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 68, 75. The manuscript was integrated into the Vatican collection only a few years before Riccardi made use of it.

century, the *corpus Proclianum* was increased by the addition of five new homilies published by A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1840), lxxxiv-xcvii. Mai provides the Greek texts and Latin translations for Homilies 21–22, followed by Latin translations of the Syriac versions of Homilies 23–25. The editions of Proclus established by Riccardi, together with the texts published by Mai, were reprinted in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 65 (Paris, 1858).

SIGLA

V	*Vaticanus graecus* 1633	saec. IX–X
B	*Vaticanus Barberinus* 497 (IV.79)	saec. XVII
a	Ps.-Anastasius Sinaiticus	saec. IX–X
Ri	Riccardi, *Procli Analecta*	

Πρόκλου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ εἰς τάς ἐπαρυστρίδας

I. Καλὴ ἡ τῶν ψαλμῶν λύρα, θεόπνευστος[1] ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος κιθάρα, τερπνὸν καὶ φοβερὸν τὸ τῆς προφητείας ᾆσμα. σωτήριος ἀεὶ ἡ ψαλμῳδία, τὰ πάθη κοιμίζουσα τῇ μελῳδίᾳ. ὅπερ γάρ ἐστιν ἀκάνθαις δρεπάνη, τοῦτο γίνεται καὶ λὺπῃ ψαλμός. ψαλμὸς γὰρ μελῳδούμενος ἐκτέμνει ἀθυμίας, ῥιζοτομεῖ λύπας, ἀποσπογγίζει τὰ πάθη, κοιμίζει τοὺς θρήνους, χειρουργεῖ τὰς φροντίδας, ψυχαγωγεῖ τοὺς ἐν ὀδύναις, ἁμαρτωλοὺς κατανύγει, ἐξυπνίζει πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἐρημίας πολίζει, τὰς πόλεις σωφρονίζει, συγκροτεῖ μοναστήρια, παρθενίαν ὑπαγορεύει, πραότητα ἐκδιδάσκει, νομοθετεῖ ἀγάπην, μακαρίζει φιλοπτωχίαν, πρὸς ὑπομονήν ἀλείφει, εἰς οὐρανὸν μετεωρίζει, στενοχωρεῖ ἐκκλησίαν, ἁγιάζει ἱερέα, δαίμονας φυγαδεύει, προφητεύει τὰ μέλλοντα, μυστήρια προκηρύττει, νομοθετεῖ τὴν Τριάδα, λέγων· “εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου,”[2] σύνθρονον τόν υἱὸν ἐκήρυξεν, οὐ λειτουργὸν τὸν ὁμοούσιον ἐστηλίτευσε.

II. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἀρτίως ὁ μακάριος Δαυίδ τὴν ἀκάματον φύσιν, τὴν παντοδύναμον οὐσίαν, τὴν ἀήττητον βούλησιν, τὴν μὴ βραδύνουσαν χάριν, τὸν αὐθέντην δημιουργόν, τὸν αὐτεξούσιον υἱόν, τὸν ὑποταγῆς ἐλεύθερον Θεόν, τὸν μὴ κελευόμενον δεσπότην, ἀνυμνῶν ἐβόα· “ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου Κύριε, πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας.”[3] αἰσχυνέσθωσαν Ἄρειος καὶ Εὐνόμιος, Μακεδόνιος καὶ Νεστόριος, τὸ τετράπωλον τοῦ διαβόλου ἅρμα, οἱ τῶν αἱρέσεων σκόπελοι, αἱ τῆς βλασφημίας σπιλάδες, τὰ τῶν ψυχῶν ναυάγια, αἱ τῆς δυσσεβείας ὕφαλοι πέτραι, οἱ πονηροὶ τῆς Τριάδος ζυγοστάται. ἀκουσάτωσαν τοῦ Δαβὶδ λέγοντος· “ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου Κύριε, πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας.”[4] ὁ Δαβὶδ τὰ ἔργα μεγαλύνει

[1]cf. 2 Tim. 3.16 [2]Ps. 109.1; cf. Mt. 22.44; Heb. 1.13 [3]Ps. 103.24 [4]Ps. 103.24

2–3 Titulus V ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ add. B | iuxta ἐπαρυστρίδας in marg. add. τρούλλιον ἐλαδικόν V **6** τὰ – μελῳδίᾳ V om. B ut videtur homoioteleuti causa **22** αἰσχυνέσθω V αἰσχυνέσθωσαν ci. Ri

Proclus of Constantinople

Homily 2

On the Incarnation and On the Lampstand of Zechariah

I. The lyre of the psalms is beautiful; the harp of the Spirit is inspired by God.[1] The prophetic song is both joyful and fearsome. The singing of psalms is always salvific, melodiously lulling the passions to sleep. What the pruning hook is to thorns, a psalm is to sadness. A chanted psalm shears away despondency and cuts off sorrow at its root. It sponges away the passions and silences lamentations. It removes worldly cares, comforts the suffering, moves sinners to repentance, awakens one to piety, makes cities of the desert, and chastens those in cities. It unifies monasteries, advocates virginity, teaches gentleness, lays down the law of love, blesses love for the poor, prepares for endurance, raises to heaven, fills the church with the faithful, sanctifies priests, repels demons, prophecies things to come, proclaims mysteries in advance, and promulgates the Trinity, saying: "The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand until I make thine enemies a footstool for thy feet."[2] The psalm proclaims that the Son sits on the throne of God, it does not denounce the one who shares the Father's essence as a ministering servant.

II. This is why the blessed David, while just now singing a hymn to the inexhaustible nature, to the omnipotent essence, the insuperable will, the grace which does not tarry, the supreme Creator, the sovereign Son, the unconditionally free God, the Lord subject to none, cried out and said: "How great are thy works, O Lord! In wisdom thou hast created them all!"[3] Let Arius and Eunomius, Macedonius and Nestorius be ashamed, that four-horse chariot of the devil, those surging summits of heresy, those rocky reefs of blasphemy, those shipwrecks of souls, those hidden ledges of impiety, those deceitful merchants who upset the balance of the Trinity. They should listen to David when he says: "How great are thy works, O Lord! In wisdom thou hast created them all!"[4] David magnifies creation, but those blasphemers diminish the Creator! Nevertheless, all the works of our Lord Christ are wondrous beyond any

[1]cf. 2 Tim. 3.16 [2]Ps. 109.1; cf. Mt. 22.44; Heb. 1.13 [3]Ps. 103.24 [4]Ps. 103.24

καὶ οἱ βλάσφημοι τὸν Κύριον σμικρύνουσιν. πάντα γὰρ θαυμαστὰ καὶ παράδοξα τὰ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ, Θεοῦ γάρ ἐστι Λόγου τεράστια καὶ γλώττης τάχος νικῶντα, ἰσχὺν δὲ τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος παριστῶντα.

III. "Πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ δεσπότης."[5] ἀγγέλους ἐκ μὴ ὄντων παρήγαγεν, ἔνευσεν καὶ ἡ κτίσις οὐκ ἐβράδυνεν, ἐκέλευσεν καὶ φῶς ἐκ σκότους ἀνέτειλεν,[6] "τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡσεὶ καμάραν"[7] ἐστερέωσεν, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐκ τοῦ βάθους διαλελυμένην ἀνέσπασεν,[8] τὸν "ἥλιον ὡς νυμφίον ἐκόσμησεν,"[9] τὴν δὲ σελὴνην διὰ τὴν χρείαν ποικίλως ἐσχημάτισεν. δήμους ἀστέρων ἐκ φωτὸς ἐχάλκευσεν, καὶ τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν μαχομένων στοιχείων ἐχαρίσατο ⟨***⟩ πῦρ, ὕδωρ ⟨***⟩ ἡ γῆ ποταμοὺς ἀναβλύζει, καὶ ὁ ἀήρ μετεωρίζει τὰ βάρη, καὶ τὴν ἐναντιότητα ἡ τέχνη εἰς φιλίαν ἐκέρασεν.

IV. Εἴπω τὸ μυστήριον. Θεὸς ὢν "ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη,"[10] καὶ διὰ παρθένου, ἔνθα παρῆν, ἐπεδήμησεν. καὶ ὁ τόκος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠλλάτωσε, καὶ ἡ ὠδὶς τὴν ἄκτιστον φύσιν οὐκ ἠλλοίωσεν, ἀλλὰ μορφὴ τὸν κτίστην ἐσχημάτισεν, καὶ τὸν ἀχώρητον σαρκωθέντα ὁ κόσμος ἐχώρησε. γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος "χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας"[11] διὰ ξύλου τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν ἠλευθέρωσεν, διὰ τάφου θάνατον ἐνέκρωσεν, διὰ ὕβρεως δόξαν ἐγεώργησεν, ἐν ποταμῷ τὸ τῆς κολυμβήθρας μυστήριον ἐσκιαγράφησε. καὶ ὅτι Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐμαρτύρησεν ἀρτίως ἡ θάλασσα, καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι,[12] καὶ οἱ δαίμονες. τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἡ ζάλη κατηυνάζετο, τῶν δὲ ἀνέμων ἡ βία ἐκοιμίζετο, οἱ δὲ δαίμονες ἀοράτως ἐμαστίζοντο.[13] καὶ ἐμαρτύρει τὰ στοιχεῖα τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ παρόντος, ὅτι τοῦτον ἐφοβήθησαν, περὶ οὗ ὁ προφήτης ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἐβόα· "εἴδοσάν σε ὕδατα ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν."[14]

V. Ὄντως "πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησεν"[15] ὁ δεσπότης. κωφευούσῃ γὰρ τῇ κτίσει γλῶτταν ἐχαρίσατο, τὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγω, καὶ μήτραν τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου τὸν χοῦν ἐποίησεν ἐκ γῆς ἀγεωργήτου.[16] ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν μήτρᾳ καταβάλλεται σπέρμα, διαπλάττεται σῶμα, μορφοῦται ὁ πηλός, ψυχοῦται ἡ σάρξ, ἀποτελεῖται τὸ ζῷον, σκιρτᾷ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα,[17] τίκτεται ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἀμάρτυρος μένει ἡ διάπλασις, ἀνερμήνευτος δὲ ἡ γέννησις, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου Ἀδάμ. ἀντὶ μήτρας αἱ θεῖαι γεγόνασι χεῖρες, ἀντὶ σπέρ-

[5]Ps. 103.24 [6]cf. Gen. 1.3–4 [7]Is. 40.22 [8]cf. Gen. 1.10 [9]cf. Ps. 18.5–6 [10]Bar. 3.38 [11]Heb. 4.15 [12]cf. Mt. 8.24–27; Mk. 4.37–41; Lk. 8.23–25 [13]cf. Mt. 8.28–34; Mk. 5.1–20; Lk. 8.26–39 [14]Ps. 76.16 [15]Ps. 103.24 [16]Gen. 2.7 [17]cf. Gen. 1.26; Lk. 1.41

37 videtur aliqua verba desse

expectation, for they are the awesome works of the Word of God, and as a sign of the Creator's power they readily conquer the swiftness of the tongue.

III. The Lord has "created all things in wisdom."[5] He brought forth the angels out of nothing. He beckoned, and creation did not delay. He gave the command and light emerged from darkness.[6] He made heaven firm as an arch.[7] He drew the parted land up from the sea.[8] He adorned the sun like a bridegroom.[9] He gave the moon its phases for the benefit of man. He fashioned the constellations of stars from the forge of light. He reconciled the warring elements (fire and water). The earth bursts forth with rivers, the planets are balanced in mid-air, for his artistry transformed opposition into love.

IV. I shall utter the mystery! Although he is God "he appeared upon the earth,"[10] and through the Virgin, in whom he was present, he took his place among us. His birth did not diminish him, nor did the pangs of birth alter his uncreated nature. Instead, a (created) form gave its form to the Creator, and the world contained the uncontainable one made flesh. Becoming man "without sin"[11] he freed our nature through the wood of the cross. By his tomb he put Death to death. From humiliation he brought forth glory. In the (Jordan) River he foreshadowed the mystery of the (baptismal) font. And the sea, the winds,[12] and even the demons have just now testified that Christ was God, for the storm was stilled, the violence of the winds subsided, and the demons were invisibly scourged.[13] The elements bore witness to the power of his presence, for they were terrified of him, about whom the prophet in the Psalms cries out: "The waters saw thee, O God, and were afraid."[14]

V. Truly the Lord has "created all things in wisdom."[15] When creation was mute he graced it with speech, that is, the human person. From untilled soil he made a womb of clay for the first human being. Seed is planted in the womb, a body is formed, the clay is moulded, the flesh is animated by a soul,[16] and a living being is brought to perfection. Finding itself created in the image of God it leaps for joy,[17] and the faculty of reason is born. Even so, its inner formation goes unwitnessed, its birth is inexplicable. It was no different in the case of Adam,

[5]Ps. 103.24 [6]cf. Gen. 1.3–4 [7]Is. 40.22 [8]cf. Gen. 1.10 [9]cf. Ps. 18.5–6 [10]Bar. 3.38 [11]Heb. 4.15 [12]cf. Mt. 8.24–27; Mk. 4.37–41; Lk. 8.23–25 [13]cf. Mt. 8.28–34; Mk. 5.1–20; Lk. 8.26–39 [14]Ps. 76.16 [15]Ps. 103.24 [16]Gen. 2.7 [17]cf. Gen. 1.26; Lk. 1.41

ματος ὁ γήϊνος χοῦς, ἀντὶ μηνῶν τὸ ἄχρονον τοῦ ποιήσαντος, ἀντὶ ὠδίνων τὸ ἀπαθές τοῦ πλάσαντος, ἀντὶ τόκου τὸ θεῖον ἐμφύσημα, ἀντὶ γάλακτος ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ παραδείσου,[18] ἀντὶ τροφῆς ἡ ἄμοχθος τράπεζα, ἀντὶ μορφῆς ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀρχετύπου,[19] ἀντὶ ἀξιώματος τὸ κατὰ χάριν ἀθάνατον, ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων τὸ συμπλασθὲν ζῷον, καὶ γέγονεν μὲν ὁ κατὰ διὰπλασιν τόκος, κάματος δὲ τὸν τόκον οὐχ ὕβρισεν.

VI. Αἰσχυνέσθωσαν Ἰουδαίων παῖδες, οἱ τὴν παρθενικὴν ὠδῖνα διασύροντες, οἱ λέγοντες· "εἰ ἔτεκε παρθένος οὐκ ἔμεινε παρθένος." ἄθλιε καὶ ταλαίπωρε· ὁ Ἀδὰμ εἰς τὸν κόσμον παρήχθη καὶ κάματος τὴν διάπλασιν οὐχ ὕβρισεν. ὁ Θεὸς κατὰ σάρκα ἐγεννήθη καὶ φθορὰν ὁ τόκος ὑπέμεινε; διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ δεύτερος Ἀδὰμ κατὰ σάρκα ὁ δεσπότης Χριστός, ἐπειδὴ ὁ προλαβὼν Ἀδὰμ "τύπος τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ."[20] ἐσκιαγράφησεν ὁ πηλὸς τὸν κεραμέα. ὅτι δὲ τύπος ἦν, ἄκουε τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου λέγοντος· "ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ θάνατος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Μωϋσέως, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοιώματι τῆς παραβάσεως Ἀδάμ, ὅς ἐστι τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος."[21]

VII. Καὶ ὅπως τύπος ἦν ὁ Ἀδὰμ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ κατὰ σάρκα, ἄκουε· ὁ δοῦλος φύσεως ἀρχή, ὁ δεσπότης ἀρχὴ ζωῆς τέλος μὴ ἔχων. ἐκεῖνον αἱ θεῖαι χεῖρες ἔπλασαν, οὗτος ὡς οἶδεν ἑαυτὸν ἐσάρκωσεν. ἐκεῖνος γέγονε κατ' εἰκόνα,[22] οὗτος εἰκὼν ἄκτιστος.[23] ἐκεῖνος δι' ἐμφυσήματος ἐψυχώθη,[24] οὗτος ἐν δούλου μορφῇ ὤφθη.[25] ἐκείνου ὁ παράδεισος οἶκος, τούτου ὁ οὐρανός θρόνος. ἐκεῖνος γλῶττα τῆς κτίσεως, οὗτος "κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας."[26] ἐκεῖνος τὴν χεῖρα εἰς δένδρον ἐξέτεινεν καὶ θάνατον ἐτρύγησεν,[27] οὗτος τὰς χεῖρας ἥπλωσεν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐνηγκαλίσατο, καὶ βοᾷ ἐν εὐαγγελίοις· "ὅταν ὑψωθῶ πάντας ἑλκύσω πρὸς ἐμαυτόν."[28] ἐκεῖνος γυναῖκα ἔσχεν ἐπίβουλον, οὗτος παρθένον ἔσχεν θάλαμον. "τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καθεύδοντος ἡ πλευρὰ ἀφῃρέθη καὶ ἀνοικοδομήθη ἡ γυνὴ"[29] καὶ τῷ Ἀδὰμ οὐδὲν ἔλλειψεν. τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ κατὰ σάρκα

[18]Gen. 2.6 [19]cf. Gen. 1.26 [20]Rom. 5.14 [21]Rom. 5.14 [22]Gen. 1.26 [23]Col. 1.15 [24]Gen. 2.7 [25]Phil. 2.7 [26]Eph. 5.23; Col. 1.18 [27]cf. Gen. 3.6 [28]Jn. 12.32 [29]Gen. 2.21

60 τῇ πηγῇ V ἡ πηγὴ ci. Ri **85** post ἀδὰμ scr. et del. καθεύδοντος ἡ πλευρὰ V

who was the first to be created. Instead of a womb were the hands of God. Instead of human seed, the dust of the earth. Instead of months, the eternity of the creator. Instead of birth pangs, the impassability of the Fashioner. Instead of birth, the divine breath of life. Instead of milk, the fountain of paradise.[18] Instead of toiling for food, a freely-set table. Instead of an (arbitrary) form, the image of the archetype.[19] Instead of (natural) merit, immortality by grace. Instead of servants, a living being created together with him. Although the creation of Adam was a (laborious) process, the labor was no disgrace to the birth.

VI. Let then the children of the Jews be ashamed, those who disparage the virgin birth saying: "If a virgin gave birth she is no longer a virgin." You miserable wretch! Adam was brought into the world and labor did not disgrace his birth, but when God was born according to the flesh his birth was subject to corruption? It is precisely for this reason that the Lord Christ is the second Adam according to the flesh, because the first Adam was a type of the Lord Christ.[20] The clay foreshadowed the potter. And that Adam was a type, listen to the blessed Paul when he says: "Death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who was a type of the one who was to come."[21]

VII. Listen and learn how Adam was a type of the Lord Christ according to the flesh. The servant (i.e., Adam) is the principle and beginning of nature, but the Lord is the principle and beginning of life without end. Adam was fashioned by the hands of God, but Christ made himself flesh in a way that he alone knows. Adam was created according to the image,[22] but Christ is the uncreated image.[23] That one received a soul by divine infusion,[24] but this one appeared in the "form of a servant."[25] That one had paradise for his dwelling, but this one has heaven for his throne. That one was the tongue of creation, but this one is the "head of the church."[26] That one stretched forth his hand to the tree and plucked forth death,[27] but this one stretched out his hands on the cross and embraced the world, and in the Gospels he cries out: "When I am raised up I will draw all men to myself."[28] That one had a woman as his accomplice, but this one had a virgin as his bridal chamber. When "Adam was sleeping his rib was removed and the woman was created"[29] and Adam suffered no loss. When the Lord

[18]cf. Gen. 2.6 [19]cf. Gen. 1.26 [20]Rom. 5.14 [21]Rom. 5.14 [22]Gen. 1.26 [23]Col. 1.15
[24]Gen. 2.7 [25]Phil. 2.7 [26]Eph. 5.23; Col. 1.18 [27]cf. Gen. 3.6 [28]Jn. 12.32
[29]Gen. 2.21

σταυρωθέντος καὶ ταφέντος, τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐξηγοράσθη, καὶ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ πάθος οὐχ ἥψατο.

VIII. Ἀλλὰ ζητούμενόν ἐστι τίνος ἕνεκεν, μὴ ἐγρηγορότος τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ἀλλὰ καθεύδοντος ἀφῃρέθη ἡ πλευρὰ καὶ ἀνοικοδομήθη ἡ γυνή.[30] οὐκ ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον ἐγρηγορηκότος ὥστε μαρτυρεῖν τῇ διαπλάσει καὶ ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὴν τέχνην καὶ δοξολογεῖν τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ ποιήσαντος, πῶς ἐκ πηλοῦ ἐγένετο νεῦρα καὶ σάρκες, καὶ ὀστέων ἁρμολογίαι, καὶ λεπτότης τριχῶν; ἀλλ' οὐ συνεχώρησεν ὁ Θεὸς ταῦτα διὰ δύο πράγματα. πρῶτον μὲν ἵνα μὴ ἀφαιρούμενος ἀλγήσῃ, καὶ ἀλγήσας μισήσῃ, καὶ γένηται αὐτῷ δυσμενὴς ἡ ὁμόφυλος. δεύτερον δέ, ὃ μεῖζόν ἐστι καὶ θειότερον, ᾔδει ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι φιλόνεικον ζῷον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὅτι διαπλασθεὶς αὐτεξούσιός ἐστιν, ἵνα μὴ οὖν ἄρξηται καὶ Θεοῦ τόκον πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἐπιβάλλει αὐτῷ ὕπνον χαλινῶν τὴν τόλμαν, μονονουχὶ λέγων πρὸς αὐτόν· "εἰ τῆς ὁμοφύλου τὴν διάπλασιν ἰδεῖν οὐ συνεχωρήθης, τὴν ἄρρητον τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἀκατάληπτον γέννησιν μὴ τολμήσῃς πολυπραγμονεῖν. πῶς μὲν ἄνθρωπος γεννᾶται νοῆσαι οὐ δύνασαι, Θεοῦ δὲ οἰκονομίαν ζητεῖς εἰδέναι;"

IX. Ἀλλ' ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς στενοχωρουμένους καὶ βέλτιον ἐνθάδε κατευνάσαι τὸν λόγον. εἰ δὲ βιασταί ἐστε, τῶν "βιαζομένων δέ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία."[31] προσθήσω τοῖς εἰρημένοις· εἰκός τῶν Ἰουδαίων τινὰ παρεῖναι ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι τοῦ Χριστοῦ λανθάνειν τὴν ἀλώπεκα τῆς Ἰουδαίας,[32] καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπολυθῆναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν στήκειν ἔξω καὶ σκώπτειν τοὺς λόγους καὶ λέγειν τοιαῦτα· "διὰ τί, Χριστιανοί, καινοτομεῖτε ταῦτα, καὶ κομπάζετε ἐπὶ πράγμασιν ἀναποδείκτοις; Θεὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη[33] πότε; οὐδέποτε ἄλλοτε εἰ μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ Μωϋσέως." ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ τότε ὤφθη, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, καὶ τούτου μάρτυς αὐτός ὁ Μωϋσῆς, λέγων οὕτως· "πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ καὶ συμβιβάσεις εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου πάντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἑώρακαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου, καὶ διδάξεις αὐτοὺς τοὺς υἱοὺς σου, καὶ υἱοὺς τῶν υἱῶν σου. μνήσθητι τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου, τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὅτε ἐλάλησεν Κύριος πρός με, λέγων· 'ἐκκλησίασον πρός με τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἀκούσωσιν τὰ ῥήματά μου, καὶ διδάξωσιν αὐτὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν,' καὶ προσήλθετε καὶ ἔστητε ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινά, καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐκαίετο πυρὶ

[30]Gen. 2.21 [31]Mt. 11.12 [32]Song 2.15 [33]cf. Bar. 3.38

109 τότε scr. in marg. V

Christ was crucified and buried according to the flesh, the church was ransomed by his blood, and his suffering did not touch his divinity.

VIII. And this brings us to a disputed question. Why was Adam not awake but asleep when his rib was removed and the woman was created?[30] Would it not have been better if he was awake to witness her creation, be amazed at the skill, and thus glorify the wisdom of the Creator? (Would it not have been better for him to see) how muscles and flesh were fashioned from clay? Or the symmetrical solidity of bones, and the delicate slightness of hair? But God did not permit this for two reasons. First, Adam was put to sleep so that when losing his rib he would not feel pain, and feeling pain hate the woman, who, for her part, would in return become hostile to him. The second reason is greater, and more divine. God knows that man is a contentious creature, and that he was created with free-will. In order, then, that man should not begin to busy himself with vain inquiries into the birth of God, God imposed sleep upon him, bridling his temerity, as if to say: "If you were not allowed to behold the formation of your own kinswoman, then you should not dare to busy yourself with vain inquiries into the ineffable power of God and his birth which surpasses all understanding. If you are not able to understand the origin of man, why do you seek to know the incarnation of God?"

IX. But I see that you are crowded together by force, and that it would be better at this point to finish my discourse. But if you are forcefully crowded together, remember that the kingdom of God belongs to those who take it by force.[31] Permit me then to add but this: There may chance to be a Jew in our midst, like the fox of Judah[32] lurking in the vineyard of Christ. After the congregation is dismissed, he might stand outside and mock our words, saying such things as these: "Why do you Christians invent such novelties and boast of things which cannot be proved? When did God ever appear on earth?[33] Never, except in the time of Moses." But even then, O Jew, he did not appear. Moses himself testifies to this when he says: "Take heed to thyself and place within thy heart all the words which thine eyes have seen. And thou shalt teach them to thy sons and thy sons' sons. Remember the day of the Lord thy God, the day of the assembly, when the Lord said to me: 'Assemble all the people to me and let them hear my words and teach them to their sons.' And ye drew nigh and stood at the foot of

[30]Gen. 2.21 [31]Mt. 11.12 [32]Song 2.15 [33]cf. Bar. 3.38

ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἠκούσατε τὴν φωνὴν Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρός, φωνὴν ῥημάτων ἠκούσατε καὶ ὁμοίωμα οὐκ ἴδετε."[34] ἃ τοίνυν οὐκ εἶδες, τί κομπάζεις ἑωρακέναι; "τί οὖν μοι," φησί, "προσφέρεις, ὅτι ἠδύνατο γυνὴ γεννῆσαι Θεόν;" οὐ λέγω σοι ὅτι ἠδύνατο γυνὴ Θεὸν γεννῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἠδύνατο Θεὸς σαρκωθεὶς γεννηθῆναι ὑπὸ γυναικός, "πάντα γὰρ αὐτῷ δυνατά."[35] ὅμως, εἰ ἀπιστεῖς, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις, ἐντρέπου τὰς τῶν προφητῶν βίβλους, ἔγκυψον ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ βλέπε ὅλον τὸ μυστήριον θεολογούμενον, βλέπε ὅλον τὸ παρθενικὸν θαῦμα σκιαγραφούμενον· καὶ γὰρ λέγει ὁ προφήτης· "ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ" – πρῶτον ἀναγινώσκω τὴν προφητείαν καὶ τότε λέγω τὴν ἑρμηνείαν – "ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ, προσκαλέσεται ἄνθρωπος τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ὑποκάτω ἀμπέλου αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποκάτω συκῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπέστρεψέ με," φησίν, "ὁ ἄγγελος, ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ ἐξήγειρέ με, ὃν τρόπον ἐξηγέρθη ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν πρός με· 'τί σὺ βλέπεις;' καὶ εἶπον· ἑώρακα καὶ ἰδοὺ λυχνία χρυσῆ ὅλη, καὶ τὸ λαμπάδιον ἐπάνω αὐτῆς, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἐπαρυστρίδες, καὶ δύο ἐλαῖαι ἐπάνω. καὶ ἐπηρώτησα τὸν ἄγγελον, καὶ εἶπον· τί ἐστιν ταῦτα κύριε; καὶ εἶπέν μοι· 'οὐ γινώσκεις τί ἐστιν ταῦτα;' καὶ εἶπον· οὐχὶ κύριε. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ἄγγελος, ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ εἶπεν· 'οὗτος ὁ Λόγος Κυρίου'."[36] "ὢ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως Θεοῦ."[37] ἀνέγνωμεν τὴν προφητείαν, ἐπάγωμεν τὴν ἑρμηνείαν.

X. "Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ."[38] ἐν ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, ὦ προφῆτα; τῇ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως. ὅτε παρθένος οὐρανὸν ἐμιμήσατο, ὅτε ἐκ γαστρὸς ἐξεπήδησαν ἀκτῖνες, ὅτε ἐκ μήτρας προέκυπτεν σαρκωθεὶς ἥλιος, ὅτε τὸ φῶς ἐσχημάτισεν ἐν ἀνθρωπείᾳ μορφῇ, ὅτε ὁ τόκος τοῦ τεχθέντος οὐκ ἀρχή, ἀλλ' ἀνατολή. "καὶ ἐπέστρεψέ με," φησίν, "ὁ ἄγγελος, ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ ἤγειρέν με, ὅν τρόπον ὅταν ἐξηγέρθη ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ."[39] τίς ὁ ἄγγελος; ὁ τὴν Μαριὰμ εὐαγγελισάμενος.[40] τίς ὁ ὕπνος; ὁ τοῦ νόμου καιρός· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τὸ βλέφαρον τὴν κόρην καλύπτει, οὕτως ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τὸ κάλυμμα τὴν καρδίαν ἐσκέπασεν.[41] "καὶ εἶπεν πρός με· 'τί σὺ βλέπεις;' καὶ εἶπον· ἑώρακα καὶ ἰδοὺ

[34]Deut. 4.9–12 [35]Mt. 19.26 [36]Zech. 3.11 [37]Rom. 11.33 [38]Zech. 3.11 [39]Zech. 4.1
[40]cf. Lk. 1.26 [41]2 Cor. 3.14–16

120 post θεόν scr. et del. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ σοὶ λέγω ὅτι ἠδύνατο γυνὴ γεννῆσαι θεὸν V
136 post βάθος add. καὶ V

Mount Sinai. And the mountain burned with fire up to heaven, and ye heard the voice of the Lord your God out of the midst of the fire. Ye heard a voice of words, but ye saw no likeness."[34] Why then do you boast of things you have seen when in fact you never saw them? "What, then, are you suggesting," the Jew will respond, "that a woman was able to give birth to God?" I am not saying that a woman was able to give birth to God, but that God, having become flesh, was able to be born from a woman, for "all things are possible to him."[35] But if you doubt my words, O Jew, give heed to the books of the prophets. Inspect them and see the entire mystery ordered into theology; behold the entire miracle of the virgin birth hidden in the shadows. For the prophet says: "On that day says the Lord Almighty"—first I will read the prophecy and then I will explain its meaning—"On that day says the Lord Almighty, each man shall call his neighbor into his vineyard, and under his fig-tree, and," he continues, "the angel that speaks within me turned me over and raised me up, like a man awakened out of his sleep, and he said to me, 'What do you see?' And I said, I looked, and saw a lampstand all of gold, with a lamp on the top of it, and seven conduits for the oil, and beyond them two olive trees, and I asked the angel, What are these things, my lord? And he said to me, 'Do you not know what these things are?' And I replied, No, my lord. And the angel that speaks within me answered me and said, 'This is the Word of the Lord'."[36] "O the depth of the riches and wisdom of the knowledge of God!"[37] We have read the prophecy; let us now proceed to its interpretation.

X. "On that day, says the Lord Almighty."[38] On what day, O prophet? On the day of the incarnation, when the Virgin imitated heaven; when beams of light flashed forth from her belly; when a sun made flesh emerged from her womb; when she shaped the light into human form; when the birth of the one born was not a beginning but a dawning. "And the angel that speaks within me," he says, "turned me over and raised me up like a man awakened out of his sleep."[39] Who is this angel? The one who announced the good news to Mary.[40] What is this sleep? The season of the Law. For just as during sleep the eyelid covers the pupil, so too did the veil of the Law cover the heart.[41] "And he said to me, 'What do you see?' And I said, 'I looked and saw a lampstand

[34]Deut. 4.9–12 [35]Mt. 19.26 [36]Zach. 3.11 [37]Rom. 11.33 [38]Zech. 3.11 [39]Zech. 4.1
[40]cf. Lk. 1.26 [41]cf. 2 Cor. 3.14–16

λυχνία χρυσῆ ὅλη."[42] τίς ἡ λυχνία; ἡ ἁγία Μαρία. διὰ τί δὲ λυχνία; ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄϋλον φῶς σαρκωθὲν ἐβάστασεν. διὰ τί δὲ χρυσῆ ὅλη; ἐπειδὴ καὶ μετὰ τόκον παρθένος ἔμεινεν. καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ λυχνία οὐκ αὐτὴ φωτὸς αἰτία, ἀλλὰ φωτὸς ὄχημα, οὕτως καὶ ἡ παρθένος οὐκ αὐτὴ Θεός, ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ ναός. "καὶ τὸ λαμπάδιον," φησίν, "ἐπάνω αὐτῆς."[43] τί τὸ λαμπάδιον; ὁ σαρκωθεὶς δεσπότης, τὸ φῶς τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὁ λέγων· "ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου."[44] καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ λαμπαδίῳ ἡ ὕλη φλόγα δέχεται, οὕτως ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ ὁ Θεὸς "μορφὴν δούλου ἔλαβεν."[45] καὶ ὥσπερ τὸ λαμπάδιον ἐξ ὕψους τὴν αὐγὴν καταπέμπει, οὕτως ὁ δεσπότης ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἐπεδήμησε τῇ γῇ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ προφήτης ἐβόα· "διὰ σπλάχνα ἐλέους Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς, ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους."[46]

XI. "Καὶ τὸ λαμπάδιον," φησίν, "ἐπάνω αὐτῆς, καὶ ἑπτὰ λύχνοι ἐπάνω."[47] τίνες οἱ λύχνοι; οἱ κατὰ μέρος νόμοι. πόθεν τοῦτο δῆλον; λέγει ὁ Δαβίδ· "λύχνος τοῖς ποσί μου ὁ νόμος σου, καὶ φῶς ταῖς τρίβοις μου."[48] ἐνταῦθα οὖν λέγει τοὺς ἑπτὰ νόμους. ὅτι δὲ ἑπτὰ νόμοι ἦσαν, ἄκουε· πρῶτος νόμος ὁ ἔμφυτος, περὶ οὗ φησιν ὁ Παῦλος· "ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα, φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιεῖ, οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες, ἑαυτοῖς εἰσι νόμος."[49] δεύτερος νόμος ὁ διὰ τῆς ὄψεως, ὅν γὰρ νόμον ὁ δημιουργὸς κηρύττει, τοῦτον ἡ ὄψις διὰ τῶν κτισμάτων πιστοῦται, "ἐκ γὰρ μεγέθους καὶ καλλονῆς κτισμάτων, ἀναλόγως ὁ γενεσιουργὸς αὐτῶν θεωρεῖται."[50] τρίτος νόμος ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐντολή,[51] καὶ βοᾷ Παῦλος· "ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος, καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή."[52] τέταρτος νόμος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Νῶε ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ.[53] πέμπτος νόμος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ὁ τῆς περιτομῆς.[54] ἕκτος ὁ τοῦ γράμματος. ἕβδομος ὁ τῆς χάριτος, καὶ ὅτι ἡ χάρις νόμον ἔχει, ἄκουε πάλιν Παύλου λέγοντος· "ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε, καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσατε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ."[55] ἐνταῦθα λέγει ἑπτὰ λύχνους τοὺς ἑπτὰ νόμους. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὅλους τοὺς νόμους πληρῶσαι, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον, τὸν λέγοντα· "πλήρωμα νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην,"[56] διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν τοὺς ἑπτὰ λύχνους ἑπτὰ νόμους. καὶ ἑπτὰ ἐπαρυστρίδες τὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος

[42]Zech. 4.2 [43]Zech. 4.2 [44]Jn. 8.12 [45]Phil. 2.7 [46]Lk. 1.78; cf. Mal. 4.2 [47]Zech. 4.2 [48]Ps. 118.105 [49]Rom. 2.14 [50]Wis. 13.5 [51]Gen. 2.16–17 [52]Rom. 7.12 [53]Gen. 9.12–13 [54]Gen. 17.10 [55]Gal. 6.2 [56]Rom. 10.4

149 σαρκωθέντα V post φῶς add. θεὸν σαρκωθέντα Ri **150** post ἔμεινεν add. φησὶ γὰρ "ἡ πύλη αὕτη κεκλεισμένη ἔσται, οὐκ ἀνοιχθήσεται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μὴ διέλθῃ δι' αὐτῆς, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἰσραὴλ μόνος διελεύσεται δι' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔσται κεκλεισμένη, διότι ὁ ἡγούμενος καὶ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ κλείσει τὰς θύρας ὄπισθεν αὐτοῦ" (Ezek. 44.2–3). ὅτι δὲ ἡ γαστὴρ πύλη λέγεται, μάρτυς ἰώβ, λέγων "διὰ τί οὐ συνέκλεισε πύλας γαστρός μου;" (Job 3.10) aRi **153** post δεσπότης add. θεὸς λόγος aRi **173** post χριστοῦ add. λέγει δὲ ἡσαΐας "ἐκ σιὼν ἐξελεύσεται νόμος, καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐξ ἱερουσαλήμ" (Is. 2.3) aRi

all of gold'."[42] What is this lampstand? It is holy Mary. Why a lampstand? Because she bore the immaterial light made flesh. And why (is the lampstand) all of gold? Because she remained a virgin even after giving birth. And just as the lampstand is not itself the source of the light but the vehicle of the light, so too, the Virgin is not herself God, but God's temple. "And the lamp," he says, "on top of the lampstand."[43] What is this lamp? The Lord made flesh, the light of the universe who says: "I am the light of the world."[44] And just as in an (oil) lamp the fluid accepts the flame, so too, in the mystery (of the incarnation) God assumed the "form of a servant."[45] And just as a lamp shines forth its light from on high, so too did our Lord descend from the heavens to the earth. This is why the prophet cries out: "Through the tender mercy of our God, whereby the dawn will visit us from on high."[46]

XI. "And the lamp," he says, "on top of it, and the seven lights above."[47] What are these seven lights? The successive particular laws. From whence is this clear? Because David says, "Thy law is a lamp unto my feet and a light for my paths."[48] Here he speaks of the seven laws. That there are seven laws, listen. The first law is the natural law, about which Paul says, "When the gentiles who have not the law do by nature what the law requires they are a law unto themselves, even though they do not have the law."[49] The second law is that which comes through sight, for the law proclaimed by the Creator is confirmed by the sight of creation, for "from the greatness and beauty of created things comes a corresponding perception of their Creator."[50] The third law is the commandment of the tree of life,[51] about which Paul says, "The law is holy, and the commandment holy, just, and good."[52] The fourth law is the covenant with Noah written in the cloud.[53] The fifth law is the covenant with Abraham, the law of circumcision.[54] The sixth law is the law of the letter. The seventh law is the law of grace. And that grace has its own law, listen again to Paul saying, "Bear one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ."[55] And thus the prophet calls the seven laws "seven lights." But Christ came to fulfill all these laws, according to the blessed Paul who says: "Christ is the fulfillment of the law unto righteousness,"[56] and for this reason the prophet spoke of the "seven lights" as seven laws. And the "seven conduits for oil" are the gifts of the Spirit. How do we know this? From what Isaiah says: "A rod shall

[42] Zech. 4.2 [43] Zech. 4.2 [44] Jn. 8.12 [45] Phil. 2.7 [46] Lk. 1.78; Mal. 4.2 [47] Zech. 4.2 [48] Ps. 118.105 [49] Rom. 2.14 [50] Wis. 13.5 [51] Gen. 2.16–17 [52] Rom. 7.12 [53] Gen. 9.12–13 [54] Gen. 17.10 [55] Gal. 6.2 [56] Rom. 10.4

χαρίσματα. πόθεν τοῦτο δῆλον; λέγει Ἡσαΐας· "ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης Ἰεσσαί, καὶ ἄνθος ἐκ ῥίζης ἀναβήσεται, καὶ ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως, πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ ἰσχύος, πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας, καὶ πνεῦμα φόβου Θεοῦ ἐμπλήσει αὐτόν."[57] "καὶ ἑπτὰ ἐπαρυστρίδες, καὶ ⟨δύο⟩ ἐλαῖαι ἐπάνω." τίνες αἱ ἐλαῖαι; αἱ δύο διαθῆκαι. καὶ διὰ τί ταύτας εἶπεν ἐλαίας; ἐπειδὴ ὥσπερ ἡ ἐλαία ἀειθαλὲς ἔχει τὸ φύλλον, οὕτω καὶ αἱ διαθῆκαι ἀπαύστους τὰς περὶ Χριστοῦ ἔχουσιν μαρτυρίας.

XII. "Καὶ ἐπηρώτησα τὸν ἄγγελον, καὶ εἶπον· τί ἐστιν ταῦτα; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· 'οὐ γινώσκεις τί ἐστι ταῦτα;' καὶ εἶπον· οὐχὶ κύριε."[58] τί λέγεις, ὦ προφῆτα; σὺ λέγεις ὅτι "εἶδον λυχνίαν, καὶ λαμπάδιον, καὶ λύχνους, καὶ ἐπαρυστρίδας," πῶς οὖν ἐρωτᾷς ἃ εἶδες; "ναί, εἰκόνα γὰρ ἔβλεπον καὶ θαῦμα ἠρεύνων," φησίν, ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλέοντες ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὸ μὲν πέλαγος βλέπουσιν, τὸν δὲ κρυπτόμενον κάτω μαργαρίτην οὐχ ὁρῶσιν, οὕτως ὁ προφήτης εἰκόνα μὲν ἔβλεπεν, καὶ μυστήριον ἠρεύνα. διὸ φησίν "καὶ ἐπηρώτησα τὸν ἄγγελον, καὶ εἶπον· τί ἐστι ταῦτα;" τί οὖν ὁ ἄγγελος; οὐ λέγει ὅτι εἶδεν λυχνίαν, καὶ λαμπάδιον, καὶ λύχνους, καὶ ἐπαρυστρίδας, ἀλλ' ἀφεὶς τὸ αἴνιγμα, κηρύττει τὸ θαῦμα, καὶ λέγει· "οὗτος ὁ Λόγος Κύριου" καὶ γίνεται ὁ ἄγγελος εὐαγγελιστής. ἀφεὶς γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν κηρύττει τὸ θαῦμα καὶ λέγει· "οὗτος ὁ Λόγος Κυρίου." τί λέγεις ὦ ἄγγελε; σκεύη ἔδειξας καὶ Λόγον εὐαγγελίζεις; "ναί, αἴνιγμα γὰρ τὸ θέαμα καὶ μυστήριον ἡ χάρις." ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἤμελλεν ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐκ παρθένου τίκτεσθαι κατὰ σάρκα, καὶ σχηματίζεσθαι ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ σαρκοῦσθαι ὡς ἤθελεν, ἤμελλον δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι διασύρειν τὸ θαῦμα καὶ λέγειν· "πῶς ἠδύνατο ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ Λόγος, ὁ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Λόγος, ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκείου πλάσματος σαρκοῦσθαι;"[59] βουλόμενος οὖν ἀποφράξαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ στόματα, ἔδειξε τῷ προφήτῃ ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου τὴν λυχνίαν, ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων τοὺς λύχνους, ἀντὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων τὰς ἐπαρυστρίδας, ἀντὶ τῶν διαθηκῶν τὰς ἐλαίας, ἀντὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸ λαμπάδιον. καὶ ὅτι λαμπάδιον λέγουσιν οἱ προφῆται τὸν δεσπότην Χριστόν, τὸν σαρκωθέντα Λόγον, τὸν μὴ τραπέντα Θεόν, ἄκουε

[57] Is. 11.1–3 [58] Zech. 4.4 [59] Jn. 1.1

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come forth from out of the root of Jesse, and a blossom from the root will arise, and upon it shall rest the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of council and strength, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and the spirit of the fear of God will fill it."[57] "And the seven conduits for the oil and beyond them the two olive trees." What are the olive trees? The Old and New Testaments. Why did the prophet call them olive trees? Because just as the leaf of the olive tree is evergreen, so too do the Old and New Testaments ever bear witness to Christ.

XII. "And I asked the angel and said, What are these things?[58] And the angel said, 'Do you not know what these things are?' And I said, No my lord." O prophet, what are you saying? You said you saw a lampstand, and a lamp, and lights, and conduits for the oil. Why then do you now say that you do not know what you saw? "Indeed," he answers, "for seeing an image I sought to understand a miracle." It is just like those who sail upon the sea. They behold the surface of the water but fail to discern the pearl hidden in the depths. But seeing the image, the prophet searched for the mystery. And this is what he says: "I asked the angel, and I said, 'What are these things?'" How does the angel respond? He does not say "this is a lampstand," or "that is a lamp," or "these are lights," and "those are conduits for oil." But forsaking the enigma, he proclaims the miracle and says, "This is the Word of the Lord," and in so doing the angel becomes an evangelist. Forsaking what he saw he proclaims the miracle and says, "This is the Word of the Lord." O Angel, what do you mean? Showing us ordinary objects, do you now preach the Word? "Yes, for the things which are seen are but an enigma, and the gift (of God) is a mystery indeed." Since it was foreordained that the Lord Christ would be born of the Virgin according to the flesh and assume the form of man, and become incarnate as he desired, it was also foreordained that the Jews would ridicule the miracle by saying "How was the 'Word of God,' the 'Word who was in the beginning,' the 'Word who was with God,'[59] able to be born in the form of man, assuming flesh from one of his own creations?" Desiring therefore to stop the mouths of the Jews, he showed the prophet the lampstand instead of the Virgin, the lamps instead of the laws, the conduits for oil instead of the gifts, the olive trees instead of the scriptures, and the lamp instead of the Savior. And that the prophets speak of our Lord Christ, the Word made flesh, the

[57]Is. 11.1–3 [58]Zech. 4.4 [59]Jn. 1.1

Ἡσαΐα λέγοντος· "ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐνέδυσε γάρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου, καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης, ὡς νυμφίῳ περιέθηκέ μοι μίτραν, καὶ ὡς νύμφην κατεκόσμησέ με κόσμῳ, ὡς γῆν αὔξουσαν τὸ ἄνθος αὐτῆς, καὶ ὡς κῆπον τὰ σπέρματα αὐτοῦ. οὕτως ἀνατελεῖ Κύριος δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἀγαλλίασιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐθνῶν. διὰ Σιὼν οὐ σιωπήσομαι, καὶ διὰ Ἱερουσαλὴμ οὐκ ἀνήσω, ἕως οὗ ἐξέλθῃ ὡς φῶς ἡ δικαιοσύνη μου, τὸ δὲ σωτήριόν μου ὡς λαμπὰς καυθήσεται."[60] αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ τιμὴ σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

[60] Is. 61.10–62.1

unchanging God, as a lamp, listen to Isaiah saying, "My soul shall exult in the Lord, for he has clothed me in a garment of salvation and a robe of joy. As a bridegroom he plated me with a crown, and as a bride he bedecked me with beauty. For as the earth brings forth its shoots, and as a garden causes what is sown in it to spring up, so will the Lord shine forth righteousness and gladness before all the nations. About Sion I will not keep silent, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest until my righteousness comes forth as light, and my salvation will burn like a lamp."[60] To him belong glory, and dominion, and honor, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and always, and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[60]Is. 61.10–62.1

NOTES AND COMMENTARY

2.I, 4–14: Proclus' rhetorical praise of the Psalter is indebted to Basil, *hom. in Ps.* 1 (*PG* 29.212–13), a work whose importance for the history of music is acknowledged by Strunk, *Music History* (1981), 1:64–66. The apotropaic and therapeutic character of sacred chant is a commonplace among early Christian authors, cf. Ps.-Justin, *qu. et resp.*, 107 (*PG* 6.1353–55); Evagrius, *or.*, 83 (*PG* 79.1185); Chrysostom, *homm. in Pss.* 41 (*PG* 55.157–58); 134 (*PG* 55.388); 140 (*PG* 55.427); and Isidore of Pelusium, *ep.* 2.176 (*PG* 78.628). See also the studies of Marrou, "Une théologie de la musique" (1972); Ferguson, "Words from the ΨΑΛ- Root in Nyssa" (1990); and Alygizakis, "Λειτουργικὴ μουσικὴ" (1981), 259–63.

2.I, 4: 'Inspired by God' (θεόπνευστος): cf. 2 Tim. 3.16; Proclus, hom. 22.1: κοινὸς μὲν ὁ λόγος τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς (*PG* 65.837CD); and Reck, "2 Tim 3.16 in der altchristlichen Literatur" (1990).

2.I, 7: 'A chanted psalm' (ψαλμός μελοδούμενος): cf. Gérold, *Les pères de l'église et la musique* (1931), 104, who notes that "this passage by Proclus is a good example of one of many texts which indicate in schematic form the beneficial influence of psalmody on the body and soul which practice it. In this lengthy passage, which enumerates, in rather haphazard fashion, the positive effects of psalmody on the religious and moral life, as well as on civic and ecclesiastical institutions, the author lays particular emphasis on the experience of melody. It is not the simple reading or recitation of the psalms which produces these positive effects, but rather the fact that they are chanted."

2.I, 8: 'Sponges away' (ἀποσπογγίζει): cf. Proclus, hom. 10.1: ἁμαρτημάτων σπόγγον (*PG* 65.777B); hom. 11.4: ὢ σπόγγος, τὴν κοσμικὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀποσπογγίσας καὶ ἀποσμήξας (*PG* 65.785D); Chrysostom, *hom.* 3.1 *in Eph.*: "Do you not see your own servants wiping the table with a sponge, cleaning the house, and then serving the banquet? The very same thing happens through prayers, and through the voice of the preacher, for through such we cleanse the church as if with a sponge" (*PG* 62.30). See also Ps.-Epiphanius, *sabbat.* (*PG* 43.464A); Theodoret,

affect., 4.3 (*PG* 83.900); and Leontius presb. of Constantinople, hom. 2.2 (ed. Datema and Allen, *CCSG* 17 [1987], 93, lines 212–13). The language of sponging and wiping also has pronounced medical overtones, see, for example, Galen, *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria*, 4.15 (ed. I. Mueller [Leipzig, 1874; repr. Amsterdam, 1975], 721, line 14). For further uses of this imagery by early Christian authors, see Aubineau, *Homélies pascales*, 271.

2.I, 13: 'Repels demons' (δαίμονας φυγαδεύει): cf. Proclus, hom. 9 (*PG* 65.776D), where the same apotropaic image is used for the cross; and hom. 18.2 (*PG* 65.820CD); and hom. 19.3 (*PG* 65.825B), where it is used for the apostles. Cyril of Alexandria, hom. 4 (*ACO* I, 1, 2, p. 102, line 26), uses the same phrase to describe the power of the Theotokos.

2.I, 16: 'Sits on the throne of God' (σύνθρονος): cf. Proclus, hom. 5.III, 91; hom. 7.3: οὐκ ἤρκεσε τὸν σύνθρονον τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν τοῦ δούλου μορφήν (*PG* 65.760D); hom. 22.2: ὑπὸ νόμον γέγονεν ὁ σύνθρονος τῷ πατρί (*PG* 65.840A); and hom. 23.3 (ed. Martin, 44), where Christ's assumption of Adam renders the latter σύνθρονος with the former. See also Ps.-Proclus, hom. 6.11: ὁ σύνθρονος τοῦ πατρὸς σύσσωμος γυναικός; (ed. Leroy, 311, line 22). Fourth-century responses to the theology of Arianism frequently used the image of a shared throne to emphasize the equality of the Son with the Father, cf. Athanasius, *Ar.*, 1 (*PG* 26.140); Basil, *Eun.*, 1.25 (ed. Sesboüé, *SC* 299 [1982], 260–62); Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 4.78 (ed. Bernardi, *SC* 309 [1983], 200, line 4); Chrysostom, *hom.* 64.3 *in Jo.* (*PG* 59.386C). See also Nonnus of Pannopolis, *par. Jo.*, 1.1 (*PG* 43.749A); Ps.-Epiphanius, *laud. Mariae* (*PG* 43.493D; 496C); and the extravagant coinage of John of Damascus, *carm. pent.*: ἀκτιστοσυμπλαστουργοσύνθρονος (*PG* 96.837C).

2.I, 17: 'Denounce' (στηλιτεύω): cf. Proclus, hom. 10.1: ἔδωκε ψωμὸν στηλιτεύων τὸν προδότην (*PG* 65.777B); hom. 12.2: τί λέγεις, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε; δύο ταῦτα στηλιτεύει σου τὴν μανίαν (*PG* 65.788D); hom. 13.1: οὐδέποτε ἥλιος ἐπίδεν ἐπὶ ξύλου στηλιτευθέντα διάβολον (*PG* 65.789D); hom. 27.2.7: σύ (Σατανᾶ) μοι θεάτροις τὴν τέρψιν κατέμιξας ἵνα τῶν γάμων στηλιτεύσῃς τὴν ὕβριν (ed. Leroy, ibid., 189); hom. 38: κατὰ Ἰουδαίων Στέφανος· ἐστηλίτευσε γὰρ τὴν συναγωγὴν μοιχευθεῖσαν εἰδώλοις (ed. Aubineau, 6, line 26); ep. 13 (*ACO* II, 1, 3, 68); *Tomus*, 26: οἱ δὲ τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἕτερον ἐπεισάγουσι, στηλιτεύοντες ὡς πολύγονον τὴν ἀκήρατον φύσιν (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 193, lines 30–31); Basil of Seleucia, *Or.* 27 (*PG* 85.312A);

Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.* (*PG* 62.763D); and Gregory of Antioch, *mul. ung.*, 2 (*PG* 88.1849A).

2.II, 23: 'Arius and Eunomius, Macedonius and Nestorius.' Proclus links the names of these four figures in his *Tomus*, 27 (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 193, lines 24–28). For further equations of Nestorianism with Arianism, cf. Proclus, hom. 1.VIII, 130; and Cyril of Alexandria, hom. 4 (*ACO* I, 1, 2, pp. 103, line 15, and 104, line 12).

2.II, 23–24: 'Four-horse chariot' (τετράπωλον ἅρμα): cf. Ps.-Chrysostom, *neg.*, which speaks of the 'four-horse chariot of the evangelists' (τὸ τετράπωλον ἅρμα τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν) (*PG* 59.613); and Menander Rhetor's 'four-horse chariot of the virtues' (τέθριππον τῶν ἀρετῶν) (ed. D. A. Russel and N. G. Wilson [Oxford, 1981], 361); cf. Niketas Stethatos, *gnost. cap. tert.*, 43: ἅρμα πυρὸς ἐποχεῖται τῇ τετρακύϊ τῶν ἀρετῶν (*PG* 120.973C). On the theological symbolism of the number four, see Evagrius, *or.* (*PG* 79.1165C).

2.II, 24–25: 'Shipwrecks of souls.' The same nautical and maritime images, part of the common rhetorical heritage, can be found in Chrysostom, *ep. Olymp.*, 1.1: "We have shipwrecked on rocky reefs and hidden ledges, on a moonless night, in profound darkness, surrounded by rocks and surging summits" (ed. Malingrey, *SC* 13 [1968], 106); id., *Laz.*: "Gone are the surging summits, gone the precipice, gone the hidden ledges, gone the shipwrecks" (*PG* 48.1049A). See also, Proclus, hom. 17.4 (*PG* 65.813C); hom. 19.1 (*PG* 65.824B); hom. 34.5 (ed. Leroy, 255, lines 17–19); hom. 35 (ed. Rudberg, 313–14, lines 53–64). On the social and historical context of these images, see Antoniades-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance* (1966), 26–29; and Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (1966). On their metaphorical application, see Kertsch, *Bildersprache bei Gregor von Nazianz* (1980), 1–114; cf. Proclus, hom., 3.I, 5–7.

2.II, 25–26: 'Deceitful merchants,' lit. 'wicked public weighers' (πονηροί ζυγοστάται): cf. Prov. 20.23: "A double weight is an abomination to the Lord, and a deceiftul balance (ζυγὸς δόλιος) is not good in his sight," and Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.* (= Proclus, cf. Marx, *Procliana*, 39–40, no. 27; Leroy, ibid., 272): μυστήριον προσκυνούμενον, οὐ ζυγοστατούμενον … μυστήριον ὁμολογούμενον, οὐ μετρούμενον (*PG* 50.793AB). The *CTh* 12.7.12 (ed. Mommsen, 723; trans. Pharr, 378) stipulated how and by whom the 'balance scale' (ζυγὸς) was to be held in order to insure the fair payment of taxes. The ζυγοστάτης, described in this law, was a municipal official who, "by reason of his trustworthiness and vigilance

will neither deceive nor be deceived, so that he may settle any dispute that may arise between the seller and the buyer." However, such officials were generally considered corrupt (cf. Theodore the Studite, *Or.* 11.6, *PG* 99.808C), and, in theological polemics, the title became a term of abuse for Trinitarian heretics, cf. Leontius, hom. 8: οὐδείς μοι λόγος πρὸς Ἄρειον τὸν τῆς θεότητος ζυγοστάτην (ed. Datema and Allen, 267, lines 270–71); and the examples collected by Aubineau, *Homélies pascales*, 409.

2.III, 35–37: 'He fashioned the constellations … elements (fire and water).' There is a lacuna in the manuscript at this point. The sense may have been similar to popular fifth-century elemental theories, cf. Isidore of Pelusium, *ep.* 2.43: "When fire is condensed and sinks downward, it become air, while air in turn becomes water. Water, moreover, becomes earth. Similarly, earth, if pressed, will become water, and water air, and air fire" (*PG* 78.485). Although ultimately derived from Plato, *Tim.*, 32BC, such notions were probably obtained from Basil, *hex.*, 2.2 (ed. Giet, 149, cf. n. 1: "tout ce passage semble directement inspiré de Timée 32BC").

2.III, 38: 'Planets,' lit. 'weights' (βάρη). It is not clear if this phrase is a reference to earthquakes, such as those which struck Constantinople in 417, 423, and that of 25 September 438, when Proclus was archbishop, and which prompted the introduction of the Trisagion Hymn into the liturgy of the Great Church of Constantinople; cf. above, chap. 1, n. 12; and Proclus, hom. I.IX, 152–53. According to Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 2.8, earthquakes were caused by movements of air in underground caverns, while the *De caelo*, 2.294b14 notes that "it is widely known that air is able to bear great weight (βάρος)."

2.IV, 40: 'He took his place among us' (ἐπεδήμησεν): cf. Proclus, hom. 3.IV, 27; hom. 17.1 (*PG* 65.809A). Ἐπιδημία ('sojourn,' 'stay,' 'visitation') was a common Alexandrian term for the incarnation, birth, and earthly sojourn of the Word in the flesh, cf. Clement, *paed.*, 2.8.75.2 (ed. Stählin, *SC* 108 [1965], 2:148, line 20); Origen, *Cels.*, 4.5 (ed. Borret, *SC* 136 [1968], 2:198, line 16); Athanasius, *inc.*, 29.2 (ed. Kannengiesser, 368, line 7); *Ar.*, 1.59 (*PG* 26.133C); *ep. Epictet.*, 4 (*PG* 26.1057); Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 38.4: 'This is what we are celebrating today, the coming of God to man, that we might go forth to God' (τοῦτο ἑορτάζομεν σήμερον, ἐπιδημίαν Θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἵνα πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημήσωμεν) (ed. Moreschini, *SC* 358 [1990], 108, lines 1–13). Harl, *Origène et la*

fonction révélatrice (1959), 205, states that, in the theology of Origen, ἐπιδημία is 'the most frequent term for designating the incarnation.' See also, Etcheverria, "*Epidemia* y *Parousia* en Origenes" (1969).

2.IV, 40–41: 'Nor did the pangs of birth alter his uncreated nature' (καὶ ἡ ὠδὶς τὴν ἄκτιστον φύσιν οὐκ ἠλλοίωσεν): cf. Proclus, hom. 38: ἡ γὰρ θεία ὠδὶς τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἐμέρισε (ed. Aubineau, 6, line 36); hom. 1.II, 33, 40; hom. 19.3: ἀνατολὴν ἔχετε τὴν παρθενικὴν ὠδῖνα· ὄρθρον, τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος μήτραν (*PG* 65.825BC); hom. 23.20: ὠδῖνα ἀλόχευτον (ed. Martin, 48, line 19); hom. 26.5.19: διὰ νηπιότητος τὴν τῆς Εὔας ἐθεράπευσεν ὠδῖνα (ed. Leroy, 182). See also Gregory of Nyssa, *hom.* 13 *in Cant.*: ἀνώδυνος ὠδίς (ed. Langerbeck, *GNO* 6 [1960], 388, line 9); and Chrysostom, *hom.* 8.3 *in Mt.*: 'There was a conception, a nine-month (pregnancy), and pangs of birth' (κύησις γίνεται καὶ ἐννεαμηνιαῖος χρόνος καὶ ὠδίν) (*PG* 57.91). Note that in the late-antique period, the classical orthography of ὠδίς was modified to ὠδίν under the influence of the Septuagint; cf. Is. 37.3; 1 Thess. 5.3.

2.IV, 47–48: 'The demons were invisibly scourged.' It is not clear if the demons mentioned here are connected with the storm, as they seem to be in Origen, *in Mat.*, 11.6 (*PG* 13.920BC); and Cyril of Alexandria, *in Lc.*, 8 (*PG* 72.633C), or, more likely, with the story of the Gadarene demoniac(s) which follows the calming of the storm (cf. Mt. 8.28–34; Mk. 5.1–20; Lk. 8.26–39).

2.IV, 48–49: 'The elements … were afraid'; cf. Proclus, hom. 36: "If I were to ask the rivers (about the incarnation), the Jordan would respond saying: 'I cannot inquire into the (nature of the) one enthroned in heaven, before whom I trembled when he was on earth, being baptized in my waters'" (ed. Amand, 237, line 22).

2.V, 51–52: 'When creation was mute' (κωφευούσῃ γὰρ τῇ κτίσει): cf. Homer, *Iliad*, 24.54: κωφὴν γὰρ δὴ γαῖαν ἀεικίζει μενεαίνων (said of Hector).

2.V, 52: 'Speech,' lit. 'tongue,' cf. Proclus, hom. 35: (ἄνθρωπος) ἡ τῆς κτίσεως γλῶσσα (ed. Rudberg, 312, line 28); the description of Adam by Theodotus, *hom. in s. deipar.*, 5: ὁ σοφὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ, τὸ θεῖον ἄγαλμα, ἡ τιμία τοῦ κόσμου κεφαλή, ἡ γλῶσσα τῆς κτίσεως, ἡ ὁμοιόφθογγος τοῖς ἀγγέλοις κινύρα, ἡ σεμνότης τῆς γῆς (ed. Jugie, 322 [204], lines 28–31); *Odes of Solomon*, 7.24–25: 'For he has given a mouth to his creation, to open the voice of the mouth to him, and to praise him' (Sparks, *Apocryphal Old Testament* [1984], 697).

2.V, 53: 'From untilled soil … and reason is born'; cf. Proclus, hom. 35: "Seed is scattered in the furrow of nature; that which was scattered is then transformed into blood, which, upon thickening, becomes flesh. In time, the flesh assumes form, and is in turn ensouled in a manner surpassing reason. Upon receiving nourishment, the confined embryo kicks in the womb, vexed by the bonds of nature" (ed. Rudberg, 311, lines 19–24). See also Cyril of Alexandria, *ep. monach.*, 12: 'The mystery of Christ's (incarnation) in a way is like to our being born' (ἔοικε δέ πως τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς τόκῳ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ [i.e., Χριστῷ] μυστήριον) (*ACO* I, 1, 1, p. 15, line 12).

2.VI, 66–73: For a mariological extension of the Adam/Christ typology, see Chrysostom, *mutat. nom.*, 2: "(The word Eden is derived from the word 'virgin') so that you might learn that that paradise was not the work of human hands. That earth (i.e., paradise) was a virgin who neither yielded to the plow, nor unfolded her furrows, she was untouched by the hands of husbandmen, and sprouted forth her trees solely by divine command. That virgin was thus a type of this Virgin. For just as the soil of the former seedlessly blossomed for us into paradise, so too did the latter, apart from human seed, and for our benefit, blossom forth Christ" (*PG* 51.129). See also, below, chap. 5, p. 277.

2.VII, 83–84: A '[bridal] chamber' (θάλαμος) is listed among the buildings constructed by Theodosius I in Constantinople, cf. Themistius (d. ca. 388), *Or.*, 18.222d–223a (ed. H. Schenkl and G. Downey, *Themistii Orationes Quae Supersunt* [Leipzig, 1951], 321); cf. Proclus, hom. 5.III, 79, 82; hom. 26.31 (ed. Leroy, 183); and Ps.-Epiphanius, *laud. Mariae* (*PG* 43.493D).

2.VIII: On the creation of Eve as a type of the origin of the church, cf. Methodius of Olympus, *symp.*, 2.2–4, 3.1, and 3.8: "The Apostle could apply directly to Christ all that was said of Adam. It is in accord with this that the church has been formed from his flesh and bone. For it was for the church's sake that the Word left his heavenly Father and came down to earth in order to cling to his spouse, and 'slept' in the ecstasy of his passion" (ed. Musurillo and Debidour, *SC* 95 [1963], 70–76, 90–92, 106–110). Proclus' exegetical digression on the sleep of Adam is derived from Chrysostom, *hom.* 15.2 *in Gen.* (*PG* 53.120–22). With only minor variations, Proclus adduces the same reasons for the sleep of Adam as well as its consequences for theological methodology. The difference is that arguments formerly used in Trinitarian debate, that is, against the

propriety of inquiring into the timeless generation of the Son from the Father, are now used in the context of christology, where they critique inquiry into the Son's birth in time from the Virgin; cf. 2.VIII, 95–101.

2.VIII, 96: 'Contentious creature' (φιλόνεικον ζῷον): cf. Proclus, hom. 33.5.15, where the risen Christ says to Thomas: "I applaud your contentious manner (φιλόνεικον τρόπον) since it brings an end to all contentiousness (φιλονεικία)" (ed. Leroy, 240). This passage excepted, φιλονεικία almost always carries a negative connotation, implying a certain perverse obstinacy and a fondness for dispute, cf. Athanasius, *ep. Epictet.*, 3 (*PG* 26.1056); Mark the Hermit, *Nest.*, 6 (ed., Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 93, line 2); and Socrates, *H.E.*, 1.24.5; 1.37.4; 6.17.3; 7.31.6 (ed. Hansen, 71, line, 8; 87, line 19; 340, line 1; 379, line 25), where φιλονεικία is consistently used to describe the contentiousness of Constantinopolitan episcopal aspirants.

2.VIII, 100: 'Meddle' (πολυπραγμονεῖν), also: 'be unduly concerned about,' 'inquire too inquisitively into,' 'preoccupied with vain and idle questions,' cf. Proclus, hom. 23.9: τῆς πίστεως τὸ ἀπολυπραγμόνητον (ed. Martin, 45); hom. 27.8.47: εἶπες πιστεύω· μὴ πολυπραγμόνει τὰ ἄφραστα, ibid., 27.10.58: οὐδεὶς πολυπραγμονεῖ σου τὰ πρότερα (ed. Leroy, 192, 194); hom. 33.7.22: οὐ πολυπραγμονῶ τῆς εἰσόδου τὸν τρόπον, ibid., 33.12.42: πιστεύω, οὐκέτι τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην πολυπραγμονῶ (ed. Leroy, 241, 246); Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.* (= Proclus, as above, 2.II, 25–26): μυστήριον γνωριζόμενον πίστει, οὐκ ἐρευνώμενον πολυπγραγμοσύνῃ (*PG* 793AB); Ps.-Proclus, hom. 6.12: ὑμνολογεῖν οὐ πολυπραγμονεῖν ... ζητεῖν τὰ δέοντα οὐ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ ἀκατάληπτα (ed. Leroy, 315, lines 11–12); Ps.-Athanasius, *nativ. Christ.* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, *Procliana*, 52–56, no. 47): τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσαται; ὁ προφήτης φεύγει τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ διηγήσασθαι καὶ σὺ τὴν φύσιν περιεργάζῃ καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖς; (*PG* 28.965BC); Ps.-Chrysostom, *nativ.* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, 51–52, no. 46): "Neither is his heavenly generation open to investigation, nor his appearance in time susceptible to meddlesome inquiry (οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι ἀνέχεται) ... the mode of his birth I have been taught to honor by silence, not to meddle with by words" (οὐ διὰ λόγων πολυπραγμονεῖν) (*PG* 56.588A); Ps.-Chrysostom, *In illud: Hic est filius meus* (attributed to Proclus, cf. Marx, no. 78): "The angels cry 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' not 'Holy, Holier, Holiest'; they sing hymns, they do not meddle into the nature of the divinity (ὑμνοῦσιν, οὐ πολυπραγμονοῦσιν) (*PG* 64.34D); Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.*: "Sing praises to that which has come about (i.e., the incarnation), and do not meddle into

the gift … venerate the mystery which has been entrusted to you, and do not busy yourself with the strangeness of the miracle (ὕμνει τοίνυν τὸ γενόμενον καὶ μη πολυπραγμόνει τὴν δωρεάν … προσκύνει τὸ πιστευθέν σοι μυστήριον καὶ μὴ περιεργάζου τὸ ξένον τοῦ θαύματος) … What will you say to this, O Arius? For if the Mother of the mystery herself did not grasp the mystery, how will you be able to do so? … How do you dare to meddle (πῶς τολμᾶς πολυπραγμονεῖν) into that birth, which was heavenly, timeless, bodiless, invisible, impassible, and altogether ineffable and inconceivable?" (*PG* 62.767, 768); Ps.-Chrysostom, *nativ.*: "Who upon seeing a virgin mother, and the infant a child of a virgin, would meddle in the mystery (τὸ μυστήριον πολυπραγμονῶν)?" (*PG* 61.764C); Ps.-Chrysostom, *In prin. erat Verbum*, 2: πιστεύοντες φωτιζόμεθα, οὐ πολυπραγμονοῦντες βαπτιζόμεθα (*PG* 63.547A).

2.VIII, 98: 'Your own kinswoman' (ὁμόφυλος): Proclus elsewhere uses this word to describe Christ's biological relationship to the Virgin, cf. *Tomus*, 24: καὶ ὥσπερ τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα ὁμοούσιος, οὕτως ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τῇ παρθένῳ κατὰ τὴν σάρκα ὁμόφυλος (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 193, lines 8–9). According to a fragment of Proclus', its meaning is equivalent to 'consubstantial' (ὁμοούσιος); cf. Diekamp, *Doctrina patrum*, 48–49. See also the fragment of Atticus, *ep. Eups.*, preserved in the *acta* of Chalcedon: σαρκὶ δὲ θανάτῳ προσομιλήσαντα ὁμοῦ μὲν ἀποδεῖξαι τῇ ὁμοφύλῳ τῆς σαρκός φύσει τὴν τοῦ θανάτου ὑπεροψίαν (*ACO* II, 1, 3, p. 115 [474], lines 20–21).

2.VIII, 95–101: Proclus' argument about the limited capacity of the human mind to embrace the reality of God is a popularizing form of Cappadocian apophatic theological method; cf. Proclus, hom. 3.V, 36–37; hom. 36.5: "How can grass, clay, earth, and ash trace out the mystery (i.e., of the incarnation) of God and the will of the potter?" (ed. Amand, 233, lines 13–15); ibid., "If I question the earth (about the incarnation), she will certainly respond by saying: 'You first tell me how the potter, taking clay from me, formed it into a work of beauty, and by his breath gave it a human character. Then you will learn from me the essence of the creator'" (ibid., 237, lines 14–18); and Basil of Seleucia, hom. 39, *annunt.* (attributed to Proclus, cf. Marx, *Procliana*, 84–89, no. 89): "It was he (i.e., the Word) who in the beginning created man, and in these latter days recreated man through himself. Although he himself fashioned Adam from the dust of the earth and infused him with spirit, he did not reveal to him the manner of his formation, forestalling his meddling curiosity, so that, being ignorant of the synthesis of clay and

spirit, he would not idly inquire into the union of God with the flesh, as if to say: 'Do not dare to raise yourself to heaven, being thus confined to the earth. Know yourself, how you were fashioned, how you were formed, and how in your body dwells that which is bodiless'" (*PG* 85.436).

2,IX, 102: 'Crowded together by force' (στενοχωρουμένους): cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *quad. mart.*, I.1: εὐφραίνεται ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ ποιμένος, τὸ ποίμνιον βλέπων ὑπὸ πλήθους στενοχωρούμενον καὶ τῆς μάνδρας ὑπερχεόμενον, ἀλλὰ στενὴν ποιεῖ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν εὐθηνούμενον τῷ πλήθει τὸ ποίμνιον· παντὶ γὰρ, φησὶ (ὁ Ἀπόστολος), θλιβόμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι (*PG* 46.749A).

2.IX, 108–110: On Moses' vision of God, cf. Proclus, hom. 36.30–33: "If I ask Moses how he beheld the (burning) bush, he will certainly respond by saying: 'Desiring to behold this strange sight, I drew near to the place, but from on high God restrained me saying, 'Moses, draw not nigh hither.' Moses the servant was not permitted to see that place, and these meddlers swagger beyond the heights of the Cherubim" (ed. Amand, 239–41). These passages find a close parallel in Theodotus, hom. 2.2: "Tell me, O Jew, how did Moses see God? Did he see his invisible nature? Certainly not. How then did he see him? He saw him in the bush that was burning with fire and yet remained intact. Why then do you not believe in the one born of the Virgin who preserved her virginity intact?" (*ACO* I, 1, 2, p. 74, lines 18–21). In a tradition established by the Gospel of Matthew, Moses and Christ were closely linked through the art of Biblical typology. However, the christology of Nestorianism, which seemed to reduce Christ to the status of a mere prophet, necessitated clear distinctions between these two foundational figures. See, for example, Cyril of Alexandria, *ep. monach.*, 23: "Someone, perhaps, may say, 'But who would know the difference between Christ and Moses, if both were born through a woman? How is one the servant and faithful in the house, but the other, as the son, is Lord by nature over his house, which we are?" (*ACO* I, 1, 1, p. 21, lines 16–18; trans. McInerney, 30, for whom this is chapter 35 of Cyril's letter).

2, IX, 104–107: On Jewish and Christian debates about the virgin birth, see below, chap. 5, p. 276–77.

2.IX, 123: 'Inspect' (ἔγκυψον): cf. Proclus, hom. 23.2.: καὶ ἔγκυψον, ἀγαπητέ, εἰ βούλῃ, ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς (ed. Martin, 44).

2.IX, 125: 'Foreshadowed' (σκιαγραφούμενον): cf. Heb. 10.1; Col. 2.17. In patristic exegesis, 'shadows' and 'outlines' refer to the types of the Old Testament that were held to prefigure the realities of the Gospel; cf. Philo, *Leg. All.*, 3.96; Proclus, hom. 19.4: προεσκιαγράφησε τὰ σημεῖα (*PG* 65.828AB); hom. 22.3: ἐν σκιαῖς μὲν γὰρ καὶ τύποις ἦν ταῦτα διὰ Μωϋσέως (*PG* 65.840CD); Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 4.67: τὸ μὲν (i.e., Adam) τῇ σκιαγραφίᾳ, τὸ δὲ (i.e., Christ) τῇ τελειώσει τοῦ μυστηρίου (ed. Bernardi, 176, lines 8–10); *Or.* 38.2 (ed. Moreschini, 104–106); *Or.* 40.6 (ibid., 206–208; cf. below, 2.XI, 161); Basil of Seleucia, *Or.* 10.1 (PG 85.137B); id., *res.*, 3 (ed. Aubineau, *Homélies pascales*, 214); and Themistius, *Or.* 11.151a, and *Or.* 18.222c (ed. Schenkel and Downey [Leipzig, 1951], 227, 321), where the word denotes an artist's preliminary cartoon or an architectural blueprint. See also Fowler, *Hellenistic Aesthetic* (1989), 168–86 (= "Skenographia, Skiagraphia, and Phantasia").

2.IX, 132: 'Lampstand.' According to Sozomen, *H.E.*, 9.17.1–6 (ed. Bidez, *GCS* 4 [1995], 407–408), the relics of the prophet Zechariah were miraculously discovered buried in a double sarcophagus in Palestinian Eleutheropolis early in 415. The *Chron. Pasch.* (ed. L Dindorff, *CSHB* [Bonn, 1832], 522) further notes that in September of 415, Ursus, the prefect of Constantinople, ceremoniously conveyed these relics, along with those of the Old Testament patriarch Joseph, to the Great Church of the Holy Wisdom upon their arrival in Constantinople from Chalcedon. It was probably around the same time that a *propheteion* of Zechariah was built in Constantinople, on which see Janin, *La géographie*, 139–40.

2.IX, 132: 'Conduits for the oil (or funnels)' (ἐπαρυστρίδες). This rare word is attested several times in the Septuagint, and always in connection with the lamp (menorah) of the temple, cf. Ex. 25.38, 38.17; Num. 4.9; 3 Kg. 7.49; and Zech. 4.2. Lancelot Brenton (*The Septuagint* [London, 1851]) renders the word as 'funnels (perhaps small vessels with lips).' The *Suidae Lexicon*, 2:333, no. 1984, understands ἐπαρυστρίδες to be a name for ἀντλήτιδες (ἀντλέω), i.e., containers used to bale or bilge out water or other liquids. E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, (New York, 1887; repr. Hildesheim, 1975), 1:493, describes this appurtenance as a 'vessel for pouring liquids into another vessel,' from ἀρύτω – ἐπαρύτομαι, i.e., to 'pour upon,' or 'in,' and ἀρυτήρ, i.e., a 'ladle' or 'dipper.' *LSJ* 611, translates ἐπαρυστήρ as a 'vessel for pouring oil into a lamp.' However, it is not clear if the word designates a portable object or utensil physically separate from the lamp to

which it supplies oil. By the late ninth or early tenth century, the word was sufficiently obscure to be included among a collection of questions appended to the authentic *qu. et resp.* of Anastasius of Sinai (*qu.* 49: "What are the seven ἐπαρυστρίδες that Zechariah saw?" *PG* 89.608–609), the answer to which is a largely verbatim citation from Proclus. Similarly, the scribe of the tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript *Vat. gr.* 1633 (i.e., the *codex unicus* for Proclus' Homily 2), thought it necessary to include a marginal note on the word, describing it as as a τρούλιον ἐλαδικόν (cf. above, p. 164), which Sophocles (*Lexicon*, 2:1097), translates as an '(oil) basin.' The work of Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai and Zechariah* (1987), 235–38, suggests that the Greek word ἐπαρυστρίδες translates the Hebrew word for the seven spouts, or channel-like notches often made in the rim of a lamp bowl for holding the wicks. This seems somewhat closer to the sense in which it was understood by patristic exegetes, for whom the ἐπαρυστρίδες appear to be sluices, or conduit pipes, possibly valved; cf. Didymus (ἐπαρυστρίδες ἐποχετεύουσι τοῖς λύχνοις ἔλαιον); Cyril of Alexandria (ἐπαρυστρίδες … δι' ὧν εἰσεχεῖτο τὸ ἔλαιον); and Theodoret (ἐπαρυστρίδες αἵ τὸ ἔλαιον ἐπιχέουσαι). See also Bouras, "Byzantine Lighting Devices," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982), 479–91; and Liebert, "Fifth-Century Byzantine Lamp" (1987). Without citing a primary source, Tsatsos, *Athenais* (1970), 68, n. 1, writes that Theodosius II had a lamp that supplied itself with oil, presumably from similar funnel-like conduits.

2.IX, 126f.: Although the book of Zechariah was commented on by Hippolytus, Origen, Didymus, Cyril of Alexandria, Ephrem, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (summarized in Doutreleau, *SC* 83 [1962], 30–41), Proclus exhibits no real dependency on any of them. Doutreleau does not mention that the same pericope was treated, in part, by Methodius of Olympus, *symp.*, 10.6 (ed. Musurillo, 300), for whom the 'two olive trees' are, presumably, the Son and the Spirit, while the 'two branches' of the olive trees (Zech. 4.12, not cited by Proclus) are the 'law and the prophets' which supply oil for the 'light of divine knowledge.' According to Cyril of Alexandria, the lampstand signifies the church; the lamp Christ; the seven lights the apostles, evangelists, and teachers (cf. 1 Cor. 12.28); the oil conduits the faithful; and the two olive trees the Jews and the Gentiles, cf. *in Zach.*, 2.4 (ed. P. E. Pusey, [Oxford, 1868], 328–28). Theodoret's commentary on this passage (*PG* 81.1897) is indebted to that of Theodore of Mopsuestia (*PG* 66.528–29; cf. Sprenger, *Theodori Mopsuesteni Commentarius* [1977], 344–

48), and adheres closely to a literal and historical exegesis. Another of Proclus' contemporaries, the empress Athenais-Eudokia, is said to have composed an hexameter version of the book of Zechariah, which has not survived.

2.X, 142: 'Dawning' (ἀνατολή): This is a term for the 'rising' of the sun, and was used in patristic literature to designate both the birth of Christ from the womb of the Virgin and his resurrection from the tomb; cf. Aubineau, *Homélies pascales*, 74–75.

2.X, 148: 'What is this lampstand? Holy Mary.' Cf. Ps.-Epiphanius, *laud. Mariae*, who, after citing Zech. 4.2 and Ps. 118.105, exclaims: ὢ λυχνία παρθενική, ἡ τὸ σκότος ἀπελαύνουσα καὶ τὸ φῶς καταυγάζουσα. ὢ λυχνία παρθενική, ἡ τὸ πῦρ καὶ το ἔλαιον ἀχώριστον πρὸς φωτισμόν ἐνέγκασα. ὢ λυχνία παρθενική, τρίφωτον ἓν πῦρ ἄσβεστον, ὁμοούσιον ἀφ' ὑψηλοτάτου θρόνου λαβοῦσα, καὶ πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκλάμψασα. ὢ λυχνία παρθενική, περὶ ἧς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγει ὁ Θεός· ἐκεῖ ἐξανατελῶ κέρας τῷ Δαβίδ, ἡτοίμασα λύχνον τῷ Χριστῷ μου (Ps. 131.17) (*PG* 43.496AB).

2.X, 149: 'Immaterial light,' cf. *Acathistos Hymnus*, 21: "We see the holy Virgin as a torch-bearing light (φωτοδόχον λαμπάδα) shining upon those in darkness. For by kindling the immaterial fire (ἄϋλον πῦρ) she guides all to divine knowledge" (ed. Wellesz, 78, lines 1–6).

2.X, 149: Gold is said to be symbolic of virginity because it is the only metal which is not subject to oxidization, a process which signifies the decay and corruption associated with the violation and loss of virginal power; cf. Ps.-Proclus, hom. 6.1: καὶ τίς ἐστιν τὸ χρυσίον; οὐχὶ ἡ ἁγία παρθένος καὶ ἡ ταύτης καθαρὰ καὶ ἄσπιλος ψυχή; ibid., 6.12: ὁ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ξυλίνῳ μοδίῳ κείμενος λύχνος τὸν ἐν τῇ χρυσῇ λυχνίᾳ ἀνατέλλοντα ὑποδείξει ἥλιον, ibid., 6.17: αὕτη ἡ τὸν ἑπτάμυξον λύχνον βαστάζουσα χρυσῆ λυχνία· αὕτη ἡ κεχρυσωμένη ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν κιβωτός, σώματι καὶ πνεύματι ἡγιασμένη, ἐν ᾗ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἔκειτο (ed. Leroy, 300, lines 1–2; 314, lines 10–11; 322, lines 5–9). See also the study of Avercinev, "L'Or dans la système des symboles" (1979).

2.XI, 160: 'The successive particular laws'; cf. Ps.-Proclus, hom. 6.17: "The first law was written in the time of Adam, the second in the time of Noah, the third in the time of Abraham, the fourth in the time of Moses, and the fifth during the time of the Lord, for five times did the faithful hired laborers enter the vineyard of righteousness (Mt. 20.1–

16)" (ed. Leroy, 323, lines 16–18). For another division of Old Testament laws, see Theodoret, *haer. fab. comp.*, 5.17 (*PG* 83.508–509).

2.XI, 161: 'Your law is a lamp unto my feet and a light for my paths' (Ps. 118.105): cf. Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 40.6: "Light was also the first commandment given to the first born man (cf. Gen. 2.16–17), for the 'commandment of the Law is a lamp and a light' (Ps. 118.105), and again, 'your judgements are a light upon the earth' (Prov. 6.23) … and a light, typical and proportionate, was the written law, foreshadowing (σκιαγραφῶν) the truth and the mystery of the great light" (ed. Moreschini, 206–208).

2.XI, 178: "From what Isaiah says: 'A rod shall come forth' …" (Is. 11.1–3): Didymus, *in Zach.*, 1.281–82, also cross-references this passage from Isaiah (ed. Doutreleau, 340); cf. Ps.-Epiphanius, *laud. Mariae* (*PG* 43.488).

2.XII, 191: On the image of the 'pearl,' see below, chap. 5, pp. 290–93.

HOMILY 3

ON THE INCARNATION OF THE LORD

Introduction

Delivered on the day after the feast of the Nativity, Homily 3 is the shortest of the five homilies which appear in this study. The Homily's prologue is addressed to the members of the congregation and draws their attention to the experience of the festive occasion. Like travelers arriving by sea, visitors to the feast are encouraged to identify with the celebration as if it were a safe and tranquil harbor. The preacher extols the great feasts of the church, stressing their spiritual benefits over and against the religious festivals of the Greeks and the Jews. These praises take the form of short apostrophes cast in repetitive isocola, comparable to the rhetorical structure of Proclus' praises of the Psalter in Homily 2. In an inventory of five feasts representing an abbreviated christological cycle, Proclus mentions the Nativity, the Baptism, the Passion and Resurrection (here intriguingly combined), the Ascension, and Pentecost. All worshipful celebration is transformative, bestowing upon the faithful participants joyfulness and delight, because its roots are planted in the joyous Resurrection of Christ.

Within this general framework, Proclus invites his listeners to ponder the distinctive grandeur of 'yesterday's feast' of the Nativity. His questions to them, however, are largely rhetorical. After acknowledging the virtual impossibility for a 'tongue of clay to convey the mysteries of God,' Proclus proceeds to reflect on the 'ineffable mystery of humanity and divinity.' His reflections nevertheless do not attempt to resolve or disclose these 'mysteries,' which instead are celebrated through a series of vertiginous antitheses: a birth pang without pain; a beginning which was not a beginning; an addition which numerically does not increase; one person existing in two natures; a king clothed in the apparel of the condemned; the entire sun contained within the orbit of a human eye. Drawing on a wide range of images and associations, the sermon soars to an exhilarating crescendo through a series of nearly thirty breathtaking exclamations before the invocation of the closing doxology.

The two internal references to 'yesterday's feast of the Nativity' indicate clearly that Homily 3 was delivered on 26 December, a day that was increasingly set aside in honor of the Virgin. This date is further confirmed by external evidence, which states that Homily 3 was delivered 'after the Nativity' (μετὰ τὸ γενέθλιον). In addition, the brevity of Homily 3 suggests that Proclus' sermon, in keeping with the customs of fifth-century preaching, may have been one of several sermons given on that day. Because it is unlikely that an archbishop of Constantinople would deliver a short sermon in a lineup of preachers on the day after Christmas, Homily 3 was most likely delivered when Proclus was bishop of Cyzicus, that is, between 427 and 433. Moreover, external witnesses further note that Homily 3 was delivered 'in the Pulcherian quarter,' a neighborhood of Constantinople where the empress Pulcheria had built a number of churches and chapels. It has therefore been surmised that Homily 3 was delivered under the patronage of Pulcheria who had offered the 'harbor' of her support to the titular bishop of Cyzicus during the 'stormy seas' of the Nestorian controversy. When Nestorius and his associates unleashed their tempestuous campaign against the Theotokos, Pulcheria may have wanted to respond with a statement of orthodox christology that would also acknowledge her devotion to Mary, and thus invited Proclus (and others) to preach under her auspices on 26 December 429.[1]

At first glance, the contents of Homily 3 would seem to resist strong association with the celebration of the 'Virgin's Festival' attested in Constantinople in the winter of 430. In this regard, Homily 3 is one of a number of fifth-century homilies that more or less evenly divide their attention between the 'Nativity' and the 'Annunciation,' representing a stage in the development of the Marian feast when it had not yet been fully distinguished from the celebration of Christ's birth. The Ps.-Chrysostomic sermon *In Christi natalem diem*, ascribed to the hand of Proclus, is another example of a work which holds both Bethlehem and Nazareth equally within its view.[2] Delivered on the day *after* Christmas, the event commemorated in Homily 3 is no longer the day of the Nativity, and not yet a day in honor of the Virgin, although it is clearly a step in that direction. If it is true, however, that Homily 3 was one of several sermons preached in the Pulcherian quarter on 26 December, than it provides only a partial view of a larger festal

[1] The proposed dating has been suggested by Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 157.
[2] See above, chap. 2, p. 58.

tableau which may have included more overt and extensive praises of the Virgin. Ultimately, the nature of the extant sources makes it difficult to establish and coordinate the various factors which contributed to the development of the new Marian feast. However, it is certainly likely that Nestorius' campaign against the Theotokos, which began in the winter of 428, unwittingly provided critical impetus for the feast's pronounced development clearly evident in Homily 1.

Manuscripts

The sole witness for Proclus' Homily 3 is *Vaticanus graecus* 1633 and its direct copy *Vaticanus Barberinus* 497.

V = *Vaticanus graecus* 1633. Ninth-tenth century, parchment 280 x 210 mm, fols. 359 (fols. 55–56 = Homily 3).[3]

B = *Vaticanus Barberinus* 497 (IV.79). Seventeenth century, paper 275 x 205 mm, fols. 331 (fols. 202v–204 = Homily 3).[4]

Indirect Witnesses

b = *Vaticanus graecus* 1431 (fol. 313). An anti-Chalcedonian florilegium compiled during the reign of the emperor Zeno (474–91), *Vat. gr.* 1431 was known to Riccardi when he established the *editio princeps* of Homily 3: "post multa S. Cyrilli opuscula, adest collectio quaedem sententiarum SS. Patrum de duabus in Christo naturis cui haec inscriptio est: χρήσεις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων περὶ φύσεως, σώματος καὶ θεότητος."[5] The citation from Homily 3 (lines 39–44: τόκος παράδοξος – τὸ ἐξ ἐμοῦ) is in agreement with the direct witnesses.

c = *Parisinus graecus* 1115 (fols. 246v–247). Thirteenth-century florilegium containing earlier collections of texts that were compiled in the eighth or ninth century. Folios 8–306v of *Paris. gr.* 1115 are the work of Leo Cinnamus, who signed and dated the colophon to 14 March 1276. Munitiz

[3] See above, p. 160, n. 1.

[4] See above, p. 160, n. 2.

[5] This manuscript has been edited by Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus*, 38, no. 29; cf. Canart and Peri, *Sussidi Bibliografici* (1970), 591; and Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 147, no. 16. For Riccardi's comments on *Vat. gr.* 1431, see id., *Procli Analecta*, 133; cf. Schwartz, ibid., 4. As Riccardi indicates, the citation from Homily 3 is found in a section of the florilegium entitled: χρήσεις ἁγίων πατέρων συμφώνως διδάσκουσι ἡμᾶς διαφορὰν εἰδέναι φύσεως σώματός τε καὶ θεότητος, ἐξ ὧν ὁ εἷς καὶ μόνος ἐστὶ χριστός εἰς ἑνότητα φυσικὴν καὶ ἀδιάσπαστον συνενηνεγμένος (Schwartz, 33).

notes that fols. 235v–283v (= 'Florilege sur les icônes'), in which extracts (fols. 246–251) from another dogmatic florilegium on the incarnation have been inserted, were probably based on a ninth-century model. Alexakis, moreover, has recently dated the insert to 774 or 775.[6] Folios 246v–247 preserve an extract from Homily 3 (lines 41–42), introduced by the following lemma: "From a Homily by Proclus of Constantinople, delivered in the Pulcherian ⟨quarter⟩[7] after the Nativity" (πρόκλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐκ τῆς ὁμιλίας τῆς ῥηθείσεης ἐν πουλχεριάναις μετὰ τὸ γενέθλιον).[8]

Virtually the same lemma (but without the accompanying extract from Homily 3) is attested by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 229, who cites it in his detailed summary of Ephrem of Amida's *Ad monachos orientales* (526–45).[9] In the midst of an extended christological argument, Photius, paraphrasing the text of the *Ad monachos*, states that: "Proclus of Constantinople, and Cyriacos of Paphos, who was one of the 318 fathers (i.e., at the Council of Nicaea), both say the same thing; the former in the Pulcherian ⟨quarter⟩ after the Nativity (ἐν πουλχεριάναις μετὰ τὸ γενέθλιον), and the latter in his 'Epiphany' sermon."[10] Although Photius does not provide any extracts or citations from the sermon in question, the context of his christological argument generally supports the view that this is a reference to the same passage from Homily 3 cited in *Paris. gr.* 1115. Photius had earlier noted that "Proclus of Constantinople … identifies 'form' (μορφή) with 'nature' (φύσις)," an identification which is then immediately contrasted with the position of Nestorius.[11] Photius then cites a passage from another homily by Proclus, which is also anthologized in *Paris. gr.* 1115, followed by a reference to a christological principle attested in "one of Proclus' Nativity sermons, and in a

[6] This manuscript was first catalogued by Omont, *Inventaire sommaire* (1886), 223; but see now Munitiz, "Le *Parisinus graecus* 1115" (1982); Alexakis, "Remarks on *Parisinus graecus* 1115" (1992); and id., *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115* (1996), 44.

[7] A neighborhood of Constantinople largely owned by the empress Pulcheria, in which she had constructed a number of edifices; cf. Janin, *Constantinople byzantin* (1964), 385, 415; Papadopoulos, "L'église de Saint-Laurent et les Pulchérianae" (1927); and Holum, *Empresses*, 157, n. 50.

[8] The lemma, along with the citation, is transcribed in Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus*, 314, no. 11.

[9] Ephrem was a prolific 'neo-Chalcedonian' patriarch of Antioch (526–44); cf. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 2/1:57–58; and Gray, *Defense of Chalcedon* (1979), 141–54. In *Bib.*, cod. 229, Photius paraphrases and analyses four tractates by Ephrem.

[10] Photius, *Bib.*, 229 (ed. Henry, 4:170, lines 19–23).

[11] These references occur in Photius' analysis of Ephrem's *Contra Severum* (ed. Henry, 4:134, lines 16–18; and 135, lines 39–43).

number of his other works" (ἔν τε τῷ εἰς τὸ γενέθλιον λόγῳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις διαφόροις).[12] Returning to the argument that the "word 'form' does not mean 'hypostasis' or 'person' but rather 'essence' (οὐσία),"[13] Photius cites a number of patristic authorities, including the Proclan homily delivered 'in the Pulcherian ⟨quarter⟩ after the Nativity.' The discussion of 'form' and 'nature' (or 'essence'), summarized by Photius, accords perfectly with the passage cited in *Paris. gr.* 1115: "Form assumed form … ⟨and there was a⟩ union of two natures" (μορφὴ μορφὴν προσέλαβε … δύο φύσεων ἕνωσις)," a passage in which Proclus implicitly identifies 'form' with 'nature.' It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that it is precisely this passage from Homily 3 that Photius' reference has in view, the lemma for which provides precious information about the sermon's date and context.

Printed Editions

Ri = V. Riccardi, *Sancti Patris Procli Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Analecta* (Rome, 1630) 130–32 (= Homily 3), 133–42 (= notes and commentary).

SIGLA

V	*Vaticanus graecus* 1633	saec. IX–X
B	*Vaticanus Barberinus* 497	saec. XVII
b	*Vaticanus graecus* 1431	saec. X–XI
c	*Parisinus graecus* 1115	saec. XIII
Ri	Riccardi, *Procli Analecta*	

[12] Here, Photius is paraphrasing Ephrem, *Apologia concilii Chalcedonensis* (ibid., 4:148, lines 7–12; 149, lines 31–33); for the citation in the Paris manuscript, see Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus*, 314, no. 12.

[13] Ibid., 169, lines 33–34.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ⟨Πρόκλου⟩ εἰς τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Κυρίου

I. Πολλαὶ καὶ διάφοροι πανηγύρεις τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φαιδρύνουσι βίον, τῷ κύκλῳ τῶν ἑορτῶν τῆς ἐπιμόχθου ζωῆς τὸ λυπηρὸν μεταβάλλουσαι. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ μετὰ ζάλης ἐκ πελάγους καταβάντες χαίρουσι τοῖς λιμέσιν ὡς ζωῆς ἀγκάλαις, οὕτως μετὰ πολλὰς πραγμάτων περιστάσεις ἑορτάζων ἄνθρωπος, χαίρει τῇ πανηγύρει ὡς ἀμεριμνίας μητρί.

II. Ἑορτὴ γάρ ἐστι λύπης λήθη, φροντίδων ὕπνος, χαρᾶς γεωργός, φαιδρότητος πρόξενος, προσευχῆς καιρός, πενήτων θέρος, ἐκκλησιῶν κόσμος, πόλεων πανήγυρις, ἔχθρας ναυάγιον, φιλίας ἀνατολή, ἐπὶ γῆς οὐρανός, καὶ τί τὰ πολλὰ λέγω; ἑορτὴ ἀναστάσεως καρπός, κατὰ τὸν προφήτην τὸν λέγοντα· "ἑόρταζε Ἰούδα τὰς ἑορτάς σου, ἀνέβη γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὁ ἐμφυσῶν εἰς πρόσωπόν σου."[1]

III. Ἀλλὰ πολλαὶ μέν, καθάπερ ἔφην, αἱ πανηγύρεις, οὐκ ἴσα δὲ τῶν ἑορτῶν τὰ κέρδη. αἱ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐνομοθετήθησαν, αἱ δὲ παρὰ διαβόλου εἰσέφρησαν. διόπερ καὶ αἱ μὲν ψυχῶν ἀπειλοῦσιν ζημίαν, αἱ δὲ γαστρὶ λειτουργοῦσι κόρον, αἱ δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἐμπορεύονται[2] τὴν σωτηρίαν. οἱ Ἕλληνες ἑορτάζουσιν, ἀλλ' αἰσχρῶς τὰ πάθη θεοποιήσαντες ἐντεῦθεν ἀναμάττονται τῆς αἰσχύνης τὸν βόρβορον. Ἰουδαῖοι πάλιν ἑορτάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ Θεὸν τὴν κοιλίαν περιφέρουσιν,[3] καιροὺς ἁμαρτημάτων μετὰ κόρον τὰς ἑορτὰς ποιοῦντες. ἐν ἐρήμῳ ἑορτάζοντες τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ προσεκύνησαν.[4] εἰς κρίσεις καὶ μάχας ἐνήστευον.[5] ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἑορτάζοντες, σταυρὸν κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου συνέπηξαν.[6] ὢ Ἰουδαϊκαὶ ἑορταί, ὧν καὶ ἡ φαιδρότης πλάνη καὶ ἡ τρυφὴ φόνος.

IV. Αἱ δὲ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πανηγύρεις θεῖαι καὶ παράδοξοι, καὶ ὄντως πηγαὶ καὶ θησαυροὶ σωτηρίας. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρώτη ἡμῶν πανήγυρις Θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδημίαν κηρύσσει. ἡ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην ὑδάτων ἁγιασμὸν καὶ βαπτίσματος εἰκονογραφεῖ μήτραν. ἡ τρίτη κατάλυσιν θανάτου, καὶ σταυροῦ τρόπαιον, καὶ ἀναστάσεως δῶρον, καὶ πατράσιν ἐλευθεροποιὸν

[1]Nah. 1.15–2.2; cf. Jn. 20.22 [2]cf. Jas. 4.13 [3]Phil. 3.9 [4]Ex. 32.4 [5]Is. 58.4 [6]Jn. 18.28; 19.31

1–2 Titulus V | [ὁμιλία ῥηθεῖσα] ἐν πουλχεριάναις μετὰ τὸ γενέθλιον c **18** οἷον V οἱ ci. Ri

Proclus of Constantinople

Homily 3

On the Incarnation of the Lord

I. Many different festivals brighten our manner of living, transforming by festive cycles the pain of the hardships of life. For just as those who come from stormy seas rejoice in harbors as if in the arms of life, soo too do we, distressed by many circumstances, rejoice in a festival as if it were a mother who frees us from care.

II. For a feast is the forgetfulness of sorrow, the sleep of cares, the cultivation of joy, the cause of delight, the season of prayer, a harvest for the poor, the adornment of the church, the festival of cities, the shipwreck of hatred, the dawn of friendship, and heaven upon earth. And why say all this? A feast is the fruit of the resurrection, according to the prophet who says: "O Judah, celebrate thy feasts, for the one who breathes upon your face has arisen from the earth."[1]

III. Although there are, as I have said, many different festivals, not every feast is of equal value. For while some have been established by God, others were concocted by the devil. Some festivals threaten the soul with calamity, while others celebrate satiety in the stomach. But there are others which traffic in the salvation of human nature.[2] The Greeks keep festivals, but having disgracefully deified their lusts they defiled themselves with the filth of shame. The Jews also keep festivals. However, they confuse God with their stomach[3] and so turn their feasts into gluttonous occasions for sin. While they were keeping festival in the wilderness they worshipped the golden calf.[4] During times of "quarrels and strifes" they kept a fast.[5] Keeping festival in Jerusalem, they set up a cross for the Lord.[6] O Jewish feast days, whose merriment is but a deception, and whose delight ends in death!

IV. The festivals of the Christians, on the other hand, are divine and wondrous, truly fountainheads and treasuries of salvation. For the first of our feasts proclaims the advent of God among men. The second represents the sanctification of the waters and the womb of baptism. The third joyfully announces the destruction of death, the

[1]Nah. 1.15, 2.1; cf. Jn. 20.22 [2]Jas. 4.13 [3]Phil. 3.19 [4]Ex. 32.4 [5]Is. 58.4 [6]Jn. 18.28, 19.31

εὐαγγελίζεται. ἡ τετάρτη τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀπαρχῆς τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἄνοδον καὶ τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν κέκραγε καθέδραν. ἡ πέμπτη πνεύματος ἁγίου κάθοδον καὶ μυρίων χαρισμάτων ὄμβρους σαλπίζει. αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ ἑορταὶ ἃς “ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος, ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐταῖς.”[7]

V. Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν θαυμαστὸν ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ παράδοξον, ἥν χθὲς ἐπετελέσαμεν, οὔτε μετὰ φρίκης καὶ δόξης; τί γὰρ ἦν τῆς χθεσινῆς ἑορτῆς τὸ θαῦμα; ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ μετὰ συγγνώμης ἀκούσατε, πηλίνη γὰρ γλῶσσα Θεοῦ μυστήρια διαπορθμεῦσαι ἐπιχειρεῖ. τί οὖν τῆς χθεσινῆς ἑορτῆς τὸ θαῦμα; θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος ἀνερμήνευτον μυστήριον, ὠδὶν ἀλόχευτος, σάρκωσις τὸν ἀσχημάτιστον μορφώσασα, τόκος παράδοξος, ἀρχὴ καὶ οὐκ ἀρχὴ τοῦ τεχθέντος· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπότητος γέγονεν ἀρχή, ἡ δὲ θεότης ἔμεινεν ἄναρχος, μορφὴ μορφὴν προσέλαβεν καὶ ἡ Τριὰς οὐκ ἐπλεόνασεν εἰς τετράδα, δύο φύσεων ἕνωσις καὶ ἑνὸς υἱοῦ τόκος, Λόγου καὶ σαρκὸς ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις. καὶ ὁ γεννηθεὶς κατὰ σάρκα Θεός ἐστι τὸ ἐκ πατρὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος τὸ ἐξ ἐμοῦ. ὢ μυστηρίου φρικτοῦ καὶ παραδόξου. τίς εἶδέν ποτε ὅτι βασιλεὺς καταδίκου σχῆμα ἐφόρεσεν; ἢ πότε ὀφθαλμὸς ὅλον ἐχώρησεν ἥλιον; πότε δὲ Θεῷ σάρξ κατ’ οὐσίαν ἀτρέπτως ἡνώθη, εἰ μὴ χθές; ὅτε ἡ ἁγία παρθένος τὴν γαστέραν ἐκίχρα, ὁ δὲ Λόγος δι’ ἀκοῆς εἰσεπήδα, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸν ναὸν ἐξῳοπλάστει, ὁ δὲ ὕψιστος εἰς δούλου μορφὴν ἑαυτὸν ἐκένου,[8] τὸ δὲ μυστήριον τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας ἐβάσταζε παρθένου γαστήρ. ὢ γαστὴρ οὐρανοῦ πλατυτέρα. ὢ τόκος σωτηρίας φόρτος. ὢ κοιλία πηλοῦ καὶ πλάστου νυμφῶν. ὢ ὠδὶν κοσμικῆς ἁμαρτίας λύτρον. ὢ μυστήριον οὗ τὸν τρόπον ἑρμηνεῦσαι οὐ δύναμαι. ὢ τόκος οὐκ ἀρχὴν ὑπάρξεως Θεοῦ, οὐ τροπὴν φύσεως, οὐ μείωσιν δυνάμεως, οὐ χωρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνάρχου γεννήσαντος, ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς συνουσιωμένην ἕνωσιν, εὐλογίαν γεννήσεως, Θεοῦ ἐπιδημίαν, ἐξ αἰῶνος ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ἀποκεκρυμμένον θαῦμα,[9] φύσεων ἀδιαίρετον μυστήριον, κατάρας λύσιν,[10] ἀποφάσεως ἀνατροπήν,[11] τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου υἱοῦ

[7]Ps. 117.24   [8]Phil. 2.7   [9]cf. Col. 1.26   [10]Gal. 3.13   [11]cf. Gen. 2.17, 3.16

41 προσλαβοῦσα codd. προσέλαβεν c   **42** σύνοδος codd. et b ἕνωσις c   **44** τὸ codd. om. b

trophy of the cross, the gift of the resurrection, and the liberation of our fathers. The fourth proclaims both the ascension of the first fruit of humanity into the heavens and its seat at the right hand (of the Father). The fifth heralds the descent of the Holy Spirit and the thunderous rain of a thousand graces. These are the feasts "which the Lord has made, let us rejoice and be glad in them."[7]

V. Among the things we celebrated at yesterday's feast, was there anything which was not miraculous and wondrous, or awesome and glorious? What was the marvel of yesterday's feast day? But first, I beg you, listen with forbearance, for a tongue of clay is trying to convey the mysteries of God. What, then, was the marvel of yesterday's feast? The inexplicable mystery of divinity and humanity; a birth pang without pain; an enfleshment giving form to the one without shape; an inconceivable birth; a beginning, but not the beginning of the one who was born. For even though it was the beginning of his humanity, his divinity remained beginningless; one form assumed another form, but the Trinity did not increase to a quaternity, for (this was) a union of two natures, the birth of one Son, and the unconfused union of the Word with the flesh. He who was born according to the flesh is God from the Father, and man from me. O awesome and wondrous mystery! Who ever saw a king take on the appearance of a condemned man? Or when did the eye ever take in the sight of the entire sun? And when was human flesh ever essentially united without change to God, if not yesterday? When the Virgin was heavy with child, (when) the Word entered in through her sense of hearing, (when) the Holy Spirit fashioned the living temple of the body, (when) the Most High emptied himself into the form of a servant,[8] (when) the womb of a virgin contained the mystery of the divine dispensation. O womb wider than the heavens! O birth that bears salvation! O womb of clay and bridal chamber of the Creator! O birth, a ransom for the sin of the world! O mystery, the manner of which I am unable to explain! O birth, not the beginning of God's existence, not a change of nature, nor a diminishing of power, neither a separation from the beginningless progenitor, but the essential union of God and flesh; the blessing of birth; the advent of God; the wonder hidden by God from the ages;[9] the indivisible mystery of (divine and human) natures; the abolition of the curse;[10] the overturning of the sentence which stood against us;[11]

[7]Ps. 117.24 [8]Phil. 2.7 [9]cf. Col. 1.26. [10]Gal. 3.13 [11]cf. Gen. 2.17, 3.16

καὶ τὴν ἄναρχον ὕπαρξιν καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν καὶ τὴν παρὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως προσκύνησιν, τῷ δήμῳ παντὶ καὶ χαρισάμενος καὶ εὐαγγελισάμενος, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

60 post δόξα add. καὶ τὸ κράτος B

(the birth) of the one and only Son, (his) beginningless existence, (his) birth in the flesh from the virgin and veneration by all creation, joyfully announced and freely given to all! To him be glory and dominion, unto the ages of ages. Amen.

NOTES AND COMMENTARY

3.I, 3: Proclus' *incipit* was reworked by Germanos of Constantinople, *dormit.*: πολλαὶ καὶ διάφοροι πανηγύριες καὶ ἑορταὶ τον ἀνθρώπινον βίον καλλωπίζουσι (*BHG* 3, 1136d); and again in a *laudatio* for Chrysostom, ed. K. Dyobouniotes, *Ἀνάπλασις* 39 (1926), 234; cf. *BHG*, 2, 881b.

3.I, 3: 'Festivals' (πανηγύρεις): This word has a wide range of meanings including a general gathering, a public festival, a national celebration, a religious feast, or a commercial fair connected with a religious holiday (e.g., Homer, *Iliad*, 16.661; Philo, *Flacc.*, 116–18; Heb. 12.22). Byzantine daily life was dominated by a succession of elaborate, recurring feasts closely woven into the fabric of urban life, cf. Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship* (1987), 167–204, 205–26. By the Middle Byzantine period, Manuel I Komnenos' list of feasts comprised nearly seventy major festivals (exclusive of Sundays) and nearly thirty minor feasts, on which see R. Macrides, "Justice under Manuel I Komnenos," *Fontes Minores* 6 (Frankfurt, 1984), 140–55.

3.I, 5: 'Come from stormy seas.' On maritime imagery in general, see Proclus, hom. 2.II, 24–25; see also Basil, ep. 2: "I have abandoned life in the city, but I have not been able to abandon myself. Instead I am like those who go to sea, and because they have no experience in sailing are very distressed and sea-sick, and complain of the size of the boat as causing the violent tossing; and then when they leave the ship and take to the dinghy or the cock-boat, they continue to be sea-sick and distressed wherever they are; for their nausea and bile go with them when they change" (ed. Courtonne [1957], 1:5).

3.II, 8–13: Proclus' festal homilies frequently highlight the beneficial effects of liturgical celebrations; see, for example, hom. 1.I: 'The present feast (ἡ παροῦσα ἑορτή) has benefits to bestow on those who assemble to keep it' (lines 5–6); hom. 33.1: 'Behold, again a feast day (ἑορτή), and again the salvation of souls' (ed. Leroy, 237); hom. 14.1: "Glorious is our paschal festival (πανήγυρις); and truly splendid this great assembly … The celebration (ἑορτή) of this week, or rather its joyfulness, is shared

by such a multitude, that not alone does man rejoice on earth, but even the powers of heaven are united with us (συνεορτάζουσιν) in joyful celebration of Christ's resurrection" (*PG* 65.796B); Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.* (= Proclus; cf. Marx, 39–40, no. 27; Leroy, 272): "Again the announcement of joy; again the message of freedom; again the restoration; again the return; again the voice of joy; again deliverance from bondage" (*PG* 50.791–92). Praises of religious festivals are common in Greek literature, cf. Plato, *Laws*, 2.653D: "The gods, in pity for the human race thus born to misery, have ordained the feasts of thanksgiving as periods of respite for their troubles"; Socrates, *H.E.*, 5.22.8: 'Men love feasts because they afford them cessation of labor' (φιλοῦσι τὰς ἑορτὰς οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τὸ ἀνίεσθαι τῶν πόνων ἐν αὐταῖς) (ed. Hansen, 297, line 24); and Gregory of Nyssa, *res.*: "Today the entire empire appears as a single household gathered together in unity of purpose, forgetting that which is its usual concern, and transformed by prayer … troubles are forgotten like winter at the appearance of the spring, the confusion and turmoil of life vanishes in the peace of the festival, the poor are richly adorned, the rich are still more resplendent, the elder runs as a youth to share in the joy … truly this present day beautifully imitates the one that is to come (i.e., the resurrection)" (ed. Gebhardt, *GNO* 9.1 [1967], 249, lines 3–7, 11–16; 250, lines 2–4).

3.II, 9: 'A harvest for the poor.' This phrase may be a reference to the practice of distributing food to the population on the major feast days, especially to the poor; cf. A. Stoelen, "L'anneé liturgique byzantine," *Irenikon* 4 (1928), 1–32.

3.II, 12–13: 'O Judah, celebrate thy feasts' (Nah. 1.15): cf. the Johannine gloss on this verse by Cyril of Alexandria, *in Nah.*, 2: ἀναβέβηκε γὰρ ἐξ ᾅδου καὶ ἀνεβίω Χριστός ὁ ἐμφυσῶν εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ λέγων· λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον (Jn. 20.22) (*PG* 71.808–809, 812D); and Hypatius of Ephesus, *in Nah.*, frg. 5 (ed. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica* [1938], 143).

3.III, 15–16: 'Others were concocted by the devil [and] threaten the soul with calamity,' cf. Basil of Seleucia, *Or.* 27, *Olymp.*: "Time has once again ushered in the festival that is the mother of all misfortunes, a celebration destroying its celebrants, the delectable poison of death … and the contrivance of impiety against pious souls" (ἤνεγκε πάλιν ὁ καιρὸς συμφορῶν μητέρα πανήγυριν, ἑορτὴν ἑορταζώντων ὀλέθριον,

θανάτου τερπνὸν δηλητήριον … μηχανὴν ἀσεβείας εὐσεβούσαις ψυχαῖς) (*PG* 85.309BC).

3.III, 17: 'Traffic in the salvation of human nature' (ἐμπορεύονται) lit. to 'retail,' 'market commercially' or 'trade'; cf. Jas. 4.13; 2 Pet. 2.3. Mercantile and monetary images occur frequently in the homilies of Proclus, cf. hom. 1.V, 71f.; Ps.-Proclus, hom. 6.1.1: 'The continual anxiety for profits robs merchants of their labors' (ed. Leroy, 299); hom. 23.1 (ed. Martin, 44; cf. 47.15); see also Chrysostom, *hom.* 13.5 *in Heb.*: μὴ πραγματευώμεθα τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ σωτηρίαν εἰς ῥαθυμίαν, ἀλλ' ἐμπορευώμεθα αὐτὴν καὶ πληθύνωμεν (*PG* 63.109). Although such images were a rhetorcial commonplace, they also reflect the thriving commercial life of fifth-century Constantinople, especially the public fairs which were held in connection with many of the great feasts, on which see Vryonis, "The Panegyris of the Byzantine Saint" (1981). See also Mango, "Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre" (1986), 120–21, who notes that in the fifth-century, the capital had 4.5 km. of wharfage accomodating more than 3000 ships every year.

3.III, 18–20: 'The Greeks keep festivals … The Jews also keep festivals,' cf. Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 41.1: "The Jew keeps festival, but according to the letter, for he who pursues the physical law does not attain to the spiritual law. The Greek also keeps festival, but according to the body, and his gods, and the demons. By their own admission, the former have created the vices, while the latter are honored by them; this is why even their (religious) festivals are occassions for vice" (ἑορτάζει καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα, τὸν γὰρ σωματικὸν διώκων νόμον εἰς τὸν πνευματικὸν νόμον οὐκ ἔφθασεν. ἑορτάζει καὶ Ἕλλην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τοῦς ἑαυτοῦ θεούς τε καὶ δαίμονας ὧν οἱ μὲν εἰσὶ παθῶν δημιουργοὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους, οἱ δὲ ἐκ παθῶν ἐτιμήθησαν. διὰ τοῦτο ἐμπαθὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἑορτάζειν) (ed. Moreschini, *SC* 358 [1990], 312–14).

3.III, 18–19: 'The Greeks … deified their lusts,' cf. Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 28.15: "The more depraved from among them (i.e., the Greeks) established their vices as gods … and this was due to the trickery of the devil" (οἱ ἐμπαθέστεροι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πάθη θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν … καὶ τούτου τοῦ πονηροῦ τὸ σόφισμα) (ed. Gallay, *SC* 250 [1978], 130–32); *Or.* 38.6: "Let us leave all these to the Greeks and to the pomps and festivals of the Greeks, who call by the name of gods beings who

rejoice in the reek of sacrifices, and who accordingly worship with their belly; wicked inventors and initiates and worshippers of wicked demons" (ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν Ἕλλησι παρῶμεν καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς κόμποις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν, οἳ καὶ θεοὺς ὀνομάζουσι κνίσαις χαίροντας καὶ ἀκολούθως τὸ θεῖον τῇ γαστρὶ θεραπεύουσι, πονηροὶ πονηρῶν δαιμόνων καὶ πλάσται καὶ μυσταγωγοὶ καὶ μύσται τυγχάνοντες) (ed. Moreschini, 112, lines 1–5); and Philo, *Cher.*, 27: "Different nations, whether Greek or barbarian, have their own (festivals), the product of myth and fiction, and their only purpose is empty vanity … pandering and serving pleasures to the stomach."

3.IV, 26–32: Proclus' list of feasts bears comparison with that given in the Proclan sermon, *ascens.* (cf. Marx, 45, no. 35; Leroy, 272): "There are three paradoxical wonders that were unknown from the beginning of time … the birth pang of an unwed mother; resurrection after a three-day passion; and the ascension of flesh into heaven" (*PG* 52.791).

3.IV, 27: 'Advent' (ἐπιδημία): cf. Proclus, hom. 2.IV, 40.

3.IV, 28: 'The womb of baptism.' Proclus frequently describes the baptismal font as an indefatigable womb ceaselessly bearing children, based in part on Jn. 3.5, where baptism is described as a 'birth' understood by Nicodemus as a return to the 'maternal womb,' cf. Proclus, hom. 5.III: "'God is with us,' and the baptismal font gives birth without tiring" (μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἡ κολυμβήθρα τίκτουσα οὐ κάμνει) (lines 102–103); hom. 12.1: "The empress (i.e., Pulcheria) … marvels at the baptismal font that is both a virgin and the mother of many" (τὴν τοσούτους τεκοῦσαν καὶ μείνασαν παρθένον) (*PG* 65.788C); hom. 16.61: αἰδέσθητε τὰς ἀνωδύνους ὠδῖνας τῆς κολυμβήθρας (ed. Leroy, 197, cf. 250); hom. 18.1: τῆς κολυμβήθρας τὴν ὠδῖνα (*PG* 65.820A); hom. 19.3: τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος μήτραν (*PG* 65.825C); hom. 28.2: ἡ Βηθλεὲμ ἐκεῖ λοιπὸν ἄτεκνος, ἡ κολυμβήθρα δὲ ἐνταῦθα πολύτεκνος (ed. Leroy, 197); Basil of Seleucia, *Thom.*, 4: τῆς πνευματικῆς κολυμβήθρας ὠδῖνες (*PG* 28.1085C).

3.IV, 28: 'The destruction of death' (κατάλυσιν θανάτου). On this phrase, see Ignatius of Antioch, *ep. Eph.*, 19.3 (ed. Camelot, *SC* 10 [1969], 76, lines 6–7); Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 4.68: σὺ κατὰ τῆς χολῆς τὴν σὴν γεῦσιν; κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου κατάλυσιν; (ed. Bernardi, *SC* 309 [1983], 176, lines 4–6); Gregory of Nyssa, *trid. inter mortem et res.* (ed. Gebhardt, *GNO* 9.1 [1967], 293, line 17); Apollinarius, *fid. sec. part.*, 3 (ed. Lietzmann, 168, line 12); cf. frg. 127 (ibid., 238, lines 22–23); *Tomus syn-*

odalis (ibid., 263, line 8); Theodoret, *in Cant.* (*PG* 81.117); *haer. fab. comp.* (*PG* 83.493).

3.V, 36–37: The inability of the speaker to address the loftiness of his subject is a complaint that occurs frequently in the homilies of Proclus. While such self-effacing tropes were among the commonplaces of late-antique rhetoric, they were adopted by Christian rhetors who utilized them as a popular expression of apophatic theology; cf. Proclus, hom. 7.3, 4: "I am overwhelmed by the immensity of the Lord's humility … such things cannot be grasped, they are beyond the vision of human eyes; the mind trembles, the tongue flees the mouth, not daring to express the inexpressible" (*PG* 65.760CD); hom. 11.1: "What words would be able to render worthy service to this miracle? What tongue would be able to utter and declare this awesome event?" (*PG* 65.784AB); hom. 13.1: "The miracle of the saving passion conquers the amplitude of speech; all eloquence is defeated being unable to proclaim adequately the kindness of the Crucified" (*PG* 65.789C); hom. 16.1: "The grace which today has descended from heaven grips my impoverished mind filling it with fear" (*PG* 65.805C); hom. 17.3: "How shall I praise Stephen, for whom a crown was woven by the very fingers of grace? What kind of (crown) shall I offer unto Stephen, who himself crowns the head of all the martyrs? With what can I possibly crown him who is himself a crown fashioned by grace? What words can ornament Stephen, who is the ornament of the world?" (*PG* 65.812BC); hom. 23.4: "The tongue is unable to explain, for the riches (i.e., of the incarnation) transcend speech and discourse" (ed. Martin, 45); hom. 33.1: "Therefore I beg you to open your minds and patiently endure my worthless words so that you might reap some small benefit" (ed. Leroy, 237). See also 2.VIII, 95–101.

3.V, 38: 'A birth pang without pain' (ὠδὶν ἀλόχευτος): cf. 2.IV, 40–41. This image signifies, not only the miraculous birth of the Word, but more precisely the reversal of the curse on Eve in Genesis 3.17 (i.e., ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα); cf. Proclus, hom. 23.14: "The birth (of Christ) in the flesh overturned the sentence against Eve, for the Virgin had only to hear the (words of Gabriel), 'Hail, O favored one' (Lk. 1.28), and the source of sorrows ceased, namely, the words, 'In pain thou shalt bring forth children,' and the rest" (ἀνεκαίνισεν γὰρ ἡ διὰ σαρκὸς γέννησις τὴν ἀπόφασιν τῆς Εὔας, μόνον γὰρ ἤκουσεν ἡ παρθένος τό· χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ, τῶν λυπηρῶν τὸ κεφάλιον πέπαυται, τό· ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς) (ed. Martin, 47). See also, Proclus,

hom. 7.5: ἐξ ἀλοχεύτου γαστρὸς ἀσπόρως προῆλθε καρπός (*PG* 65.761C); hom. 15.5: μητέρα ἀλόχευτον καὶ τόκον ἀνώδυνον (*PG* 65.804B); hom. 23.20: τόκον ἄσπορον, ὠδῖνα ἀλόχευτον, παρθένον ἄφθορον, παρθένον καὶ μητέρα καὶ πάλιν παρθένον (ed. Martin, 48); Ps.-Chrysostom, *ascen.* (= Proclus, cf. 3.IV, 26–32): ἀνυμφεύτου μητρὸς ὠδίς (*PG* 52.791); hom. 36: "A birth free from all pain" (ὠδῖνος πάσης ἐλευθέραν) (ed. Amand, 235, line 16–17); Theodoret, *qu. in Oct.* (= *qu. in Deut.*, 42): τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γεννηθέντος … τὰς ἀσπάρτους δὲ καὶ ἀλοχεύτους ἐκείνας ὠδίνας Γαβριὴλ προείρηκεν (PG 80.445); and Nonnus of Panopolis, *par. in Jo.*, 19.27 (*PG* 43.904B), where the apostle John is said to have been spiritually 'born without pain or travail' from the virgin: καὶ ἄσπορος ἔσκε τεκούσης υἱὸς, ἀνὴρ ἀλόχευτος ἀπειρώδινος ἀνάσσης. An interesting variant on the tradition of the Virgin's 'birth pang without pain,' in which a distinction is made between physical and psychological distress, can be found in Demetrius of Antioch, *On the Birth of our Lord and on the Virgin Mary*: "Isaiah says, 'Before she felt the pangs of childbirth she brought forth' (Is. 66.7). And this is a most marvelous thing: she was obliged to go through the process of parturition, just like all other women, but, although she brought forth with pain and trouble, the terror which is usually present in all women who are in childbirth for the first time was absent from her." The sermon continues with a condemnation of Nestorius, trans. Budge, *Coptic Homilies* (1910), 684.

3.V, 39–44: 'An inconceivable birth … God from the Father and man from me.' This passage was cited in an anti-Chalcedonain florilegium compiled during the reign of the emperor Zeno (474–91), and again in an unpublished section of *Paris. gr.* 1115, fols. 246v–47 (above, p. 195). The sermons of Proclus were evidently exploited by compilers of dogmatic florilegia, if not during Proclus' own lifetime (but cf. Cyril, ep. 55, *ACO* I, 1, 4, p. 60), then at a point shortly after his death, cf. Aubineau, "Citations de l'homélie de Proclus" (1991).

3.V, 39: 'The one without shape' (ἀσχημάτιστος): cf. Proclus, hom. 18.2 (*PG* 65.820C); hom. 19.3 (*PG* 65.825B), id., *Tomus*, 12 (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 189, line 27). On the theological nuances of 'shape' and 'form,' see chap. 6, pp. 351–52, and the Appendix.

3.V, 39–41: 'An inconceivable birth … his divinity remained beginingless.' This verse is cited by Justinian, *monoph.*, 26 (ed. Schwartz, 16 [12], lines 21–24).

3.V, 41–42: 'The Trinity did not increase to a quaternity,' cf. Proclus, hom. 1.VIII, 129.

3.V, 43: 'Unconfused union,' or 'unmingled unity' (ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις): cf. Theodotus of Ancyra, hom. 4.4 (*PG* 77.1393D). Fortin, "*Definitio fidei* of Chalcedon" (1962), traces this phrase to Plotinus and the Neoplatonic conceptualization of the union of soul and body; cf. L. Abramowski, "ΣΥΝΑΦΕΙΑ" (1981); Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 2/2: 40–44, 205–207, 505.

3.V, 44: 'Man from me.' This particular use of rhetorical *synecdoche*, i.e., naming the whole by the part, is an expression of Proclus' christological piety and serves to personalize the Word's assumption of human nature, cf. hom. 1.VIII, 124–25; hom. 24.13: "Remaining what he was, he became that which he was not, so that he might thereby save me, now like unto him" (ed. Martin, 42); ibid., 23: 'For my sake he became like me' (p. 43); hom. 36: "I see my Lord and God for my sake becoming incarnate like me" (ed. Amand, 233, line 10); cf. Ps.-Chrysostom, *nativ.* (attributed to Proclus, cf. Marx, no. 46): "He assumes my own body, so that I might contain his Word; receiving my flesh, he gives me his Spirit, so that by his giving and receiving he might impart to me a treasury of life. He receives my flesh, in order to sanctify me; he gives me his Spirit, in order to save me" (*PG* 56.389AB). For further citations, see Leroy, 363, 368. This device was used frequently by Gregory Nazianzus, see, for example, *Or.* 30.6: 'Transformed into a strange (form), bearing all me and mine in himself' (καὶ μορφοῦται τὸ ἀλλότριον ὅλον ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμὲ φέρων μετὰ τῶν ἐμῶν) (ed. Gallay, 236, lines 9–10); cf. id., ep. 101.59, *ep. Cled.* (ed. Gallay, *SC* 208 [1975], 62).

3.V, 45: 'A king taking on the appearance of a condemned man.' This image bears comparison with Atticus, *ep. Eups.*, above, chap. 1, p. 32, at n. 94.

3.V, 48: 'When the Word entered in through her sense of hearing.' On the notion of the Virgin's *conceptio per aurem*, see below, chap. 5.

3.V, 55: 'Essential union' (συνουσιωμένην ἕνωσιν). This phrase was originally a technical term in Trinitarian theology expressing, on the basis of commonly held attributes, the essential divinity of the Holy Spirit. See, for example, Basil, ep. 159.2: τὸ πνεῦμα φυσικὴν ἔχει τὴν ἁγιότητα, οὐ κατὰ χάριν λαβόν, ἀλλὰ συνουσιωμένην αὐτῷ (ed. Courtonne, 2:87); *fid.*: ἐκεῖ ὄψεται τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ὅπου υἱὸς καὶ ὅπου πατήρ, πάντα ἔχον καὶ αὐτὸ συνουσιωμένως κατὰ τὴν φύσιν (*PG* 31.468); and Chrysostom,

exp. in Ps. (*PG* 55.220). However, the language of 'essential union' soon became associated with the heresy of Apollinarus, who is alleged to have taught that Christ's body was 'co-essentially' confused with his divinity, see Gregory Nazianzus, ep. 202.12 (ed. Gallay, *SC* 208 [1974], 92); Gregory of Nyssa, *Apoll.*: οὐχὶ ἐπίκτητος γίνεται ἡ σὰρξ ἐπὶ τῇ θεότητι, ἀλλὰ συνουσιωμένη καὶ σύμφυτος (ed. Mueller, *GNO* 3.1 [1958], 154, line 27); Theodoret, *Eran.*, flor. 2 (ed. Ettlinger, 163, line 5, citing Ambrose of Milan, *ex. fid.*, 202, 41–49); Eutherius of Tyana, *Antilogia*, 21 (ed. Tetz, 41–43); John of Damascus (citing Ambrose, ibid.), *Jacob.*: τοὺς δὲ λὲγοντας … συνουσιωμένον ἐσχηκέναι τὸ σῶμα … τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία (ed. Kotter [1981], 4:148, line 3). The word could also be used to describe the nature of the soul's relationship to its various attributes, as in Gregory of Nyssa, *anim. et res.* (*PG* 46.52B); or, conversely, to the vices and passions that were held to have subsequently accrued to it through sin, cf. id., *Thphl.* (ed. Mueller, 124, lines 18–19); *inscr. Ps.*, 15 (ed. McDonough, *GNO* 5 [1962], 159, line 22); but cf. *virg.*, 12.2: οὐ κατὰ φύσιν οὐδὲ συνουσιωμένον ἔσχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ τὴν πρώτην γέννησιν τὸ παθητικόν (ed. Aubineau, *SC* 119 [1966], 400, line 5, cf. n. 2). Colors could also be said to be συνουσιωμένα with material objects (τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις) and not, as a result, easily separated from them, according to Chrysostom, *hom.* 12.4 *in Heb.* (*PG* 63.102).

HOMILY 4

ON THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

Introduction

Art imitates life as the paradox of the virgin birth is imaginatively celebrated in a profusion of paradoxical tropes. In the Homily's exordium, the festal occasion itself is said to be both 'splendid and strange' as time enters into travail with eternity. In swiftly moving sentences, the preacher unfolds a series of evocative images in praise of the Theotokos. She is seedless earth blossoming with the fruit of salvation; a garden of delights from which God sprouts like corn; the diminutive womb of infinity; a spider's web on whose gossamer thread dangles the bedrock of the universe; a life-boat in which one can drown; a solid body translucent to the light of God; a virgin who gave birth and a mother who remained a virgin.

If the excess of language serves to manifest the remarkable otherness of the holy, it also enables the divine to inhabit fully the universe of ordinary words and names. The preacher, therefore, like a gracious host, invites the world to join him at his banquet. Women, virgins, mothers and daughters will all find their places here. So too will fathers and their sons. Gendered selves join with those marked by class and rank as the preacher beckons to shepherds and kings, citizens and rulers, for they too will see their faces reflected in the mirror with a thousand aspects. A consul steps forward in lavish attire, and is confronted with the splendor of the Word made flesh. So too the private citizen, who discovers his God unassumingly clad in a pedestrian robe. Unexpectedly, the clothing and dress by which these individuals can be identified and distinguished are dissolved into the garment of the body by which all are united.

As garments are elided with the bodies that wear them, Proclus, developing a theme introduced in Homily 1, marvels at the garments of glory which the Virgin has woven for her creator. From where was such flax obtained? What sort of loom could have produced this 'tunic without seam' (cf. Jn. 19.23)? Nature herself is perplexed by these clothes, for she produces garments of flesh that are tattered and torn,

and then only by mingling with a man. Though she once tailored a body for Adam, he was stripped naked and covered his shame with the leaves of a fig tree. Now, however, to the ragged children of Nature a scarlet thread is extended, ineffably spun from the virginal workshop, where Wisdom like a seamstress has taken to the loom in order to mend the robe of the flesh.

Lyricism yields briefly to polemics as Proclus asks Mary to respond to Jewish criticisms of the virgin birth. She responds apologetically with a reference to the 'rod of Aaron' which miraculously blossomed (Num. 17.8), a typological argument that is joined to, and rendered explicit by, Isaiah's prophecy of a virginal conception (7.14). Here the voice of the Mother is echoed by the voice of the Father who attests that 'Today I have begotten thee' (Ps. 2.7). With the resounding sevenfold invocation of the liturgical 'Today,' the interval of polemical discord is transcended as time is absorbed by eternity. The 'sun of righteousness' (Mal. 4.2) begins to dawn, and, springing up from an untilled valley, a seedless grain of wheat offers itself to a starving world. In response, creation brings its gifts to the child born without a father who existed with God before the ages. Through the art of rhetoric, the temporality of the Bible is synchronized with the liturgical time of the church as the preacher welcomes a procession of more than thirty-five gift-bearing figures, animate and inanimate, sprung to life from the pages of scripture. The final gift, which brings the Homily to a close, is the source of all gifts, for it is the greeting of Gabriel, assuring the Virgin that the 'Lord is with you' (Lk. 1.28).

Central to Homily 4 is the virginal maternity of the Theotokos. Foregrounded in the Homily's exordium, it is never far from the center of the discourse. Mary's perpetual virginity, which endures after the birth of her child, is variously highlighted, as in the image of the child who arises from an 'unruffled bed.' In a remarkable synthesis of Gen. 3.2–8; Num. 21.8; Jn. 3.14, 19.26; and Col. 2.14, Mary and Eve are brought together in a lapidary recapitulation of sin and salvation. Hinging on the typological figure of the 'serpent lifted up in the wilderness' (cf. Num. 21.8; Jn. 3.14), Golgotha is transported to Eden as Christ writhes in agony like a 'serpent' on the cruciform tree of life. With the cross planted in place of the 'tree in the midst of the garden' (Gen. 3.4), Eve's fateful dialogue with the serpent is re-enacted in an encore performance by her daughter Mary. In her role as 'New Eve,' Mary converses with Christ from the foot of the cross as the 'debt of disobedience is cancelled' (cf. Col. 2.14).

Homily 4 reproduces verbatim passages from two sermons by Theodotus of Ancyra that were published in the proceedings of the Council of Ephesus. Such borrowings were by no means unusual (cf. Proclus, hom. 3.I, 3). Neither is there any indication that the works of these two writers were conflated by copyists and scribes. In this case, Proclus' borrowings enable us to surmise that Homily 4 was composed for the feast of the Nativity at some point after the Council of Ephesus in 431, probably during the period of Proclus' archbishopric (434–46).

Manuscripts

Proclus' Homily 4 has been preserved in a total of eleven manuscripts two of which were copied in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries respectively. The eleven manuscripts divide into three groups. The first group, made up of six manuscripts, attributes Homily 4 to Proclus, and generally preserves the best readings. The second group, made up of two manuscripts, attributes the homily to John Chrysostom, and its readings are close to those of the first group. The third group, represented by only one manuscript, attributes the homily to Cyril of Alexandria, and preserves numerous unique readings found in neither of the preceding two groups. The two post-Byzantine manuscripts stem from the first group and are of almost no value for this edition.

Group One

M = *Moscoensis graecus* 215 (284/271). Ninth-tenth century, parchment 266 x 172 mm, fols. 406 (fols. 97–99 = Homily 4). Produced at the Athonite monastery of Iviron, and subsequently in the collection of the sixteenth-century bishop and theologian Maximus Margounios (d. 1602),[1] **M** is a *panegyricon* for the entire ecclesiastical year. This collection of seventy-one patristic sermons begins with the feast of the 'Nativity of the Theotokos' on 8 September, and concludes with the feast of the 'Dormition of the Theotokos' on 15 August. Proclus' Homily 4 is

[1] On whom see Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique* (1885), 2:xxiii–lxxvii; and Geanakoplos, "Maximos Margounios and his Latin Library" (1966). Before his death in 1602, Margounios directed that his extensive collection of Greek manuscripts be divided in part between the monastery of St. Catherine in Candia (now Heraklion), Crete, and the monastery of Iviron on Mt. Athos. According to Geanakoplos (179, n. 28), a number of the manuscripts given to Iviron were taken to Moscow around 1655 by the Russian monk Arsenii Sukhanov.

included among the seven readings for the feast of the 'Nativity' on 25 December.[2]

Leroy surmised that the Moscow codex preserves the best readings for Homily 4, and the collation of the extant manuscripts demonstrates that this is generally correct.[3] The text of Homily 4 in **M** is mirrored in the other early witnesses of this group, i.e., the tenth-century codex *Parisinus graecus* 1171 (below, **P**), and the eleventh-century codex *Vaticanus graecus* 679 (below, **V**), without, however, being their direct source. In general, **M** is followed closely by **P** as can be seen from the following readings in which **M** and **P** together diverge from the remaining two manuscript groupings: 4 ἐπανήγαγεν ‖ 8 παρθένος ἀνοίξασα ‖ 44 τρεχέτωσαν ‖ 48 προέβαλεν ‖ 48 θεοτόκον μαρίαν ‖ 48 ἔχων ‖ 51 σκορπίζων ‖ 52 βραβεύων. Perhaps the most significant of these shared readings occurs with the Greek transliteration of the Latin word 'toga' (τόγα) at line 49, which is correctly attested only in **M**, **P** and **V**.

In addition, **P** departs from the text of **M** in the following instances: 5 τεκοῦσαν **M** 6 τίκτουσαν **P** ‖ 10 θεὸν αὐτὸν **M** αὐτὸν **P** ‖ 15 ἐχώρησε **M** ἐχωρήθη **P** ‖ 24 παρακοῆς **M** ἀκοῆς **P** ‖ 25 ἐκπέμπον **M** ἐκπέμποντα **P** ‖ 28 παρθενίαν **M** ἀφθαρσίαν **P** ‖ 56 ἔριον **M** ἱερόν **P** ‖ 33–34 πάτερες – πάτερα **M** om. **P**. While these divergences may seem insignificant, **P** nevertheless does not seem to be a direct copy of **M**, inasmuch as **P** contains material not found in **M** at line 91: οἱ μάγοι τὰ δῶρα, and in a passage at lines 58–60, where **P** shares features with the second group of manuscripts. Together with the other two witnesses in this group, **M** shares a small number of insignificant readings in common with the twelfth-century codex *Oxoniensis Bodleianus* 34 (below, **B**): 9 ἐνδοξοτέρα ‖ 29 κοιτῶνας ‖ 72 om. δὲ ‖ 73 λήψεται. Finally, **M** alone has two variant readings in common with **B**: 30 ἀφήκεν ‖ 51 τὰς ἀξίας.

V = *Vaticanus graecus* 679 (olim 455). Eleventh century, parchment 335 x 240 mm, fols. 309 (fols. 202v–204v = Homily 4). **V** is a non-menologic collection of texts arranged without reference to the liturgical calen-

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[2] The manuscript has been catalogued by Archimandrite Vladimir, *Sistematicheskoe opisanie rukopisei* (1894), 263, no. 16; cf. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 2:7, no. 15.1; and Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 76–77. Vladimir dates the manuscript to the ninth century; Ehrhard and Leroy to the late-ninth or early-tenth. The Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris possesses a microfilm of the entire manuscript, and I am thankful to Michel Aubineau who kindly sent me a copy of the folio pages in question.

[3] Leroy, ibid., 76.

dar. Homily 4 is one of nine readings designated for the feast of the 'Nativity' on 25 December. Leroy notes that this particular section of the manuscript probably derives from an ancient exemplar inasmuch as none of the readings is later than the fifth century.[4]

V shares a large number of variant readings with **M** and **P**, many of which are common to the first group: 4 ἐπανήγαγεν || 6 τίκτουσαν || 8 παρθένος ἀνοίξασα || 9 ἐνδοξοτέρα || 29 κοιτῶνας || 32 συντρεχέτωσαν || 48 θεοτόκον παρθένον || 49 τόγαν || 48 ἔχων || 51 σκορπίζων || 52 βραβεύων || 52 τὴν πρόξενον || 54 καινότερον || 58 ἀκούειν || 73 λήψεται || 101 om. ἐκ – θεοῦ. However, when **V** does diverge from the readings of the first group, it generally does so together with **M**: 10 θεὸν αὐτὸν || 15 ἐχώρησε || 24 παρακοῆς || 34–35 συντρεχέτωσαν || 44 τρεχέτωσαν. At the same time, **V** and **P** together omit a clause found in **M** at line 33–34 (πάτερες – πατέρα), although **V** preserves material contained in **M** that is omitted by **P**. At lines 58–59, **V** contains the phrase: φυλάττω γὰρ τάξιν τῷ παρθενικῷ τὸν λόγον, which does not appear in **P**, but is found verbatim in **M**. Finally, **V**, in two instances, omits readings which are also omitted in **M** but which are both found in **P**: 91 οἱ μάγοι τὰ δῶρα || 100 ἀμειώτως, indicating that **V** is a copy derived from the tradition of **MP** although somewhat more closely from that represented by the text of **M**.

P = *Parisinus graecus* 1171. Tenth century, parchment 300 x 200 mm, fols. 299 (fols. 112–114v = Homily 4). This manuscript, apparently copied at the Studite monastery in Constantinople, is a lectionary beginning with the feast of the 'Transfiguration' on 6 August, and ending with the feast of the 'Presentation of the Lord in the Temple' on 2 February. A single reading for the beginning of the Lenten Fast serves as an appendix. Proclus' Homily 4 is included among the nine readings for the feast of the 'Nativity' on 25 December.[5] (The significant variants presented by the text of **P** are noted above in the discussions of **M** and **V**.)

X = *Athous Xeropotamianos* 134. Sixteenth century, paper 300 x 210 mm, fols. 228 (fols. 78–83 = Homily 4). The scribe of **X** has meticulously

[4] Leroy, ibid., 79. The manuscript is catalogued in Devreese, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* 3 (1950), 135–39 (137, no. 14.4 = Homily 4). See also Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 3:799–800.

[5] The manuscript is catalogued in summary fashion by Omont, *Inventaire Sommaire* (1886), 1:234–35 (235, lines 2–3 = Homily 4); cf. the more detailed descriptions of Ehrhard, ibid., 1:281–84 (282, no. 19 = Homily 4); and Leroy, ibid., 77–78.

copied the text of Proclus' Homily 4 from **P**. There is a single insignificant deviation at line 8: τῷ **P** τὸν **X**. Proclus' Homily 4 is one of the seven readings for the feast of the 'Nativity' on 25 December.[6]

L = *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 68. Thirteenth century, parchment 210 x 154 mm, fols. 118 (fols. 45–48v = Homily 4). Ehrhard classifies this manuscript among the 'ungeordneten Panegyrikon' under the general heading of 'nichtmenologischen Sammlungen.' As Ehrhard's nomenclature suggests, **L** is a haphazard collection of festal homilies, scriptural commentaries, saints' lives, and paraenetic literature arranged without reference to the liturgical calendar. Proclus' Homily 4 is preceded by Proclus' Homily 35, and followed by an anonymous account of the martyrdom of St. Paraskeve.[7]

L generally agrees with the textual tradition of **M**, **P**, and **V**, except for the following variants: 3 παρούσης **MPV** ὑποκειμένης **L** ‖ 4 ἐπανήγαγεν **MPV** ἐπήγαγεν **L** ‖ 15 ἐχώρησεν **MVL** ἐχωρήθη **P** ‖ 24 παρακοῆς **MPV** ἀκοῆς **P** ‖ 48 προέβαλεν **MPV** κατέβαλεν **L** ‖ 49 τόγαν **MPV** τὸ γάρ **L** ‖ 52 πρόξενον **MPV** αἴτιον **L** ‖ 69 ἀποκρίνεται codd. ἀποφθέγγεται **L**. While clearly stemming from the tradition of **MPV**, **L** nevertheless contains two clauses missing from **M** and **V** (i.e., at lines 91 οἱ μάγοι τὰ δῶρα ‖ 100 ἀμειώτως), both of which are found in **P**, along with a significant amount of material not found in **P** or **V** (33–34 πάτερες – πάτερα ‖ 59–60 φυλάττω γὰρ τάξιν τῷ παρθενικῷ τόκῳ τὸν λόγον). As a result, **L** does not appear to have been directly copied from any of the earlier witnesses in this family, although it exhibits close agreement with the textual tradition of **MP**, and to a lesser extent **V**.

O = *Oxoniensis Bodleianus Seldenianus* 8 (a.s. 9). Fourteenth century palimpsest assembled from three separate codices: (1) a tenth-century miniscule (= fols. 1–43); (2) an eleventh-century miniscule (= fols. 44–121); and (3) a ninth-century uncial (= fols. 122–27). Parchment 230 x 140 mm, fols. 127 (fols. 33v–34v = Homily 4). Like **L**, **O** is a nonmenologic collection of texts arranged without reference to the liturgi-

[6] See the brief description of Lambros, *Κατάλογος τῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους Ἑλληνικῶν Κωδίκων* (1895), 1:208, no. 2647. There is a complete description in Eudokimos Xeropotaminos, *Κατάλογος τῶν Χειρογράφων τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Ξεροποτάμου* (1932), 55–56 (56, no. 14 = Homily 4). See also Ehrhard, ibid., 1:284; and Leroy, ibid., 78.

[7] The manuscript has been catalogued by Stevenson, *Bibliotheca Apostolica* (1885), 33–34 (34 = Homily 4). See also Ehrhard, ibid., 3:725–27, 753–76 (758 = Homily 4); and Leroy, ibid.,80.

cal calendar. Proclus' Homily 4 is preceded by a pseudo-Chrysostomic paschal sermon (*PG* 59.721–24), and followed by a pseudo-Amphilochian collection of *miracula* attributed to St. Basil (*BHG*, 253–54, 258–59 = fols. 35.36v). The text of Proclus' Homily 4 is incomplete, perhaps due to re-binding, and abruptly breaks off at the last line of folio page 34v (= line 116 σήμε⟨ρον⟩).[8]

O contains no readings that are not found in **MPV**, and omits two readings preserved by them: 15 ἐκεὶ – ἀστενοχωρήτως codd. om. **O** || 39 ἀμνοῦ codd. om. **O**. Where **O** is occasionally at variance with the earlier witnesses, it is usually in agreement with **L**: 4 ἐπανήγαγεν **MPV** ἐπήγαγεν **LO** || 6 τίκτουσαν **MPV** τεκούσαν **LO**.

U = *Trajectum ad Rhenum, Bibliothecae Universitatis* 13 (*graecus* 9). Seventeenth-century copy prepared by Marcus Meibomius, paper 327 x 210 mm (fols. 19–22v = Homily 4).[9] Meibomius' copy does not, in its entirety, agree with any of the extant manuscripts of Homily 4, and it is thus not clear which manuscript(s) served as his exemplar. However, the text of **U** is generally very close to that of **L**, and Meibomius' exemplar, if not **L** itself, must have been closely related to it. For example, **L** and **U** agree against all the manuscripts at the following lines: 3 παρούσης codd. ὑποκειμένης **LU** || 14 παρθένου codd. om. **LU** || 63 ἑαυτὴν **LU** || 67 τίς codd. τί **LU** | πῶς codd. om. **LU** || 68 post ἰουδαίους add. ὅτι παρθένος ἐγέννησεν **LU** || 84 λιμῷ τῷ κόσμῳ **LU** || 89 τὰ – ἰορδάνην codd. om. **LU** || 98 καὶ ἐκ σου codd. om. **LU** || 100 post ἀμαρτύρως add. ἀφράστως **LU** || 104 ἀμὴν codd. om. **LU**. **U** also contains several unique readings: lin. 18 ἀράχνη codd. ἐργασία **U** || 49 τῷ ἄγειν **U** || 49 παθητικήν **U** || 52 τὸν πολέμιον **U** || 54 θηράσῃ codd. θώρακι **U** || 55 πῆξις codd. πράξις **U** || 55 παρθένε codd. παρθένος **U** || 78 ἄλλο δέ που **U** || 78 ἤ codd. εἰμί **U** || 100 ἀμιάντως **U** || 100 ἀμαρτύρως codd. ἀναμάρτητος **U**.

K = *Athous Kavsokalyvion* 157. Nineteenth century, paper 295 x 205 mm, fols. 196 (fols. 29–31v = Homily 4). **K** is a non-menologic collection of festal homilies, saints' lives, and edifying discourses. Proclus' Homily 4, the seventh text in the collection, is preceded by a homily for the feast

[8] See the catalogue of Coxe, *Catalogi Codicum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (1853), 1:588–89 (588, no. 9 = Homily 4); as well Ehrhard, ibid., 3:760–61; and Leroy, ibid.,80.

[9] See Omont, *Catalogue des Manuscrits* (1887), 23–24 (24, no. 3 = Homily 4); and Leroy, ibid., 81.

of the 'Ascension' by John Chrysostom, and followed by an anonymous homily for the feast of the 'Nativity.'[10] As with **U**, it is not clear which manuscript served as the exemplar for **K**. Though generally agreeing with the readings of group one, **K** contains several readings unique to itself: 4 ἐννοεῖται ‖ 8 οὐράνιον ‖ 10 τῷ θεῷ αὐτῷ ἐδανείσατω ‖ 12 καὶ γάμων ἀβόητος ‖ 49 σάκραν ‖ 100 ἁγαστῶς, ἀμνήστως, ἀφράστως ‖ 101 ἀμιάντως, ἀνεπιτάτως. More importantly, after the phrase δεῦτε ἴδωμεν – ἐκπέμπον τῆς χάριτος which appears at lines 24–25, **K** inserts the following lengthy passage:

> 1. Δεῦτε ἴδωμεν ἐν φάτνῃ ὡς βρέφος κείμενον τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς δοξαζόμενον. 2. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν γαλακτοτροφούμενον τὸν τοῖς θηλυκοῖς μαστοῖς τὸ γάλα ἐποχετεύοντα. 3. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις γυναικὸς βασταζόμενον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ καθεζόμενον. 4. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν ἐν σπαργάνοις βρεφικοῖς εἰλυσσόμενον τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς μὴ χωρούμενον. 5. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν παρὰ μητρὸς τροφὴν λαμβάνοντα τὸν τὰ πέρατα διατρέφοντα. 6. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ κατακλινόμενον τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσωμάτου φύσεως προσκυνούμενον. 7. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν ὑπὸ Ἰωσήφ ψηλαφώμενον τὸν ὑπ' ἀγγέλων δορυφορούμενον. 8. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν ὑπὸ ἀστέρος μάγοις μηνυόμενον τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν σεραφίμ ἀσιγήτως ὑπερυψούμενον. 9. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιμένων προσκυνούμενον τὸν σὺν πατρὶ καὶ πνεύματι διὰ παντὸς δοξολογούμενον. 10. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων δῶρα δεχόμενον τὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ πατρὸς καθεζόμενον. 11. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν γεννηθέντα κάθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπον τὸν τῶν αἰώνων ποιητὴν ὑπάρχοντα. 12. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν νηπιάσαντα τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ πατρὸς συνυπάρχοντα. 13. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν σήμερον ἐν Βηθλεὲμ κάθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς νήπιον τὸν ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν κύριον. 14. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν σύμπαντα τὰ κτίσματα. 15. βλέψωμεν καὶ ὡς ἔστιν ἡ ζωὴ ἐπὶ γῆς πάντες ζήσωμεν. 16. δεῦτε πάντες θεοφορηθῶμεν. 17. δεῦτε μικροὶ μετὰ τῶν μεγάλων συνέλθωμεν. 18. οἱ πένητες μετὰ τῶν πλουσίων. 19. οἱ δοῦλοι μετὰ τῶν κυρίων. 20. οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ μετὰ τῶν δικαίων. 21. καὶ ἴδωμεν σήμερον ὡς ἄλλοι ποιμέναις τὸν τὴν ζωὴν χαρισάμενον.

As mentioned above, this passage has no parallel in any of the extant manuscripts which preserve the text of Homily 4. While certain features of this passage bear general comparison with aspects of Proclus' vocabulary and rhetoric, they are also typical of many patristic sermons on the Nativity. Ultimately, the interpolated passage does not present any compelling verbal or literary parallels with the extant homilies of Proclus. The rather artless anaphoric use of the word δεῦτε seventeen

[10] See Lambros, *Κατάλογος* (1900), 2:467, no. 6571; Kourilas, *Κατάλογος τῆς Ἱερᾶς Σκήτης Καυσοκαλύβων* (1930), 83–84 (83, no. 7 = Homily 4); and Leroy, ibid., 81. I am thankful to Father Iakovos Simonopetrites for procuring a copy of this manuscript for me. In a personal communication dated 22 May, 1991, Father Iakovos noted that *Kavsokalyvion* 157 had recently been moved to the Library of the Great Lavra.

times in this passage, added to the five occurrences of δεῦτε attested by the witness of the manuscript tradition, appears somewhat excessive even for Proclus.[11] Further, and perhaps more importantly, the interpolated passage breaks the continuity of the Homily's argument which, at this point, focuses increasingly on the figure of the Virgin, and not on a commonplace rhetorical presentation of the paradoxical birth of Christ. This major interpolation aside, **K** is otherwise closely affiliated with the textual tradition of the first group, and exhibits particular dependency on the text of **L**, from which it was proximately derived (cf. 6 τεκοῦσαν **LK** ‖ 35 τρεχέτωσαν **LK** ‖ 48 κατέβαλεν **LK** ‖ 58–59 ἀκούειν τῆς φύσεως ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου εἶπον, φυλάττον γὰρ [τάξιν **L** om. **K**] τῷ παρθενικῷ τόκῳ τὸν λόγον **LK**).

Group Two

E = *Scorialensis graecus* 239 (Φ.III.20). Ninth century, parchment, 202 x 142 mm, fols. 417 (fols. 79–82v = Homily 4). This rare uncial manuscript is a *panegyricon* for the entire year beginning with the 'Nativity of the Virgin' on 8 September, and ending with the 'Beheading of John the Baptist' on 29 August. Proclus' Homily 4, here mistakenly attributed to John Chrysostom, is among the six readings for the feast of the 'Nativity' on 25 December.[12]

T = *Thessalonicensis Vlatadon* 7 (44). Twelfth century for fols. 1–152, and eleventh century for fols. 153–254, parchment 320 x 250 mm, fols. 256 (fols. 73v–75v = Homily 4). This manuscript is a lectionary for the entire year beginning with the feast of 'St. Nicholas' on 6 December, and ending with the Sundays of Great Lent. Proclus' Homily 4, here mistakenly attributed to John Chrysostom, is one of the three readings for the feast of the 'Nativity' on 25 December.[13]

T closely follows the readings of **E** except for the following lines: 10 post τῆς add. ἁγίας **T** ‖ 11 γὰρ ὑπάρχουσα ἀληθῶς **E** γάρ ἐστι καὶ

[11] On Proclus' use of such repetitions, cf. Leroy, ibid., 164–65.

[12] The description of this manuscript in the catalogue of Miller, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs de L'Escurial* (1848), 180–82 (180, fol. 62 = Homily 4), is now superceded by that of De Andres, *Catálogo de los Códicos Griegos de El Escorial* (1965), 2:77–80 (77, no. 4 = Homily 4). See also Delehaye, "Catalogus Codicum Monasterii S. Laurentii Scorialensis" (1909), 356–57; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 2:4–6 (4, no. 11 = Homily 4); and Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 76.

[13] This manuscript has been catalogued by Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ Μονῇ Βλατέων Κωδίκων* (1918), 19–21 (20, no. 13 = Homily 4); cf. Ehrhard, ibid., 1:184–87 (185, no. 12 = Homily 4); and Leroy, ibid., 78–79.

T || 46 πολέμιον **E** πολεμικόν **T** || 54 καινότερον **E** νοερόν **T** || 59–60 τόκῳ **E** σῶμα **T**. Moreover, **E** and **T** agree against all the other manuscripts at the following lines: 5 θεῖος **ET** || 9 ὑπερενδοξοτέρα **ET** || 10 ἅπαντες **ET** || 16 post χειρὶ add. μετὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως **ET** || 22 post προσομιλοῦντα add. ὁμιλίαν οὐχὶ θάνατον ἐμποιοῦσαν ἀλλὰ ζωὴν προξενοῦσαν **ET** || 25 post. τοῦ add. παρθενικοῦ καὶ ἀχράντου **ET** || 29 post τὸ add. ἅγιον **ET** || 29 post τῆς add. θεοδόχου **ET** | κατέλιπε **ET** || 33 θυγάτηρ ἐξεδίκησεν ἁγιότατος **ET** || 35 συνδραμείτωσαν **ET** | 36 γεννηθέντα **ET** || 36–37 post ποιμὴν add. ὁ καλός **ET** || 37 νοητός **ET** || 39 ὡς γέγραπται **ET** || 40–41 post αἰῶνος add. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταποθέντας **ET** || 59 τοῦ λόγου **ET** || 84 ἐν τῇ θεογνωσίᾳ **ET** | ἀνθρωπίνης **ET**.

Together with **M**, **E** is an important witness for the text of Homily 5, although it seems clear that these two roughly contemporary witnesses stem from slightly different exemplars. In two instances, **E** contains unique material missing from **M** which seems to belong in the text (e.g., 22 ὁμιλίαν – προξενοῦσαν **ET** || 40–41 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταποθέντας **ET**). In addition, **M** and **E** provide virtually the same witness to a passage that exhibits a high degree of corruption in all the manuscripts for Homily 4: 58–60: ἀκούειν [δὲ **E**] τῆς φύσεως ἀντὶ τῆς [ἁγίας **E**] παρθένου [ἀποκρίνασθαι **E**] δοκῶ· τῆς φύσεως [δὲ **E**] εἶπον ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου, φυλλάτω γὰρ [τὴν **E**] τάξιν [τοῦ λόγου **E**] τῷ παρθενικῷ τόκῳ [τῷ παρθενικῷ τὸν λόγον **M**]. At the same time, **E** has a tendency to embellish the text in a manner that is not attested in **M** and its copies, e.g., 5 ὁ τόκος **M** ὁ θεῖος τόκος **E** || 9 ἐνδοξοτέρα **M** ὑπερενδοξοτέρα **E** || 10 τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου μητρός **M** τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ δεσπότου μητρός **E** || 11 παρθένος γάρ ἐστι **M** παρθένος γὰρ ὑπάρχουσα ἀληθῶς **E** || 25 τοῦ σώματος **M** τοῦ παρθενικοῦ καὶ ἀχράντου **E** || 29 τὸ βρέφος **M** τὸ ἅγιον βρέφος **E** || 29 τῆς γαστρός **M** τῆς θεοδόχου γαστρός **E** || 31 μήτηρ παρθένος **M** μήτηρ ὁμοῦ καὶ παρθένος **E** || 36–37 ὁ ποιμήν **M** ὁ ποιμήν ὁ καλός **E** || 37 ὁ λύκος **M** ὁ νοητὸς λύκος **E** || 49 τὴν ἄσπορον **M** τὴν ἄσπορον καὶ ἄμωμον **E** || 50 τῶν προφητῶν **M** τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν **E** || 66 τὴν παρθένον **M** τὴν πολυύμνητον παρθένον **E**. Without parallel in the other witnesses for Homily 4, these particular forms of adjectival effusion and prepositional intensification are not characteristic of the work of Proclus. Instead, they should be attributed to the pious interventions of a later scribe, in some instances importing language typical of a later stage of development in the veneration of Mary.

It may be concluded that the texts of **E** and **M** stem from the same archetype but by way of slightly different intermediaries which are

no longer extant. In the case of **M**, the intermediary was most likely the transliteration of Homily 4 from its late-antique uncial form into early-Byzantine miniscule. One might therefore be inclined to place **E**, which is a relatively rare uncial manuscript, closer to the archetype, but the mistaken attribution to Chrysostom, along with the internal analysis provided above, strongly suggest contamination from a now lost intermediary. Thus it is the textual tradition stemming from **M** that is generally to be preferred, although not without the critical readings provided by **E** noted above.

Group Three

B = *Oxoniensis Bodleianus miscellaneus* 34 (a.e. 2.6). Twelfth century, parchment, 290 x 220 mm, fols. 303 (fols. 114–116 = Homily 4). This manuscript is the first volume of a multi-volume *panegyricon* and contains readings from the feast of the 'Nativity of the Virgin' on 8 September through the feast of the 'Presentation of the Lord in the Temple' on 2 February. In addition, there is a single reading for the feast of the 'Annunciation' on 25 March, and eight readings for Great Lent and Holy Week. Proclus' Homily 4, here mistakenly attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, is the first of five readings for the feast of the 'Nativity' on 25 December.[14]

The text of **B** shares many similarities with the tradition represented by **M** (including a number of readings shared uniquely with **M** noted above) and almost never agrees against that tradition in favor of readings found in **E**. At the same time, **B** does not appear to stem directly from the first group, but rather from an intermediary source between **M** and its archetype. For example, **B** is unique in attributing the homily to Cyril of Alexandria. **B** also contains an elaborate doxological ending not found in any of the other witnesses. Further unique readings in **B** include: 4 εἰργάσατο ‖ 8 σωτηρίας ‖ 8 παρθένε ἡ ἀνοίξασα ‖ 10 ἐκυοφόρησεν ‖ 12 ὑμνήσωμεν ‖ 13–14 ὀρφανὸς ὁ ὠφθεὶς ‖ 20 ὄφιν ‖ 20 ἄνθρωπον ‖ 31–32 ἔτεκεν θεὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα ‖ 34 θεὸν ‖ 37 τὸ θηρίον ‖ 40 ποιμὴν τὸν θηρίον ‖ 47 οὐράνιος ‖ 48 παστόν B ‖ 50 τιμίους | θεογνώστους ‖ 54 ξενώτερον ‖ 56 πόκον | τὸν ἐξ ἐρίου ‖ 58–59 τὴν φύσιν ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου B | λινοῦ φυλάττοντα ‖ 60 γαστρὸς ‖ 75 οὗ τὴν μητέρα παρθένον ἀναγινώσκεις τί πάτερα ζητεῖς ‖ 77 ἕτερος ‖

[14] This manuscript has been catalogued by Coxe, *Catalogii codicum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (1853), 1:637–40 (638, no. 15 = Homily 4); Ehrhard, ibid., 3:121–23 (122, no. 16 = Homily 4); Leroy, ibid., 79–80.

84 ἤνωσεν. Finally, **B** presents numerous and often lengthy unique omissions which render it a rather poor witness for the text of Homily 5: 16 καὶ αὐτὴν codd. om. **B** || 16 μετὰ πάντων codd. om. **B** || 19–21 δεῦτε – ἀνερμήνευτος codd. om. **B** || 24–25 ὡς – τὰς codd. om. **B** || 30 ἐν – χάριτος om. **B** || 31–32 παρθένος – διωρθώσατο codd. om. **B** || 38 κεχηνῶς codd. om. **B** || 40 ἀμνὸς – λύκον codd. om. **B** || 46 ἀχράντῳ codd. om. **B** || 46 διάβολον codd. om. **B** || 49 τόγαν – σάρκα codd. om. **B** || 61 ὁ ἐμὸς – ἐνδύματα codd. om. **B** || 62 μετ' αἰσχύνης codd. om. **B** || 74 τῇ τεκούσῃ codd. om. **B** || 87 οἵ – ὑπακοήν codd. om. **B** || 99 ἐν – ἠθέλησε codd. om. **B** || 101 γεννηθεὶς – πατρὸς codd. om. **B**.

Indirect Witnesses

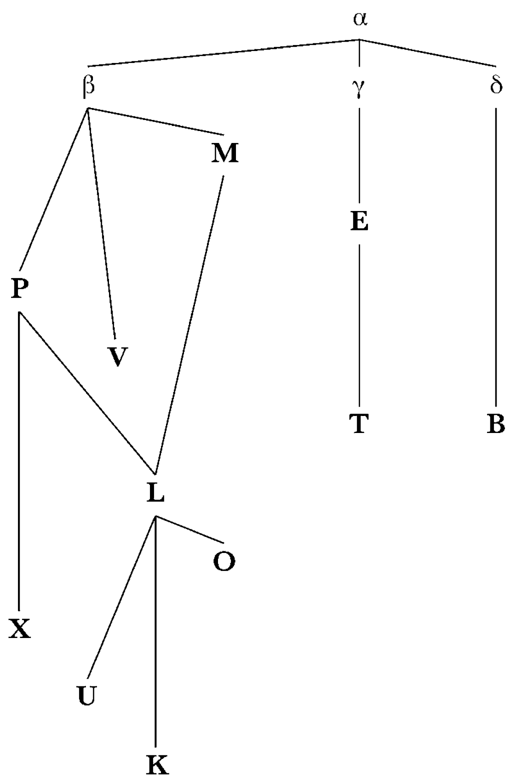
d = Theodotus Ancyrensis, *Sermo in Nativitatem Christi* (ed. E. Schwartz, *ACO* I, 1, 2, pp. 80–90). Theodotus of Ancyra (d. ca. 445) was a determined opponent of Nestorius, and played an important role in the latter's deposition. At the Council of Ephesus in 431, Theodotus' *Sermo in Nativitatem* was recited in its entirety, and, along with Proclus, Homily 1, was incorporated into the Council's official proceedings. It may have been in this form that the *Sermo* came to the attention of Proclus, who freely borrowed from it while composing the text of Homily 4.

Printed Editions

Ri = V. Riccardi, *Sancti Patris Procli Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Analecta* (Rome, 1630) 143–47 (= Homily 4), 148–76 (= notes and commentary).

SIGLA

M	*Moscoensis graecus* 215	saec. IX–X
P	*Parisinus graecus* 1171	saec. X
X	*Athous Xeropotamianos* 134	saec. XVI
V	*Vaticanus graecus* 679 (*olim* 455)	saec. XI
L	*Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 68	saec. XIII
O	*Oxoniensis Bodleianus Seldenianus* 8 (*a.s.* 9)	saec. XIV
U	*Trajectum ad Rhenum* 13 (*graecus* 9)	saec. XVII
K	*Athous Kavsokalyvion* 157	saec. XIX
E	*Scoraliensis graecus* 239 (Φ.III.20)	saec. IX
T	*Thessalonicensis Vlatadon* 7 (44)	saec. XII
B	*Oxoniensis Bodleianus misc.* 34 (*a.e.* 2.6)	saec. XII
d	Theodotus Ancyrensis	saec. IV


α
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Πρόκλου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

I. Λαμπρὰ καὶ παράδοξος τῆς παρούσης ἑορτῆς ἡ ὑπόθεσις. λαμπρὰ μέν, ὅτι ξένην ἀνθρώποις σωτηρίαν ἐπήγαγεν. παράδοξος δέ, ὅτι τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον ἐνίκησεν ὁ τόκος· φύσις μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ τὴν τεκοῦσαν μητέρα, ἡ δὲ χάρις καὶ τίκτουσαν ἔδειξε καὶ παρθένον ἐφύλαξε καὶ μητέρα ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν οὐκ ἔβλαψεν. ὢ γῆς ἀσπόρου καρπὸν βλαστησάσης σωτήριον. ὢ παρθένος ἀνοίξασα τῷ Ἀδὰμ τὸν παράδεισον, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐνδοξοτέρα ὑπάρχουσα. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Θεοῦ γεώργιον γέγονεν,[1] ἡ δὲ κατὰ σάρκα Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐγεώργησεν. δεῦτε οὖν πάντες, τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου μητρός μὴ τοὺς γάμους χορεύσωμεν, παρθένος γάρ ἐστι καὶ γάμων ἀμύητος, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνυμφεύτους αὐτῆς ὠδῖνας τιμήσωμεν, μήτηρ γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ γάμων ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀνδρὸς πεῖραν οὐκ ἔλαβε, καὶ ὀρφανὸς ὁ παῖς οὐχ εὑρίσκεται. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν γαστέρα παρθένου πλατυτέραν τῆς κτίσεως· ὁ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μὴ χωρούμενος, ἐν ταύτῃ ἀστενοχωρήτως ἐχώρησε. καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν τεκοῦσαν βαστάζων μετὰ πάντων, ὑπὸ ταύτης βαστάζεται. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν τὴν ἀλατόμητον πέτραν[2] ἐν τῇ παρθενικῇ

[1]cf. 1 Cor. 3.9 [2]cf. Dan. 2.34

1–2 Titulus πρόκλου – χριστοῦ MPVLU γένναν ET post χριστοῦ add. εὐλόγησον δέσποτα L τοῦ σωτῆρος χριστοῦ εὐλόγησον πάτερ O τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν πρόκλου κωνσταντινουπόλεως λόγος εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ K τοῦ αὐτοῦ ⟨ἰωάννου τοῦ χρυσοστόμου⟩ λόγος ἕτερος εἰς τὴν χριστοῦ γένναν E τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου τοῦ χρυσοστόμου λόγος εἰς τὴν γέννησιν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν θεοτόκον. εὐλόγησον πάτερ T κυρίλλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἀλεξανδρείας ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν θεοτόκον καὶ εἰς τὴν χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν γένναν εὐλόγησον πάτερ B **3** παρούσης codd. ὑποκειμένης LU **4** ἐπήγαγεν ELOUd ἐπανήγαγεν MPVK ἐπήγασεν T εἰργάσατο B **5** θεῖος τόκος ET | ἀγνοεῖ codd. ἐννοεῖται K | τεκοῦσαν MLOBUKd τίκτουσαν PVET **6** om. καὶ – ἔδειξε B | τίκτουσαν MPVOETd τεκοῦσαν LUK **8** σωτήριον codd. σωτηρίας B οὐράνιον K | παρθένος ἀνοίξασα codd. παρθένου ἀνοιξάσης ET παρθένε ἡ ἀνοίξασα B **9** ἐνδοξοτέρα codd. ὑπερενδοξοτέρα ET **10** θεὸν om. P αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν ET σάρκα τῷ θεῷ αὐτῷ ἐδανείσατο K | ἐκυοφόρησεν B | πάντες om. B ἅπαντες ET | post τῆς add. ἁγίας T **11** γὰρ ὑπάρχουσα ἀληθῶς E **12** post ἀμύητος add. καὶ γάμων ἀβόητος K | ὑμνήσωμεν B **13** καὶ[1] om. MET **13–14** ὀρφανὸς ὁ ὠφθεὶς B **14** ἴδωμεν codd. ἴδετε V | παρθένου om. LU **15** ἐκεῖ – ἀστενοχωρήτως om. O | ἐν ταύτῃ MPETB ἐν αὐτῇ V ἐνταῦθα LUK | ἐχώρησε MVLOBK ἐχωρήθη ETP **16** post χειρὶ add. μετὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ET | καὶ αὐτὴν om. B | μετὰ πάντων om. B **16–17** post ταύτης add. ἐν γαστρὶ K **17** τῇ παρθένῳ B

Proclus of Constantinople

Homily 4

On the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ

I. The theme of this present feast is both splendid and strange. Splendid, for it brings an extraordinary salvation to humanity. Strange, for the birth of a child has conquered the laws of nature. And while nature cannot conceive of the mother who gave birth, grace not only showed her giving birth, but preserved her virginity, made her a mother, and did not destroy her incorruptibility. O Seedless Earth, which blossomed with the fruit of salvation! O Virgin, who opened paradise for Adam! Rather she is more glorious than paradise, for paradise was merely the planting of God,[1] but she cultivated God himself in the flesh. Let us then all draw near, not to dance at the wedding of the Master's mother, for she is a virgin with no experience of wedlock. Instead, let us reverence her virginal birth pangs, for she became a mother without giving herself in marriage; and although she had no experience of a man, her child did not thereby find himself an orphan. Come and see the womb of a virgin wider than creation! For the one whom (creation) cannot contain is contained in her without constriction. And he who bears all things, including the one who bore him, in the hollow of his hand, is himself borne about in (her womb). Come and see the unhewn rock[2] dangling miraculously in the virginal web; it establishes the ground of

[1] cf. 1 Cor. 3.9 [2] cf. Dan. 2.34

ἀράχνῃ ὑπερφυῶς φερομένην, καὶ τὴν φύσιν μὴ βλάπτουσαν καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἑδράζουσαν. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν νηὸς ποντοπορούσης ἀθεώρητον πορείαν, τῆς βυθισάσης μὲν τὸν ἀρχέκακον, ἁλιευσάσης δὲ τὸν πρωτόπλαστον, ἧς καὶ ἡ εἴσοδος ἀνιστόρητος καὶ ἡ ἔξοδος ἀνερμήνευτος. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν τὸν νοητὸν ὄφιν,[3] τὸν τῇ θυγατρὶ τῆς Εὔας[4] προσομιλοῦντα [ὁμιλίαν οὐχὶ θάνατον ἐμποιοῦσαν ἀλλὰ ζωὴν προξενοῦσαν] καὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον τῆς παρακοῆς[5] ἀκυροῦντα. δεῦτε ἴδωμεν καὶ τὸ φῶς τῆς θεότητος ὡς διαφανοῦς τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἀκτίνας ἐκπέμπον τῆς χάριτος.

II. Γυναῖκες τρεχέτωσαν, ὅτι γυνὴ οὐ θανάτου δεικνύει φυτόν, ἀλλὰ ζωῆς τίκτει καρπόν. παρθένοι συντρεχέτωσαν, ὅτι παρθένος ἔτεκεν, οὐ τὴν παρθενίαν αἰσχύνασα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν σφραγίσασα. ἐξῆλθε γὰρ τὸ βρέφος καὶ ἀκεραίους τοὺς κοιτῶνας τῆς γαστρὸς ἀπέλιπε, τοιοῦτον ἀφεὶς ἐν προσθήκῃ τῆς χάριτος,[6] οἷον εὗρε τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστήριον. μητέρες τρεχέτωσαν, ὅτι μήτηρ παρθένος τὸ ξύλον τῆς παρακοῆς διὰ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς διορθώσατο.[7] θυγατέρες συντρεχέτωσαν, ὅτι μητρικῆς παρακοῆς[8] ὕβριν θυγατρὸς ὑπακοή[9] ἐξεδίκησε. πατέρες τρεχέτωσαν, διὰ τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τεχθέντα πατέρα. βρέφη συντρεχέτωσαν, διὰ τὸ ἐν φάτνῃ σπαργανούμενον βρέφος.[10] ποιμένες συντρεχέτωσαν, διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθενικῆς ἀμνάδος προελθόντα ποιμένα.[11] ὁ γὰρ ποιμὴν τὴν ξενοπαγῆ τοῦ σώματος δοράν περιέθετο, καὶ ὁ λύκος ὡς ἀμνὸν[12] ἰδὼν κεχηνὼς περιέτρεχεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὀδόντας ἠκόνησε, τῶν δὲ σαρκῶν τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ οὐκ ἴσχυσε γεύσασθαι, "ἡ γὰρ σάρξ αὐτοῦ οὐκ

[3]cf. Num. 21.8; Jn 3.14 [4]cf. Jn. 19.26 [5]cf. Rom. 5.19; Col. 2.14; Tob. 5.3, 9.5 [6]cf. Lk. 2.52 [7]Gen. 2.9 [8]cf. Gen. 3.7 [9]cf. Lk. 1.38 [10]Lk. 2.12 [11]cf. Jn. 10.11 [12]cf. Jn. 1.29

18 ἀράχνῃ codd. ἐργασία U om. B **19–21** δεῦτε – ἀνερμήνευτος om. B **20** post ἀρχέκακον add. ὄφιν B | post πρωτόπλαστον add. ἄνθρωπον B **22** post προσομιλοῦντα add. ὁμιλίαν – προξενοῦσαν ET **24** παρακοῆς codd. ἀκοῆς PO **24–25** ὡς – τὰς om. B **25** post τοῦ add. παρθενικοῦ καὶ ἀχράντου ET | ἐκπέμπον ML ἐκπέμπουν K ἐκπέμποντα PVET ἐκπέμπουσα O ἐκλάμποντας B **28** αἰσχύνασα codd. αἰσχύνουσα V ἀφθαρσίαν codd. παρθενίαν M **29** post τὸ add. ἅγιον ET | κοιτῶνας MPVLOB χιτῶνας ETK post τῆς add. θεοδόχου ET | κατέλιπε ET **30** ἀφῆκεν MB | ἐν – χάριτος om. B **31** post μήτηρ add. ἁγία ὁμοῦ καὶ ET **31–32** παρθένος – διορθώσατο om. et scr. ἔτεκεν θεὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα B **32** συντρεχέτωσαν codd. τρεχέτωσαν LB **33** θυγατρὸς – ἐξεδίκησε om. et scr. θυγάτηρ ἐξεδίκησεν ἁγιότατος ET **33–34** πατέρες – πατέρα codd. om. PV πατέρα codd. θεὸν B **34** τῶν ἡμερῶν codd. om. M | post. τεχθέντα add. τῶν αἰώνων M **34–35** συντρεχέτωσαν MVOETK τρεχέτωσαν PLBU **35** post σπαργανούμενον add. ἅγιος E ἅγιον T | συντρεχέτωσαν MPVO τρεχέτωσαν LBUK συνδραμείτωσαν ET **36** προελθόντα codd. γεννηθέντα ET **36–37** post ποιμὴν add. ὁ καλός ET **37** post δοράν add. τὸ πάν B | ὁ – ὡς codd. om. et scr. τὸ θηρίον B post ὁ add. νοητός ET **38** κεχηνῶς om. B **39** ἀμνοῦ om. OB | post γεύσασθαι add. ὡς γέγραπται ET

the universe, but it does not harm her nature. Come and see the inconceivable voyage of a ship sailing across the sea, swamping the chief of evil, and fishing out the first-born man. Its arrival is inexpressible; its departure inexplicable. Come and see the spiritual serpent[3] conversing with the daughter of Eve[4] [in an exchange not bringing death but granting life] and cancelling the debt of disobedience.[5] Come and see the light of the divinity sending forth rays of grace through the translucence of the body.

II. Let women come running, for a woman has brought forth, not the flower of death, but has given birth to the fruit of life. Let virgins also come running, for a virgin has given birth, not by disgracing her virginity, but by sealing her incorruptibility. For the child came forth without ruffling the bed-chambers of the womb; leaving behind, as he grew in grace,[6] the workshop of nature just as he found it. Let mothers come running, for through the Tree of Life a virgin mother has set aright the tree of disobedience.[7] Let daughters also come running, for the obedience of a daughter[8] has avenged the offence of maternal disobedience.[9] Let fathers come running, on account of the father who was born in these latter days. Let infants come as well, for the sake of the infant swaddled in the manger.[10] Let shepherds come running too, on account of the shepherd[11] who came forth from the virginal lamb. He cloaked himself in the strangely thick sheep-skin of the body, and the wolf, seeing him like a lamb,[12] pursued him with jaws agape. And though his teeth were razor sharp, he was not able to taste the flesh of the spotless lamb, because "his flesh did not see corruption."[13] And

[3]cf. Num. 21.8; Jn. 3.14 [4]i.e., Mary at the Cross, cf. Jn. 19.26 [5]cf. Rom. 5.19; Col. 2.14; Tob. 5.3, 9.5 [6]cf. Lk. 2.52 [7]Gen. 2.9 [8]i.e., Mary, cf. Lk. 1.38 [9]i.e., Eve, cf. Gen. 3.7 [10]Lk. 2.12 [11]cf. Jn. 10.11 [12]cf. Jn. 1.29 [13]Ps. 16.10; cf. Acts 2.31

εἶδε διαφθοράν."[13] ὁ γὰρ ἀμνὸς τὸν λύκον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταποθέντας ἐξεμέσαι ἠνάγκασεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς γαστρὸς τοῦ παμφάγου θηρός, ὡς τὸν Ἰωνᾶν ἐξελκύσας ἐκ τοῦ κήτους τὸν ἄνθρωπον.[14] βασιλεῖς τρεχέτωσαν, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης[15] ἀντὶ ἀλουργίδος τὰ σπάργανα περιέθετο.[16] ἄρχοντες τρεχέτωσαν, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων τῆς εἰρήνης[17] ἐν τῷ παρθενικῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ χαλκεύσας τὸ ὅπλον τοῦ σώματος, καὶ στομώσας αὐτὸ τῇ ἀχράντῳ θεότητι τὸν πολέμιον διάβολον δι' αὐτοῦ ἐθανάτωσεν. ὕπατοι συντρεχέτωσαν, ὅτι ὁ ἐπουράνιος τὸν ἐπίγειον προέβαλεν ὕπατον, δίφρον ἔχοντα καλλιπρεπῆ τὴν Θεοτόκον παρθένον, τόγαν ὑπατικὴν τὴν ἄσπορον σάρκα, λίθους ἔχουσαν τιμίους τῶν ἁγίων τοὺς βίους, μαργαρίτας ἀτιμήτους τῶν προφητῶν τὰς πολυτιμήτους προρρήσεις. οὐ χρυσὸν σκορπίζοντα τῆς ἀταξίας τὸν αἴτιον, ἀλλ' εὐσπλαγχνίαν βραβεύοντα τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν πρόξενον. ἰδιῶται τρεχέτωσαν, ὅτι ὁ κριτὴς ἰδιωτικὸν ἱμάτιον περιέθετο ἵνα τὸν κλέπτην διάβολον δι' αὐτοῦ θηράσῃ κρυπτόμενον. ξένον τὸ ἔνδυμα καὶ καινότερον τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ ἡ πῆξις παράδοξος ὡς ἀνθρωπίνης τέχνης ἀμέτοχος. ὦ παρθένε, κόρη ἀπειρόγαμε καὶ μήτηρ ἀλόχευτε, πόθεν λαβοῦσα τὸ ἔριον κατεσκεύασας ἱμάτιον, ὅ σήμερον ὁ δεσπότης τῆς κτίσεως ἐνεδύσατο; ποῖον δ' εὗρες ἱστῶνα γαστρός, ἔνθα τὸν ἄρραφον χιτῶνα ἐξύφανας;[18] ἀκούειν δὲ τῆς

[13]Ps. 16.19; cf. Acts. 2.31 [14]Jon. 2.10 [15]cf. 1 Cor. 2.8; Col. 2.14–15; Rev. 17.14 [16]cf. Lk. 2.7, 12 [17]cf. Is. 9.6 [18]cf. Jn. 19.23

40 ἀμνὸς – λύκον codd. om. B et scr. ποιμὴν τὸν θηρίον **40–41** post αἰῶνος add. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταποθέντας ET **42–43** τὸν ἄνθρωπον codd. om. K **43** post. δόξης add. χριστός E **44** τρεχέτωσαν MPVK συντρεχέτωσαν ETLOU **46** ἀχράντῳ codd. om. B | πολέμιον EVLBUK πολεμικόν MPOT | διάβολον om. B **47** ἐπουράνιος codd. οὐράνιος B **48** προέβαλεν MPV προεβάλετο ET προβάλλεται B κατέβαλεν LUK | ὕπατον codd. παστόν B | ἔχων codd. ἔχοντα ET ἔχουσα B | θεοτόκον παρθένον MPVO ἁγίαν παρθένον καὶ θεοτόκον μαρίαν ET **49** τόγαν MPV τῷ ἄγαν L τὸ γὰρ O τῷ ἄγειν U σάκραν K om. ET | τόγαν – σάρκα om. B | ὑπατικήν codd. παθητικήν U | post ἄσπορον add. τε καὶ ἄμωμον ET **50** μαργαρίτας codd. μαργαρίτου V | ἀτιμήτους codd. τιμίους B | post τῶν add. ἁγίων ET | πολυτιμήτους codd. πολυτίμους M θεογνώστους B **51** σκορπίζοντα ET σκορπίζων MPVLOUK σκορπίζοντες B | ἀταξίας codd. τὰς ἀξίας MB **52** βραβεύοντα ET βραβεύων MPVLOUK βραβεύοντες B | τὴν πρόξενον MPVETK τὸν αἴτιον L τὸν πολέμιον U | τρεχέτωσαν codd. συντρεχέτωσαν B **53** κριτὴς codd. κτίστης B **54** θηράσῃ codd. θώρακι U | post κρυπτόμενον add. καὶ ἐκθωρακίζῃ ὁπλούμενον K | καινότερον MVPLOE νοερόν T καινότατον UK ξενώτερον B **55** πῆξις codd. πράξις U | παρθένε codd. παρθένος ἁγία U **56** πόθεν codd. πόκον B | ἔριον MLUK ἱερόν VPOET τὸν ἐξ ἐρίου B **57** ὅ codd. ὅπερ ET | τῆς κτίσεως codd. om. LU post κτίσεως add. ἐκ σοῦ ET **58** ἀκούειν MPVLKE ἀκούει O ἀκούεις T ἄκουε B ἀκούω U | δὲ ET om. codd. **58–59** τῆς φύσεως codd. ὦ τῆς φύσεως O

the lamb slew the wolf, and made that omnivorous beast vomit forth from his stomach those whom of old he had swallowed, just as he drew forth Jonah from the whale.[14] Let kings come running, for the King of glory[15] has clothed himself, not in the imperial purple, but in swaddling clothes.[16] Let princes come running, for in the virginal workshop the prince of peace[17] has forged the weapon of his body, and, whetting it upon his pure divinity, slew our enemy the devil. Let consuls also come running, for the heavenly consul (i.e., God) has elected the earthly one (i.e., Christ). His richly appointed throne is the Virgin Theotokos. His consular toga is his seedless flesh. Its precious stones are the lives of the saints, its priceless pearls are the precious prophecies of the prophets. He does not go about scattering pieces of gold, the cause of disorder, but bestows his compassion upon us, the source of salvation. Let private citizens come running, for the judge has clothed himself in a civilian robe, so that through it he might hunt down the hidden devil in disguise. Strange is his apparel, and his tunic is exceedingly unique. Its fabrication is wondrous, for it has no share in any human craftsmanship. O Virgin, maiden who knew not man, and mother who knew not pain! Where did you find the flax to weave the robe with which the Lord of creation has clothed himself today? What sort of loom was your womb, upon which you wove the tunic without seam?[18]

[14]Jon. 2.10 [15]cf. 1 Cor. 2.8; Col. 2.14–15; Rev. 17.14 [16]cf. Lk. 2.7, 12 [17]cf. Is. 9.6
[18]cf. Jn. 19.23

φύσεως ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου ἀποκρινομένης δοκῶ, φυλάττω γὰρ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ λόγου τῷ παρθενικῷ τόκῳ, "ἐγὼ ἱμάτιον σαρκὸς δίχα κοινωνίας ἀνδρὸς οὐκ οἶδα ποιεῖν. ὁ ἐμὸς ἱστὸς ῥυπαρὰ ποιεῖ τὰ ἐνδύματα· ἐνέδυσα τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἐγυμνώθη καὶ φύλλα συκῆς μετ' αἰσχύνης περιεβάλλετο."[19] ὅθεν εἰς διόρθωσιν τοῦ φθαρέντος χιτῶνος ἡ σοφία ἑαυτῇ τὸν χιτῶνα τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῷ παρθενικῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ κερκίδι θεϊκῆς ἐργασίας ἐξυφήνασα περιέθετο.

III. Θέλω δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἀπίστους Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἐρωτῆσαι· εἰπέ μοι παρθένε, τίς σε μητέρα πρὸ τῶν γάμων ἐποίησε; πῶς μήτηρ ἐγένου καὶ παρθένος διέμεινας; πληροφόρησον Ἰουδαίους, ἔμφραξον τῶν ἀπίστων τὰ στόματα. ἡ δὲ τῇ δυνάμει μοι ἀποκρίνεται· "πῶς ξενίζονται οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι παρθένος ἐγέννησεν καὶ οὐ ξενίζονται πῶς ῥάβδος ξηρὰ παρὰ φύσιν ἐβλάστησε;[20] βλέπουσιν ἄρριζον βακτηρίαν ὑπὸ στέγην βλαστήσασαν καὶ οὐκ ἐρωτῶσι πόθεν ἢ πῶς, περὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ μελετῶσιν ἀεί." "ἰδοῦ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται καὶ τέξεται υἱόν."[21] βλέπουσι τὸ βρέφος καὶ πράγματα ῥάπτουσιν τῇ τεκούσῃ, καὶ πατέρα ζητοῦσιν οὗ τὴν μητέρα παρθένον ἀναγινώσκουσιν. εἰ πατέρα ζητεῖς, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, τοῦ σήμερον γεννηθέντος υἱοῦ, ἄκουε τοῦ βοῶντος· "Κύριος εἶπε πρός με, υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγώ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε."[22] οὐκ ἐγώ σου πρὸ αἰώνων γεννήτωρ καὶ ἄλλος δέ σου σήμερον τεχθέντος πατήρ. ἢ ἀπάτωρ[23] λεγέσθω ὁ

[19]Gen. 3.8 [20]Num. 17.8 [21]Is. 7.14 [22]Ps. 2.7; cf. Acts 13.33; Heb. 1.5, 5.5; Mt. 3.17; Lk. 3.22; Jn. 1.49 [23]cf. Heb. 7.3

59 post τῆς add. ἁγίας ET ἀποκρινομένης PB ἀποκρίνασθαι ET om. M βοώσης O εἶπον VLK εἰπούσης U | δοκῶ MPET om. VLOUKB post δοκῶ add. τῆς φύσεως δὲ εἶπον ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου MET τὴν φύσιν ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου B **59–60** φυλάττω [φυλάττον LOK] γὰρ [τὴν add. ET] τάξιν [τάξαι U om. K] τοῦ λόγου [τὸν λόγον MLOU] τῷ παρθενικῷ τόκῳ MELOUK φυλάττω – παρθενικῷ [om. τόκῳ] V φυλλάτω – παρθενικῷ σῶμα T φυλάττω – τόκῳ om. P λινοῦ φυλάττοντα τάξιν B **60** ἐγὼ codd. om. K | σαρκὸς codd. γαστρὸς B **61** ὁ ἐμὸς codd. ὅμως U | ὁ ἐμὸς – ἐνδύματα codd. om. B | ἐνέδυσα METB ἐνεδύσατο PVLO **62** μετ' αἰσχύνης codd. ἀντὶ αἰσχύνης M om. B **63** ἑαυτῇ MPVOETK ἑαυτὴν LU αὕτη B **64** ἐργασίας codd. om. V **66** post τὴν add. πολυύμνητον ET | post παρθένον add. λοιπὸν P **67** post μοι add. ὦ μακαρία ET | γάμων codd. θείων ὠδίνων ET | πῶς om. LU **68** ἐγένου codd. γέγονας ET | post ἰουδαίους add. ὅτι παρθένος ἐγέννησεν LU **69** ἀποκρίνεται codd. ἀποφθέγγεται L **70** post ἐγέννησεν scr. ἔμφραξον ἐγέννησεν L **71–72** βλαστήσασαν codd. βλαστησάσης L **73** λήψεται codd. ἕξει ET **74** τῇ τεκούσῃ om. B | ζητοῦσιν codd. ἐπιζητοῦσιν B **75** ζητεῖς codd. ἐπιζητεῖς B | post ἰουδαῖε add. οὗ τὴν μητέρα παρθένον ἀναγινώσκεις τί πατέρα ζητεῖς B **75–76** in verbo σήμε[ρον] des. O γεννηθέντος codd. τεχθέντος M **76** post υἱοῦ add. μου καὶ θεοῦ ET | ἄκουε codd. ἄκουσον γὰρ B **77** ἐγώ codd. ἕτερος B **78** ἄλλος δέ σου codd. ἄλλος ὁ τοῦ B ἄλλο δέ που U **78–79** λεγέσθω – υἱός codd. λέγε θεὸν τὸ σήμερον τεχθὲν ὅπερ οὐκ ἐστι ἢ ἐμὸς ὀνομάζεται υἱός B

But I seem to hear Nature responding instead of the Virgin, for I take care to assess the rationale of a virgin birth. "I am unable," Nature says, "to make garments of flesh without the mingling of a man. Besides, my loom produces only soiled garments. I clothed Adam, but he was stripped naked, and he covered himself with fig-leaves and shame."[19] In order, then, to mend the ruined robe, Wisdom became a weaver in the virginal workshop, and by means of a shuttle propelled by divine artifice, she clothed herself in the robe of the body.

III. For the sake of the unbelieving Jews, I ask the Virgin this: Tell me, O Virgin, who made you a mother before marriage? How did you become a mother and remain a virgin? Tell the Jews. Silence the mouths of unbelievers. She answers me with power and says: "Why are the Jews amazed that a virgin gave birth, and yet express no surprise that, contrary to the laws of nature, the dry rod (of Aaron) blossomed and bloomed?[20] They see a staff without root blooming indoors, and ask neither how nor why, but about me they do not cease from their disputations." "Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb and shall bring forth a son."[21] Seeing the child they contrive things about his mother, and they demand to see the father of one whose mother they know from scripture is a virgin. O Jew, if you demand to see the father of the son who was born today, listen to the one who cries out: "The Lord said to me, Thou art my Son, today have I begotten thee."[22] I brought you forth before the ages, and even though today you are born yet again, you do not have another father. The child born today should either be called "fatherless,"[23] as indeed he is, or he should be named

[19]Gen. 3.8 [20]Num. 17.8 [21]Is. 7.14 [22]Ps. 2.7; cf. Acts 13.33; Heb. 1.5, 5.5; Mt. 3.17; Lk. 3.22; Jn. 1.49 [23]cf. Heb. 7.3

σήμερον τεχθείς, ὥσπερ οὖν καί ἐστιν, ἤ ἐμὸς ὀνομαζέσθω υἱός, εἷς γάρ υἱὸς ἀπὸ δύο πατέρων γεννᾶσθαι οὐ πέφυκεν. "ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε."[24] σήμερον γὰρ ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος[25] ἐκ τῆς παρθενικῆς νεφέλης[26] ἀνέτειλεν, "ὁ λαὸς γὰρ ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκότει εἶδε φῶς μέγα."[27] σήμερον ὁ ἄσπορος κόκκος[28] ἐκ τῆς ἀγεωργήτου πεδιάδος ἐβλάστησε καὶ ὁ λιμώττων κόσμος εὐφραίνεται. σήμερον χωρὶς μίξεως τόκος ἤνθησεν ἐκ τῆς ἀλοχεύτου γαστρὸς καὶ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τῷ ἀπάτορι βρέφει προσφέρει τὰ ξένια. ἡ γῆ τὴν φάτνην,[29] αἱ πέτραι τὰς λίθινας ὑδρίας,[30] τὰ ὄρη τὸ σπήλαιον, αἱ πόλεις τὴν Βηθλεέμ,[31] οἱ ἄνεμοι τὴν ὑπακοήν, ἡ θάλασσα τὴν ὑποταγήν,[32] τὰ κύματα τὴν γαλήνην, ὁ βυθὸς τοὺς ἰχθύες,[33] οἱ ἰχθύες τὸν στατῆρα,[34] τὰ ὕδατα τὸν Ἰορδάνην,[35] αἱ πηγαὶ τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν,[36] ἡ ἔρημος τὸν Ἰωάννην,[37] τὰ κτήνη τὸν πῶλον,[38] τὰ πετεινὰ τὴν περιστεράν,[39] οἱ μάγοι τὰ δῶρα,[40] αἱ γυναῖκες τὴν Μάρθαν,[41] αἱ χῆραι τὴν Ἄνναν,[42] αἱ στεῖραι τὴν Ἐλισάβετ,[43] αἱ παρθένοι τὴν Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν, οἱ ποιμένες τὴν ὑμνῳδίαν,[44] οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸν Συμεῶνα,[45] οἱ παῖδες τὰ βάϊα,[46] οἱ διῶκται τὸν Παῦλον,[47] οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τὸν τελώνην,[48] τὰ ἔθνη τὴν Χαναναίαν,[49] ἡ αἱμορροοῦσα τὴν πίστιν,[50] ἡ πόρνη τὸ μῦρον,[51] τὰ δένδρα τὸν Ζακχαῖον,[52] τὰ ξύλα τὸν σταυρόν, ὁ σταυρὸς τὸν ληστήν,[53] ἡ ἀνατολὴ τὸν ἀστέρα,[54] ὁ ἀὴρ τὴν νεφέλην,[55] ὁ οὐρανὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους,[56] ὁ Γαβριὴλ τὸν ἀσπασμόν, τὸ "χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ,"[57] καὶ ἔκ σου καὶ πρό σου. ἔν σοι εἰσελθὼν ὡς ηὐδόκησε καὶ ἔκ σου ἐξελθὼν ὡς ἠθέλησε. πρό σου ὡς πρὸ πάσης ἐπινοίας ἀρρήτως, ἀρρεύστως, ἀπαθῶς, ἀμαρτύρως,

[24]Ps. 2.7 [25]Mal. 4.2 [26]cf. Is. 19.1 [27]Is. 9.2; cf. Mt. 4.16 [28]cf. Jn. 12.24 [29]Lk. 2.12 [30]Jn. 2.6 [31]Mt. 2.1 [32]cf. Mt. 8.26–27; Lk. 8.25 [33]Lk. 5.4–6; Jn. 21.6 [34]Mt. 17.27 [35]Mt. 3.13; Mk. 1.9 [36]Jn. 4.6 [37]Mt. 3.1; Lk. 3.3; Jn. 1.23 [38]Mt. 21.2; Lk. 19.30; Jn. 12.15 [39]cf. Mt. 3.16; Mk. 1.9; Lk. 3.22; Jn. 1.32 [40]Mt. 2.1 [41]Lk. 10.40 [42]Lk. 2.36–37 [43]Lk. 1.7 [44]cf. Lk. 2.8–14 [45]Lk. 2.25 [46]cf. Mt. 21.8 [47]Gal. 1.13 [48]Mt. 9.9; Lk. 5.27 [49]Mt. 15.22 [50]Mt. 9.20; Lk. 8.43 [51]Mt. 26.6; Mk. 14.3; Lk. 7.37 [52]Lk. 19.4 [53]Lk. 23.40 [54]Mt. 2.2 [55]Mt. 17.5; Mk. 9.7; Lk. 9.34; cf. Ex. 40.34 [56]Lk. 2.13 [57]Lk. 1.28

79 post τεχθεὶς add. ἐξ ἐμοῦ ET | ἤ codd. εἴτε K **80** γεννᾶσθαι codd. γεννηθῆναι B **82** ἐν σκότει om. B **83** κόκκος MVETB τόκος PLU **84** λιμώττων κόσμος codd. λιμῷ τῷ κόσμῳ LU | post κόσμος add. ἐν τῇ θεογνωσίᾳ ET | post χωρὶς add. ἀνθρωπίνης ET | ἤνθησεν codd. ἥνωσεν B **87** οἱ – ὑπακοήν codd. om. B **89** τὰ – ἰορδάνην codd. om. LU | post ἰορδάνην scr. ὁ ἀὴρ τὴν νεφέλην K **91** οἱ μάγοι τὰ δῶρα codd. om. MV **92** post μαρίαν add. οἱ παῖδες τὰ βάϊα M **98–99** post πρό σου add. καὶ μετὰ σοῦ B **99** ἐν – ἠθέλησε codd. om. B | ἐξελθὼν codd. γεννηθεὶς ET **100** post ἀρρεύστως add. ἀμειώτως PL ἀμιάντως B et add. K ἀγαστῶς ἀμνήστως ἀφράστως | ἀμαρτύρως codd. ἀναμάρτητος U post ἀμαρτύρως add. ἀφράστως LU

my son, for it is not natural for one son to be born from two fathers. “Today have I begotten thee,”[24] for today the Sun of righteousness has risen[25] from the virginal cloud,[26] and “the people sitting in darkness beheld a great light.”[27] Today the seedless grain of wheat[28] has sprouted forth from the untilled valley, and the starving world rejoices. Today without coupling a child has come forth painlessly from the womb, and all creation brings its gifts to the child who has no father: The earth offers a manger,[29] and the rocks bring (six) stone jars.[30] The mountains offer the cave, and the cities make a present of Bethlehem.[31] The winds offer their obedience, the seas their submission, the waves their tranquility,[32] the depths of the sea their fish,[33] and the fish a coin of gold.[34] The waters offer the Jordan,[35] and the wells the Samaritan woman.[36] The wilderness offers John the Baptist.[37] The beasts offer the colt,[38] and the birds bring the dove.[39] The Magi bear their gifts.[40] Women offer Martha,[41] widows offer Anna,[42] barren women offer Elizabeth,[43] and virgins offer Mary the Theotokos. The shepherds offer their hymns,[44] the priests offer Symeon,[45] and the children bring branches of palms.[46] The persecutors bring Paul,[47] sinners bring the Publican,[48] and the gentiles the Cannanite woman.[49] The woman with the flow of blood offers her faith.[50] The harlot offers her myrrh.[51] The trees offer Zaccheus,[52] the wood of the trees offers the cross, and the cross offers the thief.[53] The east gives a star,[54] and the air the cloud.[55] Heaven offers its angels,[56] and the (angel) Gabriel offers the greeting: “Hail, most favored one, the Lord is with you,”[57] and from you, and before you. He entered into you, for this was pleasing to him, and he came forth from you, for this was his will. And he was before you, as he is before all imagining, being ineffably, immutably, impassibly, invisibly,

[24]Ps. 2.7 [25]Mal. 4.2 [26]cf. Is. 19.1 [27]Is. 9.2; cf. Mt. 4.16 [28]cf. Jn. 12.24 [29]Lk. 2.12 [30]Jn. 2.6 [31]Mt. 2.1 [32]cf. Mt. 8.26–27; Lk. 8.25 [33]cf. Lk. 5.4–6; Jn. 21.6 [34]Mt. 17.27 [35]cf. Mt. 3.13; Mk. 1.9 [36]Jn. 4.6 [37]cf. Mt. 3.1; Lk. 3.3; Jn. 1.23 [38]cf. Mt. 21.2; Lk. 19.30; Jn. 12.15 [39]cf. Mt. 3.16.; Mk. 1.9; Lk. 3.22; Jn. 1.32 [40]Mt. 2.1 [41]Lk. 10.40 [42]Lk. 2.36–37 [43]Lk. 1.7 [44]cf. Lk. 2.8–14 [45]Lk. 2.25 [46]cf. Mt. 21.8 [47]Gal. 1.13 [48]cf. Mt. 9.9; Lk. 5.27 [49]Mt. 15.22 [50]cf. Mt. 9.20; Lk. 8.43 [51]cf. Mt. 26.6; Mk. 14.3; Lk. 7.37 [52]Lk. 19.4 [53]Lk. 23.40 [54]Mt. 2.2 [55]cf. Mt. 17.5; Mk. 9.7; Lk. 9.34; cf. Ex. 40.34 [56]Lk. 2.13 [57]Lk. 1.28

ἀμεσιτεύτως καὶ θεοπρεπῶς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρός. ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀμήτωρ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάτωρ,[58] "δόξα γὰρ ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία,"[59] νῦν καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

[58]cf. Heb. 7.3 [59]Lk. 2.14

101 post ἀμεσιτεύτως add. ἀμιάντως ἀνεπιτάτως K | γεννηθεὶς – πατρὸς om. B | post ἐκ om. τοῦ θεοῦ MPV **103** post εὐδοκία add. ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ζωοποιῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ προσκυνητῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμὴν B **104** ἀμήν codd. om. LU

immediately, and divinely born from God the Father. In the heavens without a mother, and on earth without a father,[58] and thus we cry "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will among men,"[59] now and always, and unto ages of ages. Amen.

[58]cf. Heb. 7.3 [59]Lk. 2.14

HOMILY 4

NOTES AND COMMENTARY

4.I, 3–5: Proclus has adapted these opening lines, along with a number of other passages, from the prologue to Theodotus of Ancyra, hom. 1 (*ACO* I, 1, 2, pp. 80, lines 33–35; and 81, lines 1–3, 9–10); cf. id., hom. 2 (ibid, p. 73, line 28). Both of these homilies by Theodotus were read to the bishops assembled at the Council of Ephesus, and later appended to the Council's official proceedings. It may have been in this form that they came to the attention of Proclus, who would have had ready access to them in Constantinople. Such borrowings were not uncommon among late-antique orators, and Proclus was no exception. Remarking on Proclus' borrowings in hom. 14, Aubineu ("Un Recueil de textes," 394, n. 12) notes that: "La tradition manuscrite offre d'autres exemples de Proclus plagiant ses devanciers." For Proclus' borrowings from Basil, cf. 2.I, 4–14. See also Ps.-Chrysostom, *nativ.* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, 51–52, no. 46): ξένος γὰρ ὁ τῆς ἑορτῆς τρόπος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ παράδοξος ὁ τῆς γεννήσεως λόγος (*PG* 56.391AB).

4.I, 3: 'Theme' (ὑπόθεσις): cf. above, Proclus, hom.1.I, 6.

4.I, 10: 'Cultivated God' (Θεοῦ γεώργιον γέγονεν): cf. Hesychius, *In s. Mariam Dei genetricem*, 2: τίς εἶδε, τίς ἤκουσεν ἐξ ἀρχαιογονίας τὸ πρότερον ἄρουραν ἀγεώργητον ἐξανθήσασαν ἄσταχυν (ed. Aubineau, 196, lines 10–11); *Acathistos Hymnus*, 5: χαῖρε γεωργὸν γεωργοῦσα φιλάνθρωπον (ed. Wellesz, 70, line 10).

4.I, 11: 'Not to dance at the wedding.' For an extended diatribe against the *cantus nuptualis*, see Chrysostom, *hom.* 12.5 *in 1 Cor.*: γάμων τελουμένων … χορεῖαι καὶ κύμβαλα καὶ αὐλοὶ καὶ ῥήματα καὶ ᾄσματα αἰσχρά. τί ἄν τις εἴποι τὰς ᾠδὰς αὐτὰς αἵ πάσης γέμουσιν ἀκολασίας, ἔρωτας ἀτόπους καὶ μίξεις παρανόμους καὶ μυρίας ἐπεισάγουσαι τραγῳδίας; (*PG* 61.103).

4.I, 12: 'Virginal birth pangs' (ἀνυμφεύτους ὠδίνας): cf. above, Proclus, hom. 2.IV, 40–41; and 3.V, 38.

4.I, 13–14: "The child was not an orphan," cf. Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.*

(attributed to Proclus by Marx, 68–69, no. 72): καὶ ὀρφανὸς ὁ παῖς οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται (*PG* 60.757C).

4.I, 15: 'Without constriction' (ἀστενοχωρήτως): cf. above, Proclus, hom. 1.II, 27.

4.I, 17: 'The unhewn rock' (Dan. 2.34): cf. Proclus, hom. 29.4.17: "Behold the stone, hewn without hands from the virgin mountain, which ground the devil into dust" (ed. Leroy, 210); Ps.-Epiphanius, *laud. Mariae*: "The Virgin is the unquarried mountain bearing Christ the cornerstone, about whom Daniel says, 'A stone was hewn without hands from a mountain,' that is, without human seed the Virgin gave birth to Christ the Rock" (*PG* 43.492D).

4.I, 17–18: 'Dangling miraculously in the virginal web,' cf. Basil, *Hex.*, 6.6: "This pretended science (i.e., astrology) is like a spider's web (τοῖς ἀραχνείοις ὑφάσμασιν); if a gnat or a fly, or some insect equally feeble falls into it, it is held and entangled; if a stronger animal approaches, it passes through without trouble, carrying the weak tissue away with it" (ed. Giet, 356, lines 9–12); Theodoret, *prov.*, 5 (*PG* 83.629CD); and below, chap. 6

4.I, 20: 'Originator of evil' (ἀρχέκακον): cf. Proclus, hom. 10.3: ὁ δὲ τὴν παρακοὴν προτιμήσας τῆς ὑπακοῆς, γέγονε τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὄφεως οἰκητήριον (*PG* 65.781A); hom. 11.4: ὢ κάλαμος ἐν οὐρανοῖς τούς πιστοὺς πολιτογραφήσας, καὶ ἀρχεκάκου ὄφεως τὴν τυραννίδα συντρίψας (*PG* 65.785D); hom. 12.2: πατάξας τὸν ἀρχέκακον ὄφιν καὶ σκολιὸν δράκοντα (*PG* 65.789B).

4.I, 20: 'Swamping the chief of evil'; cf. *Acathistos*, 11: χαῖρε θάλασσα ποντίσασα Φαραὼ τὸν νοητόν (ed. Wellesz, 73, lines 12–13); and Joseph the Hymnographer, *Canon ad hymnum Acathiston*, 5.1: ἡ κατακλυσμοῦ τῆς ἁμαρτίας (*PG* 105.1021C).

4.I, 20: 'Fishing out the first born,' i.e., Adam, cf. Proclus, hom. 29: "Why do you plot in vain, O devil? He carries a cross which you fashioned against yourself, for as a wise fisherman he carries the cross instead of a pole in order to fish out Adam from Tartarus" (ed. Leroy, 211).

4.I, 22: 'The spiritual serpent,' i.e., the crucified Christ who was prefigured by Moses by means of the bronze serpent lifted up in the wilderness in Num. 21.8, cf. Jn. 3.14; and the study of Manesch, "Zur patristischen Auslegung von Num. 21.8–9" (1981). See also Gregory of

Nyssa, *In diem natalem Christi*: "Woman was defended by woman; the first opened the way to sin, but this one served to open the way to righteousness. That one followed the advice of the serpent, but this one brought forth the slayer of the serpent and gave birth to the author of light. The former introduced sin through the tree, the latter brings in the good through the tree, and by 'tree' I mean the cross" (*PG* 46.1148B).

4.I, 23–24: 'Canceling the debt of disobedience,' i.e., the 'document,' or 'note of indebtedness' incurred by Adam and Eve after failing to obey the commandment of Gen. 2.16; 3.3; cf. above, Proclus, hom. 1.V, 72.

4.II, 26–27: 'Let women come running.' Proclus' invitation to a range of social groups bears comparison with a Ps.-Chrysostomic sermon on the Nativity (*PG* 56.385–94) attributed to Proclus by Marx, 51–52, no. 46. The sermon notes that kings, soldiers, women, virgins, infants, children, men, shepherds, priests, slaves, fishermen, publicans and prostitutes have all come to venerate the child in whose form they see aspects of their own identities, i.e., the heavenly king, the one born of a woman, the child of a virgin, etc. (cf. *PG* 56.387AB).

4.II, 35: 'Let shepherds come running,' cf. *Acathistos*, 7: "The shepherds heard the angels glorifying the manifestation of Christ in the flesh, and running toward him as if to a shepherd, they beheld him as a spotless lamb, pastured in the womb of Mary, and singing hymns they said: 'Rejoice, Mother of the Lamb and Shepherd; rejoice, sheepfold of spiritual sheep'" (ed. Wellesz, 71, lines 1–9); Proclus, hom. 1.I, 19; hom. 7.5: ἐπεφάνη ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ οὐράνιος, καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου τοὺς λύκους τῇ καλῇ ποίμνῃ ἀπήλασεν (*PG* 65.761D); hom. 29.1.2–3: "Blessed is God, who descended from heaven like 'rain falling on the virginal fleece' (Jug. 6.37–40), and was born like a lamb from Mary the ewe; you are truly the 'lamb of God, who removes the sin of the world' (Jn. 1.29), for you were shorn by the shears of the cross, clothing the world in an imperishable garment" (ed. Leroy, 208); cf. below, chap. 6, pp. 320–21, n. 9. According to Eusebius, *v.Const.*, 3.49 (*PG* 20.1109AB), there was a bronze statue of Christ the Good Shepherd displayed in one of the forums of Constantinople.

4.II, 37: 'Thick sheep-skin (δοράν) … pursued (περιέτρεχεν) him with jaws agape,' cf. Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.*: ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τῇ

δορᾷ τοῦ προβάτου τὴν οἰκείαν καλύψας θεότητα περιέτρεχε, καλῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὰ πλανώμενα πρόβατα (*PG* 62.765AB).

4.II, 43–44: 'Imperial Purple' (ἁλουργίδα): cf. Proclus, hom. 7.1: ἐκεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἁλουργίδα τοῦ σώματος ἐνεδύσατο (*PG* 65.757D); hom. 29: τί οὖν λοιπὸν ὁ οὐρανὸς θεασάμενος ἀναβαίνοντα τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς πορφύραν τὸ πάθος ἠμφιεσμένον, ἣν τῷ αἵματι τῆς πλευρᾶς βάψας ἐφόρεσεν (ed. Leroy, 209); Cyril of Alexandria, *in Jo.*, 3.5: εἷς ὄντως ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστός, καθάπερ ἁλουργίδα βασιλικὴν τὸ ἴδιον φόρημα περικείμενος, φημὶ δὲ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον σῶμα, ἤτοι ναὸν τὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς δηλονότι καὶ σώματος, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὁ Χριστός (*PG* 73.484BC); and below, chap. 6, p. 353, n. 93.

4.II, 45: 'Virginal workshop' (παρθενικῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ): cf. above, Proclus, hom.1.I, 14.

4.II, 45: 'Weapon,' cf. Proclus, hom. 1.III, 48; cf. below, chap. 6, p. 358, n. 103.

4.II, 48: 'Throne' (δίφρον). Although its primary meaning is 'chariot,' the word δίφρον can also denote a chair or litter, and here suggests the *sella curulis* (*regia*), a symbol of government authority and the exclusive seat of office of consuls and magistrates, on which see Mathews, *Clash of Gods* (1999), 103–108, with 8 plates. In his seventh homily on the Song of Songs, Gregory of Nyssa discusses the meaning of such images, spurred by the notion that "Solomon made himself a litter (φορεῖον) from the trees of Lebanon" (Song 3.9), suggesting that it signifies a particular mode of divine indwelling: "In many ways God is in his saints … in one person as in a house; in another a throne (θρόνος); in others a footstool. Let anyone becoming a chariot (ἅρμα) or a well-tempered horse receive this rider, completing his course to what lies ahead … the person bearing God is a litter where God sits" (ed. Langerbeck, *GNO* 6 [1960], 206).

4.II, 49: 'Consular toga' (τόγαν ὑπατικήν): The (transliterated) Latin word 'toga' occurs only rarely in Greek Christian writers, who generally used the word τριβώνιον, or some other equivalent. The word does occur, however, in the fourth-century writer Eutropius, *Breviarium ab urbe condita* (ed. S. Lambros *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 9 [1912], 1.17.7); and in the seventh-century *Chronicon paschale* (*PG* 92.792A). There are two further attestations, both from the seventh century, which are particularly significant for Proclus' usage: John Malalas, *Chronographia*: μετὰ οὖν χρόνους πολλοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν φοινίκην ὑποτάξαντες χώραν τὸ

ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναδειχθὲν ἐκ τῆς κογχύλης ἀληθινὸν σχῆμα βασιλικὸν ἐφόρεσαν, ὅπερ ἐκάλεσαν ῥωμαϊστὶ τόγαν· ἥντινα καὶ ὕπατοι Ῥωμαίων ἕως τῆς νῦν φοροῦσι, and ibid., Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐδωρήσατο τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσι τὴν ἰδίαν τόγαν, ἔχουσαν καὶ λίθους βασιλικούς· καὶ ἡπλώθη ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ λεγομένῃ Κασσιανοῦ (ed. L. Dindorff, CSHB [Bonn, 1831], 33, line 13; 450, line 17). Nevertheless, these occurrences are exceptional, and among the various manuscripts preserving the text of Homily 4, only the copyists of *Mosc. gr.* 215, *Paris. gr.* 1171, and *Vat. gr.* 679, correctly recognized the word as 'toga.' The remaining manuscripts variously rendered it as τῷ ἄγαν, or τὸ γὰρ, or τῷ ἄγειν, cf. above, line 49, and apparatus. For a general indication of the early decline of Latin in the East, see the remarks of Proclus' contemporary, Theodotus of Ancyra, who was constrained to explain the meaning of the Latin word *sacra* to his congregation (*ACO* I, 1, 2, p. 80, lines 1–4).

4.II, 50–51: 'Its priceless pearls are the precious prophecies of the prophets.' For a similar description of regal pomp, cf. Proclus, hom. 9.2 (*PG* 65.773C); see also chap. 6, p. 321, n. 12. On the imagery of pearls, see below, chap. 5, pp. 290–93.

4.II, 51: 'Gold, the cause of disorder.' For a rhetorical diatribe against avarice, cf. Proclus, hom. 10.2: "Brethren, nothing is worse than greed. It sets kinsmen at odds, decimates nature, inspires tyranny, razes walls, levels cities, obscures the laws of nature, above all, it removed (Judas) from the choir of the apostles, for he dared to sell the one who cannot be sold. The love of money is thus the root of all evil" (*PG* 65.777D).

4.II, 51: 'Scattering pieces of gold' (χρυσὸν σκορπίζοντα): cf. Procopius, *De bello Gothico*, 1.5: τῆς γὰρ ὑπατείας λαβὼν τὸ ἀξίωμα ⟨ὁ Βελισάριος⟩ … νόμισμα χρυσοῦ ῥίπτων ἅπασιν (ed. J. Haury, *Procopii Caesariensis, Opera Omnia*, 2 [= *De bellis libri* 5–8] [1962], 27, lines 9–24).

4.II, 58: On the image of the Virgin's womb as a textile loom, cf. above, Proclus, hom. 1.I, 21; and the discussion in chap. 6.

4.II, 58–59: 'I seem to hear nature responding instead of the Virgin.' Proclus' dialogue with the personified figure of Nature, who is questioned regarding the fabrication of human bodies, finds a parallel in Plotinus' treatise "On Nature and Contemplation" (*Ennead*, 3.8.4): "And if anyone were to ask nature to hear and answer the questioner, she would say, 'You ought not to ask, but to understand in silence, you, too,

just as I am silent and not in the habit of talking. Understand what, then? That what comes into being is what I see in my silence, an object of contemplation which comes to be naturally, and that I, originating from this sort of contemplation have a contemplative nature. And my act of contemplation makes what it contemplates, as the geometers draw their figures while they contemplate. But I do not draw, but as I contemplate, the lines which bound bodies come to be as if they fell from my contemplation'" (trans. A. H. Armstrong, *LCL* [Cambridge, Mass., 1967], 3:369–71). In his *scholion* on the 'good wife' of Proverbs, who is a fashioner of textiles and a type of the Virgin, Evagrius suggests that her spindle symbolizes the purified mind, weaving together 'virtue with virtue,' or, perhaps, a spoken word drawing out contemplation from the mind (ed. Gehin, *SC* 340 [1987], 466); cf. below, chap. 6, p. 345, n. 66.

4.III, 70–71: 'The rod of Aaron' (Num. 17.8): cf. below, Proclus, hom. 5.II, 64–65; hom. 23.19: "Stand in awe, O Jew, of the miracles which are quite beyond you. 'What miracles?' he will ask. But what is more miraculous, the rod of Aaron bearing fruit, or an unwed virgin pouring forth milk?" (ed. Martin, 48); and Ps.-Chrysostom, *In oraculum Zachariae* (= Proclus; cf. Marx, 38–39, no. 26; Leroy, 272): "Show me now a blossoming rod, like that of Aaron the highpriest, and then I shall believe that old age is able to flower with child" (*PG* 50.787C). See also the miraculous episode recorded in the *Synaxarion* notice for the Constantinopolitan St. Dios, a contemporary of Proclus. Dios is said to have planted his staff in the ground which then took root and continued to bear fruit: τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ῥάβδον, ξηρὰν οὖσαν καὶ ἄνικμον, ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου κατέπηξεν, ἥτις τῇ ἐπικλήσει τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ῥιζωθεῖσα εἰς δένδρον ἐγένετο καὶ νῦν περίεστι, παρεχομέμη τοὺς καρποὺς τελεσφόρους (*SynaxCP* 829–30).

4.III, 76–77: Throughout the Arian controversy, Ps. 2.7 was cited as a scriptural proof of the Son's divinity and timeless generation from the Father, cf. Athanasius, *ex. Ps.* (*PG* 27.67); and Cyril of Alexandria, *ex. Ps.* (*PG* 69.721). Ps. 2, moreover, was one of only four Psalms that Theodore of Mopsuestia recognized as having any Messianic import (*PG* 66.649).

4.III, 83: 'The seedless grain of wheat,' cf. Ps.-Epiphanius, *laud. Mariae*: ἡ ἀγεώργητος χῶρα, ἡ τὸν Λόγον ὡς κόκκον σίτου δεξαμένη, καὶ το δράγμα βλαστήσασα, ἡ νοερά κλίβανος, ἡ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸν ἄρτον τῆς ζωῆς ἔχουσα (*PG* 43.492D); and Leontius, hom. 14, where Christ is made to

say: κόκκος ὑπάρχω τοῦ σίτου κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως (ed. Datema and Allen, 438–39).

4.III, 85–86: 'All creation brings its gifts.' For a parallel passage, see Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 45.21 (*PG* 36.652C).

4.III, 87: Although the birth of Christ in a cave (σπήλαιον) is not mentioned in the canonical infancy narratives, it is widely attested in apocryphal works and in patristic literature, such as the *Protoevangelium Jacobi*, 18–19 (ed. Tischendorf, 33–37); and Origen, *Cels.*, 1.51 (ed. Borret, *SC* 132 [1967], 214, line 16; cf. 215, n. 3, for additional references). By the fourth century, the cave of Christ's birth in Bethlehem was a popular pilgrimage destination and the site of a major Constantinian basilica, cf. Egeria, *Peregrinatio*, 42: Fiunt autem vigiliae in ecclesia in Bethleem, in qua ecclesia spelunca est, ubi natus est Dominus (ed. P. Maraval, *SC* 296 [Paris, 1982], 246). For a liturgical transformation of the manger and cave of Christ's birth, cf. Proclus, hom. 17.1–2: "A manger (φάτνη) imitating heaven; a manger, equaling the cherubim; a manger, rivaling the ineffable throne (θρόνος); a manger, brimming with spiritual food; a manger, receiving the life of the universe; a manger, containing Him who contains all things; a manger, wider than creation; a manger, signaled by a star shining in the daylight; a manger, foreshadowing the altar (θυσιαστήριον); a manger, rendering the cave (σπήλαιον) a church. Come, therefore, and let us zealously imitate the pious Magi, conceiving the church instead of Bethlehem. Instead of the cave, let us embrace the sanctuary (ἱερατικὸν βῆμα); instead of the manger, let us worship at the altar; instead of the child, let us receive the bread that the child has blessed (διὰ τοῦ βρέφους εὐλογούμενον ἄρτον)" (*PG* 65.809BD). See also Ps.-Athanasius, *descrip. Deiparae* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, *Procliana*, 77–79, no. 86): "From henceforth let us see the place in which the Virgin gave birth as a type of the church. The altar table (θυσιαστήριον) is the manger; the celebrant (ἐφημερευτής) is Joseph; the deacons (διάκονοι) are the shepherds; the priests (ἱερεῖς) the angels; the archbishop (ἀρχιερεύς) is the Lord; his throne (θρόνος) is the Virgin; the chalices (κρατῆρες) are her breasts; the vestments (ἀναβόλαιον) are the incarnation; the ceremonial fans (ῥιπιστῆρες) are the cherubim; the paten (δίσκος) is the Holy Spirit; the veil of the paten (δισκοκάλυμμα) is the Father" (*PG* 28.953D).

HOMILY 5

ON THE HOLY VIRGIN THEOTOKOS

Introduction

The controversy concerning the 'Theotokos' did not come to an end with the ratification of that title by the Council of Ephesus in 431. On the contrary, the legitimation of the Council's work depended in part upon its successful assimilation within the liturgical and sacramental life of the Church. The Virgin's new role in the discourse of theology required similar innovations in the devotional experience of the faithful. However, the introduction of a new feast into the liturgical calendar is never an easy task. Not all will understand its purpose or be convinced of its propriety. For others, the new devotion may threaten to displace the more familiar objects to which piety has at length been pledged. Moreover, in a religion traditionally organized around a central male figure, there may be deep-rooted resistance to the declaration of a new feast unabashedly celebrating the redemptive power of the female. These and similar concerns must be conscientiously addressed by church authorities if the new celebration is to be received and accepted by the body of the faithful.

Homily 5 is the record of precisely such an argument promoting a new feast for the Virgin 'Theotokos' in fifth-century Constantinople and constitutes vital evidence for the public organization of her cult in that period. Private forms of such devotion are certainly much older than the fifth century, as evidenced in a third-century papyrus which preserves a prayer imploring the mercy and protection of the Theotokos.[1] These devotions continued to gain momentum throughout

[1] The papyrus, in fragmentary form, was acquired by the John Rylands Library in 1917, and published in 1938 by Roberts, *Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri* (1938), 3:46–47, no. 470, pl. 1. The text was subsequently identified as an early version of a well-known Byzantine hymn by Mercenier, "L'Antienne mariale" (1939). In his catalogue description, Roberts notes that the papyrus is 'probably a private copy, and there are no indications that it was intended for liturgical use.' Contrary to the advice of 'Mr. Lobel,' a papyrologist who was 'unwilling to place (the papyrus) later than the third century,' Roberts dated the fragment to the fourth century, because 'it is almost incredible that a prayer addressed directly to the Virgin in these terms could be written

the fourth century, when, for example, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzus attest to what are the earliest instances of Marian apparitions and intercession, although these accounts do not have the air of novelty or innovation.[2] At the same time, the Virgin became increasingly central as an exemplary figure in the contemporary ascetic movement, theorists of which suggested that "what happened bodily in the case of Mary occurs in every soul spiritually giving birth to Christ."[3] If one could 'become God' by grace (cf. Jn. 10.34) and give birth to Christ, then one had also become a 'Theotokos.' This was certainly the position of the empress Pulcheria, a consecrated virgin who modeled herself closely on the figure of the Virgin Mary, and who was praised by Proclus for "containing the crucified one in the bridal chamber of her soul (ἐν ψυχῇ ἐθαλάμευσεν)."[4] The escalating veneration of Mary was revolutionized by the christological controversies of the fifth century when the Council of Ephesus formally endorsed the title 'Theotokos.' In the establishment of the new feast, and in the ensuing process of conciliar reception, Homily 5 signals a decisive step forward as Proclus boldly asserts the preeminence of the Virgin over all her saintly competitors.

Composed of three ascending registers, Homily 5 begins with praises for the festivals of the saints. Like stars which shine across the earth and

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in the third century.' For opposing views on this question, cf. Giamberardini, "Sub tuum praesidium" (1969); Triacca, "Sub tuum praesidium" (1989); and Föster, "Sub tuum praesidium" (1995). See also Shoemaker, "Rethinking the Gnostic Mary" (2001), who explores, in part, the extent to which modern confessional and cultural agendas have distorted the evidence for early Christian devotion to the Virgin.

[2] See Gregory of Nyssa, *v.Greg.Thaum.*, 30–31, where, in a waking vision, the 'brightly shining,' and 'larger than life' figure of the 'mother of the Lord' (cf. Lk. 1.43) appears to the saint in the company of John the Evangelist (*PG* 46.912BC); cf. Starowieyski, "Une mariophane par Grégoire de Nysse" (1990). See also Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 24.11, where mention is made of a young virgin who beseeches the Virgin in a moment of temptation: τὴν παρθένον Μαρίαν ἱκετεύουσα βοηθῆσαι παρθένῳ κινδυνευούσῃ (ed. Mossay and Lafontaine, *SC* 284 [1981], 60, lines 1–3; cf. n. 2); cf. Söll, "Die Mariologie der Kappadozier" (1951); id., "Aspetti catechetici della mariologia dei Cappadoci" (1989).

[3] The quotation is from Gregory of Nyssa, *virg.*, 2, the full text of which reads: ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀμιάντῳ Μαρίᾳ γέγονε σωματικῶς, τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς θεότητος ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ διὰ τῆς παρθενίας ἐκλάμψαντος, τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῆς ψυχῆς κατὰ λόγον παρθενευούσης γίνεται, οὐκέτι σωματικῶς ποιουμένου τοῦ κυρίου τὴν παρουσίαν … ἀλλὰ πνευματικῶς εἰσοικιζομένου, ed. Aubineau, *SC* 119 (1966), 268, lines 18–24; cf. ibid., n. 3, where Aubineau cites a passage from Origen, frg. 281 in Mt. 12.46–50: "Every virgin and incorruptible soul, having conceived by the Holy Spirit in order to bring forth the will of the Father, is the mother of Christ." See also, Giannarelli, "Maria come *exemplum*" (1989).

[4] Hom. 12; cited below, chap. 6, p. 348, n. 77; cf. 5.II, 68, cited below on p. 247.

sea, the glory of the saints shines brilliantly throughout the world. Here the ability of light to be present to a multiplicity of objects without fragmentation or diminishment serves Proclus as an analogy for the cult of relics, the power of which is not restricted to the particular place of their burial or enclosure. The preacher asserts that these glories are nevertheless eclipsed by the present feast, and after extolling the virtues of the great seers and prophets, he subordinates them all to Mary the Theotokos, for the "one whom all the prophets beheld enigmatically in their visions, she carried incarnate in her womb."

In a second moment, the preacher responds to a series of materialistic objections concerning the incarnation, each of which is effectively neutralized through a confrontation with its reversal on a higher metaphysical plane: uterine containment by divine ubiquity; bodily defilement by the goodness of creation; birth in time by infinite existence; swaddling cloths by the bosom of the Father; and the cave of Bethlehem by the celestial throne. Summoning as witnesses the forces of nature (cf. Homily 2.II–III) and invoking the testimony of the angelic powers, Proclus returns to a metaphysically heightened version of his earlier argument concluding that "He whom all creation praises in fear and trembling she alone admitted into the bridal chamber (ἐθαλάμευσεν) of her womb."

If the illustrious men of the Bible and all the orders of angels suffer by comparison with the Theotokos, women in general tend to fare somewhat better, for on account of Mary 'all women are blessed.' In virtue of the Theotokos, women now enjoy a new status, and their Biblical sisters are praised and glorified having found their fulfillment in Mary their mother. Of course, Proclus plaits his most lavish rhetorical crown for the brow of Mary, whom he adorns with key types and images. The encomium concludes with a midrashic expansion of two Biblical verses dealing with the incarnation, Luke 1.42 and Isaiah 7.14. Each of these verses is repeated three times, and, like the marvelous fecundity of which they speak, generate an abundance of rhetorical dilations and glosses. Isaiah's prophecy, which bridges the two covenants (cf. Mt. 1.23), is especially generative, and the Hebrew name 'Emmanuel,' semantically expanded four-fold through its incarnation in Greek ('God is with us'), becomes the edge of an extensive anaphoric construction.

As indicated above, Homily 5 was delivered on the occasion of a festival in honor of the Theotokos probably on December 26. However, it is not entirely clear how Homily 5 is related to the other ser-

mons composed for the new festival, especially Homily 1, which does not seek to justify the nature and propriety of the new celebration with quite the same vigor and force. One might therefore be inclined to assign Homily 5 to an early period of Proclus' career, perhaps to the tenure of Atticus of Constantinople for whom it may have been drafted around the time of the festival's inception. (In this regard, it is worth remembering that Homily 5 was conflated with the works of Atticus.) It is more likely, however, that differences in the rhetoric and argumentation of Homilies 1 and 5 were dictated by the nature and needs of their respective audiences, and by other factors relevant to the circumstances of their deliveries. Here it should be stressed that Homily 1, delivered in the presence of Nestorius at a pivotal moment in the Theotokos controversy, is a rather unique work and perhaps should not be used to assess the contents of other works composed for the new festival. As we might expect, the discourse of Homily 5 is not without reference to the cave of Bethlehem and the birth of Christ, although to a much lesser extent than Homily 3. After the middle of the sixth century, when the new feast was removed from the Nativity cycle and relocated to 25 March, scribes were understandably uncertain about the identity of the 'present festival' celebrated by Proclus. In the great collections of patristic sermons compiled for the feasts of the church, Homily 5 is assigned either to the Annunciation or the Nativity, based, it would seem, on its repeated references to Luke and Isaiah and the themes of incarnation and virgin birth. That a single sermon could serve as a reading for these two distinctive occasions testifies to the intimate connection of the early 'Mary Festival' with the celebration of the Nativity in fifth-century Constantinople. Late witnesses assign the text to the 'Sunday before the Nativity,' a day when the Byzantine church commemorated the 'fathers and forefathers' of Christ, many of whom are memorialized in this sermon.

Manuscripts

Proclus' Homily 5 has been preserved in six manuscripts which readily divide into two groups. The first group is constituted by four manuscripts stemming closely from a tenth-century codex which attributes Homily 5 to Proclus and generally preserves the best readings. Three of the four manuscripts stemming from this tenth-century source are sixteenth-century copies that are of limited value for this edition. The

second family, consisting of only one manuscript copied in the eleventh century, attributes the homily to John Chrysostom and is also an important witness for the reconstruction of the text of Homily 5.

Group One

P = *Parisinus graecus* 1171. Tenth century, parchment 300 x 200 mm, fols. 299 (fols. 114v–117 = Homily 5). In this manuscript, as well as in its sixteenth-century copy (= **X**), Proclus' Homily 5 has been transmitted together with the text of Proclus' Homily 4, that is, the two homilies have been copied as a single continuous text without any discernable break or division between them. This accident of transmission is not noted in the standard catalogues, even though the copyist of **P**, apparently realizing the error, included a belated *incipit*, as it were, at the conclusion of Homily 5.[5]

X = *Athous Xeropotamianus* 134. Sixteenth century, paper 300 x 210 mm, fols. 228 (fols. 81–83 = Homily 5).[6] As noted above,[7] **X** is a nearly perfect copy of **P**. With respect to Homily 5, **X** differs from **P** at the following two lines: line 74 λαῶν **P** λαβών **X** || and line 85 μόνη **P** μόνης **X**.

V = *Vaticanus graecus* 679. Eleventh century, parchment 335 x 240, fols. 309 (fols. 204v–206v = Homily 5).[8]

A = *Atheniensis graecus* 327. Sixteenth century, paper 320 x 210 mm, fols. 1080 (fols. 154–157 = Homily 5). This manuscript is a *panegyricon* independent of the metaphrastic tradition, and contains readings for the entire ecclesiastical year. Proclus' Homily 5 is one of the readings assigned for the 'Sunday before the Nativity.'[9]

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[5] See above, p. 216, n. 5; Omont, *Inventaire*, 234–35 (235, no. 112 = homily 5); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1:281–4 (282, no. 19 = homily 5); and Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 82–83, who was aware of the double transmission.

[6] See above, p. 217, n. 6. The manuscript is briefly described in Lambros, *Κατάλογος*, 1:281–84 (282, no. 19 = homily 5). A complete description is available in Eudokimos, *Κατάλογος*, 56, no. 14. As noted above, these catalogues fail to note the transmission of Homily 5 together with Homily 4.

[7] See above, p. 216–17.

[8] See above, p. 216, n. 4. The manuscript is catalogued in Devreese, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, 135–39 (137, no. 14.4 = homily 5); cf. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 2:799; Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 82, 79.

[9] The manuscript has not been properly catalogued, cf. Sakkelion and Sakkelion,

B = *Atheniensis graecus* 282. Sixteenth century, paper 305 x 210 mm, fols. 552 (fols. 108–111 = Homily 5). This manuscript is a collection of fifty-one mostly post-metaphrastic homiletic and hagiographical festal texts, arranged without strict reference to any calendrical cycle. Proclus' Homily 5 is one of the readings assigned for the 'Sunday before the Nativity.'[10]

The collation of **A** and **B** reveals that **B** has been derived directly from **A**: there is nothing in the text of **A** that does not appear in **B**; with a single minor exception their elaborate *tituli* are identical; and **B** omits the following reading found in **A**: 5 ἐν οὐρανῷ. At some point after **B** was copied from **A**, **A** was 'corrected' by a later 'editor' who emended the text with numerous deletions, additions, and marginalia which he found, not in another manuscript, but in a seventeenth-century printed edition. In the space above the homily's *titulus*, the hand which corrected the text of **A** notes that: "This sermon is not by Proclus, but rather by Chrysostom; see page 236 of volume 8" (οὐχὶ τοῦ Πρόκλου ὁ παρὼν λόγος ἀλλὰ τοῦ χρυσορρήμονός ἐστιν. καὶ ὅρα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ τόμῳ φύλλ. 236), which is a reference to H. Saville, *Patris nostri Joannis Chrysostomi opera graeca*, 8 vols. (Eton, 1612–1613).

Analysis of these manuscripts reveals that the texts of **VA** (and **B**) are closely dependent on **P**. For example, **VAB** always agree with **P** against **C** (the other ancient witness for Homily 5, noted below). In terms of omissions, **VA** (and **B**) do not contain material from **C** that has been omitted by **P**: 6 ἀλλήλων – γνωρίζεται **C** om. **PVA** || 19 οὐκ **C** om. **PVA** || 22–23 ὡς υἱὸς – ἐρχόμενος **C** om. **PVA** || 24 καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν **C** om. **PVA** || 87 ἡ μόνη – πιστευθεῖσα **C** om. **PVA** || 92 ὁ προσκυνούμενος – κτίσμα **C** om. **PVA** || 100–101 μεθ' ἡμῶν – φυγαδεύονται **C** om. **PVA** || 101–102 μεθ' ἡμῶν – κατήργηται **C** om. **PVA** || 104–105 μεθ' ἡμῶν – ὕπνος **C** om. **PVA**. In addition, when the texts of **VA** disagree with readings found in **C** they do so together with the text of **P**: 4 μαρτυρίαι καὶ πανηγύρεις θαυμαστὴν μιμοῦνται λαμπρότητα τῶν ἁγίων **PVA** μαρτυρικαὶ πανηγύρεις θαυμασταὶ αἳ μιμοῦνται τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ἀστέρων τὴν μνήμην **C** || 10 οὕτω **PVA** οὕ-

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Κατάλογος τῶν Χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης (1892), 54–55; Ehrhard, ibid., 3:467–68; Leroy, ibid., 84.

[10] Sakkelion and Sakkelion, ibid., 49, describe the manuscript as a τεῦχος ἐκ χάρτου τουρκικοῦ, cf. Ehrhard, ibid., 3:855–56; Leroy, ibid., 83.

τως **C** ‖ 28 ἠνέωξεν **PVA** ἀνέωξεν **C** ‖ 41–42 τί γὰρ ἐνεπόδιζεν τῇ ἀρρήτῳ οἰκονομίᾳ; **PVA** καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνεπόδισεν τὴν ἄρρητον οἰκονομίαν **C** ‖ 42 ὄγκος ὑλικος; ἀλλ' ὄγκος καὶ πάθους **PVA** ὄγκος; ἀλλ' ὑλικὸν πάθος **C** ‖ 43 μέγεθος; **PVA** ἐλαττώματος τοιοῦτου μέγεθος; **C** ‖ 44 ἀλλ' ἥν πλάττων οὐκ ἐμολύνθη **PVA** ἀναπλάττων οὐκ ἐμόλυνεν **C** ‖ 53 ἀνθρώπους **PVA** οὐρανούς **C** ‖ 70–71 ἐν κατηγορίᾳ **PVA** ἐν κατάρᾳ **C** ‖ 80–81 ὁμολογοῦσα τὴν φύσιν **PVA** ὁμολογῶ γὰρ φύσιν **C**. The variants provided by **C** are generally minor, and in some instances clearly in error (e.g., 80–81). In the case of one variant which extends over several lines of text (41–45), a central reading provided by **PVA** (44 ἀλλ' ἥν πλάττων οὐκ ἐμολύνθη … οὐκ ἐμιάνθη **PVA** ἀναπλάττων οὐκ ἐμόλυνεν ἐν αὐτῇ **C**), finds external support in a passage from Proclus, Homily 1.III, 46: ἥν γὰρ πλάσσων οὐκ ἐμολύνθη … οὐκ ἐμιάνθη.

This analysis demonstrates that the texts of **VA** have been derived very closely from the text of **P**. There are a number of minor instances in which **VA** share readings with **C** that are not found in **P**. For example, **VA** agrees with **C** against **P** at the following lines: 13 τῶν γραφῶν **P** ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν **C** ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων **VA** ‖ 17 ἐκπλήττει **P** ἐκπλήτετται **CVA** ‖ 21 λήψεται **P** ἕξει **CVA** ‖ 25 κύριου **CVA** om. **P** ‖ 27 ἀπατήσας **P** θανατώσας **CVA**. These variants also indicate that the text of **AB** is derived more or less directly from the text of **V**: **AB** always agrees with **V** against **P** and **C**. However, **A** contains a reading from **C** that is not attested in either **P** or **V** (32–33 ὁ ἰσαάκ διὰ τύπον ἐπαινεῖται **CAB**), along with a unique reading not found in any of the extant manuscripts: 36–37: ἐλλισαῖος ὡς θεοῦ προφήτης ᾄδεται **AB**, indicating a small degree of association with the textual tradition represented in part by **C**. Again, the text of Homily 5 preserved by the first family (stemming from **P**) will be given priority over the witness of **C**.

Group Two

C = *Parisinus graecus* 1173. Eleventh century, parchment 370 x 280 mm, fols. 300 (fols. 147–148 = Homily 5). *Parisinus graecus* 1173 is an Italo-Greek *panegyricon* containing readings for the entire ecclesiastical year, beginning with the feast of the 'Nativity of the Virgin' on 8 September, and closing with the feast of the 'Beheading of the John the Baptist' on 29 August. Proclus' Homily 5, which **C** attributes to John Chrysostom, is one of the six readings for the feast of the 'Annunciation' on 25 March. **C** also contains the texts of Proclus' homilies 1, 6, 7, and

16.[11] R. Devreese has suggested that **C** is roughly contemporary with the foundation of the monastery of Grottaferrata in 1004.[12]

Although sharing broad points of agreement with the tradition represented by **P** and its copies, **C** appears to stem from a different branch of the tradition. For example, **C** is the only extant manuscript containing the text of Homily 5 which attributes the text to Chrysostom.[13] Similarly, **C** contains several significant readings unique to itself: 4 μαρτυρικαὶ πανηγύρεις θαυμασταὶ αἵ μιμοῦνται τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ἁγίων τὴν μνήμην ‖ 6 ἀλλήλων πλείονα γνωρίζονται ‖ 22–23 ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος ‖ 41 καὶ οὐδέν ‖ 53 οὐρανοὺς ‖ 65 ἡμερωθείσα ‖ 77–78 ὡς σκιρτήματα τοῦ προδρόμου διατεθείσα τῆς χάριτος ‖ 87 ἡ μόνη τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ μαργαρίτου πιστευθεῖσα ‖ 92 ὁ προσκυνούμενος οὐ τὸ κτίσμα ‖ 100–101 μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς καὶ οἱ δαίμονες φυγαδεύονται ‖ 101–102 μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ διάβολος κατήργηται ‖ 104–105 μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ θάνατος γέγονεν ὕπνος. Some of these readings are necessitated by the context of the argument and supported by the witness of the indirect tradition (including parallels in other works by Proclus) and will be placed in the text.

With respect to the first part of the Homily's *incipit*, I have adopted the reading of **PVAB**, with which **C** is at variance. The *lectio difficilior* of **PVAB** makes better sense in the context of the Homily's argument, and is supported by both of the indirect witnesses (**e** and **f**, as below). The reading provided by **C** (μαρτυρικαὶ πανηγύρεις) banalizes the more difficult reading of **PVABef** (μαρτυρίαι καὶ πανηγύρεις), and in any case makes little sense in a work that does not deal with 'martyrs' or their 'festivals.' The word μαρτυρία, on the other hand, in its singular and especially plural forms, is well attested as a term for a scriptural 'testimony' or 'proof text' (cf. Lampe, *PGL* 828, s.v., μαρτυρία, A.3), a reading which accords well with the Homily's use of scriptural passages as 'testimonies' and 'proofs' for its initial argument. Moreover, the verbal form of the noun appears in the Homily's second paragraph with the same meaning: 'Elijah is testified to (μαρτυρεῖται) on account of his zeal' (lins. 36–37). Finally, the reading of μαρτυρίαι supports the related reading of τῶν γραφῶν, attested only in **P** but supported by the indirect tradition (**e**). The reconstruction of the second part of

[11] The manuscript has been catalogued by Omont, *Inventaire*, 1:235–238, no. 11; cf. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 2:156–57; and Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 44–48.

[12] Devreese, *Manuscrits grecs*, 19, n. 9, and 28.

[13] Cf. Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum* (1965), no. 407 (= pp. 148–9).

the incipit presents additional problems that are not as easily resolved. Despite the unanimous witness of **PVABe**, the context seems to require the clause provided by **C**, for without some initial reference to the 'stars' (attested in **C**), the subsequent analogy, in which the glory of the saints is compared to the splendor of the stars, does not hold up. Thus the reading of ἀστέρων provided by **C** has been adopted instead of ἁγίων in **PVAB**.

Indirect Witnesses

e = Atticus Constantinopolitanus, *Homilia in Nativitatem*, ed. M. Brière, "Une homélie inédite d'Atticus Patriarche de Constantinople (406–425)," *ROC* 29 (1933–1934), 160–86; J. Lebon, "Discours d'Atticus de Constantinople sur la sainte Mère de Dieu," *Muséon* 46 (1933), 167–202; and F. J. Thomson, "The Slavonic Translation of the Hitherto Untraced Greek *Homilia in Nativitatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* by Atticus of Constantinople," *AB* 118 (2000), 5–36.

f = Johannes Damascenus, *Epistola de hymno trisaghio*, ed. P. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* (Berlin, 1981), 4:304–31 (= 323–24).

In 1933–1934, M. Brière and J. Lebon simultaneously published the unique text of a homily on the Nativity attributed to Atticus of Constantinople, extant only in a ninth-century Syriac *panegyricon* (= *British Museum Syr.* 308 [*Additional* 14514], fols. 80v–84v). The Syriac homily has two parts, the first of which coincides with the text of Proclus, Homily 5, minus the closing peroration on 'Emmanuel' (i.e., breaking off somewhat ironically with line 96: τὴν σχέσιν οὐκ ἐνόθευσε). The second part, confirmed by independent witnesses as a homily by Atticus, contains a significant number of parallels and allusions to the works of Proclus, and thus raises questions of authenticity and attribution. Lebon concluded that the Nativity homily was the work of 'Atticus par Proclus,' basing his arguments on internal evidence and the testimony of Socrates that Proclus served as the 'ghost-writer' for Atticus' sermons.[14] That the Syriac homily is a conflation of a homily by Atticus ('par Proclus'?) with Proclus' Homily 5 would seem to be confirmed by Cyril of Alexandria, who cites two passages from a Nativity homily by Atticus. Neither of Cyril's two excerpts appears in the first part of the

[14] Lebon, "Discours d'Atticus," 174, see above, p. 36.

Syriac version (= Proclus, Homily 5), while only one of them is found in the second part of the Syriac text.[15] The attribution of the first part of this sermon to Proclus is further confirmed by John of Damascus (above = **f**) who directly attributes the homily to: "Proclus, from his encomium on the 'Holy Theotokos,' which begins: 'All the testimonies of scripture and the festivals of the church'" (τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πρόκλου, ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκωμίου τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν θεοτόκον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ μαρτυρίαι καὶ πανηγύρεις), being the *incipit* from Proclus' Homily 5. Marcel Richard, along with several other scholars, subsequently concluded that the Syriac homily is a conflation of Proclus' Homily 5, *sublata conclusione*, with a Nativity sermon by Atticus, *sublato exordio*, and that the passage cited by John of Damascus stems from the first part of the text, while the passage attributed to Atticus by Cyril stems from the second.[16] Those conclusions have recently been confirmed by the work of Francis J. Thomson, who has discovered the original form of Atticus' Nativity sermon in two Slavonic codices of the late fourteenth century.[17] The Slavonic versions, which falsely ascribe the work to Gregory of Nyssa, contain both of the passages quoted by Cyril of Alexandria and supply two passages missing from the Syriac version. Thomson provides a critical edition and English translation of Atticus' *Homilia in Nativitatem*, and also provides a number of corrections and emendations to the translations of Lebon and Brière.

Printed Editions

Proclus' Homily 5 was first edited by H. Saville, *Patris nostri Johannis Chrysostomi opera graeca*, vol. 8 (Eton, 1612–1613). However, Saville's printed text was based solely on **C** (= *Parisinus graecus* 1173) which, as mentioned above, mistakenly attributes the text to Chrysostom, contains a number of incorrections, and assigns the homily to the feast of the Annunciation. Saville's edition is thus a printed transcription of the single manuscript available to him. Proclus' Homily 5 was edited again by Riccardi, *Procli Analecta* (Rome, 1630), 177–81 (= text), 182–203 (= notes and commentary). However, Riccardi based his edition

[15] The fragment is cited by Cyril in his *Oratio ad Arcadiam et Marinam augustas*, 11 (*ACO* I, 1, 5, p. 66, lines 21–24), and again in id., *Apologia xii capitulorum adversus Orientales*, 50 (*ACO* I, 1, 7, p. 45, lines 8–9; p. 94, lines 17–18).

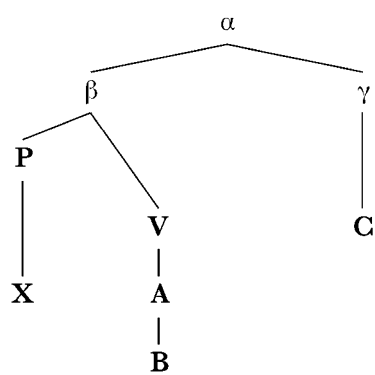
[16] Cited in Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 85; cf. Aldama, *Repertorium*, no. 407 (= pp. 148–49).

[17] In addition to the fourteenth-century codices, Thomson's edition also makes use of a number of later witnesses, discussed on pp. 9–11.

directly on **V** (= *Vaticanus graecus* 679), and indirectly on Saville's transcription of *Parisinus graecus* 1173. Saville's text of Homily 5 was reprinted in J. P. Migne, *PG* 59 (Paris, 1862), 707–10, among the spuria of John Chrysostom. The text of **C** was published again by F. Combefis, *Auctarium Novum*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1648), 340–45, and reprinted by Migne, *PG* 65 (Paris, 1864), 716–21, under the name of Proclus.

SIGLA

P	*Parisinus graecus* 1171	saec. X
V	*Vaticanus graecus* 679	saec. XI
C	*Parisinus graecus* 1173	saec. XI
X	*Athous Xeropotamianus* 134	saec. XVI
A	*Atheniensis* 327	saec. XVI
B	*Atheniensis* 282	saec. XVI
e	Atticus Constantinopolitanus	saec. V
f	Johannes Damascenus	saec. VII–VIII



Πρόκλου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον καὶ Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν

I. Πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ μαρτυρίαι καὶ πανηγύρεις θαυμαστὴν μιμοῦνται λαμπρότητα τῶν ἀστέρων. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ ἀστέρες ἐν οὐρανῷ τῇ θέσει πεπήγασιν καὶ τῇ διαστάσει ἀλλήλων πλείονα γνωρίζονται καὶ πάντα τὸν τῆς γῆς καταλάμπουσι κύκλον, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς ὁρᾶται, παρὰ Σκύθαις οὐ κρύπτεται· ἐν ἠπείρῳ ἀστράπτει καὶ θάλασσαν φωτίζει, καὶ κυβερνᾷ τοὺς πλέοντας, ὧν εἰ καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὰ ὀνόματα ἀγνοοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ κάλλος τὴν λαμπρότητα θαυμάζομεν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἕκαστος· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τάφοις τὰ λείψανα περικέκλεισται, ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν οὐ περιέγραψεν. καὶ ὅτι ἀληθὲς τὸ εἰρημένον ἔξεστίν σοι μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν. ἡ Παλαιστίνη τὸ λείψανον τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ[1] ἔχει καὶ ἡ καλύβη αὐτοῦ τῷ παραδείσῳ ἐρίζει· ὁ γὰρ ἐκεῖ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ[2] ἀποφηνάμενος Θεὸς ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἐξενοδοχήθη.[3] τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ τὰ ὀστᾶ εἷς περιπτύσσεται τάφος[4] καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας πόλεμον τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκπλήττεται πέρατα.[5] Μωϋσέως οὐδὲ εὑρίσκεται τὸ μνῆμα[6] καὶ μετὰ θάνατον κηρύττει τὸν διὰ ῥάβδου σχίσαντα τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν.[7] Ἡσαΐας οὐδέ που τέθαπται οὐκ ἴσμεν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία διὰ τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ ἐκέκραγεν· "ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν."[8] Δανιὴλ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐτάφη[9] καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς γῆς ἐκέκραγεν· "ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος."[10] οἱ περὶ Ἀνανίαν παῖδες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι

[1]cf. Gen. 49.29–33 [2]cf. Gen. 3.9, 18–20 [3]Gen. 18.1–8 [4]Jos. 24.32 [5]Gen. 39.7–18 [6]Deut. 34.6 [7]Ex. 14.16; cf. Ex. 15.1–9 [8]Is. 7.14 [9]cf. Dan. 1.1–8 [10]Dan. 7.13.

1–3 Titulus tit. dat P in fine hom. | τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ χρυσοστόμου ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον καὶ θεοτόκον μαρίαν εὐλόγησον C | om. tit. V | πρόκλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐγκώμιον λεχθὲν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον τὴν θεοτόκον τῇ κυριακῇ πρὸ τῆς χριστοῦ γεννήσεως ἐν ᾗ καὶ μνήμη τῶν ἁγίων πατριαρχῶν ἀβραὰμ ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἰακὼβ καὶ τῶν (ἁγίων add. A) τριῶν παίδων καὶ δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου πάτερ εὐλόγησον AB **4–5** μαρτυρίαι καὶ πανηγύρεις θαυμαστὴν μιμοῦνται λαμπρότητα τῶν ἁγίων PVABef μαρτυρικαὶ πανηγύρεις θαυμασταὶ αἵ μιμοῦνται τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν ἀστέρων τὴν μνήμην C **5** ἐν οὐρανῷ codd. om. B **6** ἀλλήλων – γνωρίζονται Ce om. PVAB **12** οὐρανὸν CA οὐρανὸς PV **13** γραφῶν P γραμμάτων e (cf. Lebon, 186, lin. 13, n. 1) πραγμάτων αὐτῶν C πραγμάτων VAB **14** ἐκεῖ codd. om. AB **17** ἐκπλήττεται CVA ἐκπλήττει P **19** οὐκ C om. PVAB **21** ἕξει CVA λήψεται P **22–23** ὡς – ἐρχόμενος Ce om. PVAB

Proclus of Constantinople

Homily 5

On the Holy Virgin Theotokos

I. All the testimonies of scripture and the festivals of the church imitate the marvelous splendor of the stars. For the stars are firmly established in the heavens; they are known better in relation to each other, and brilliantly shine their light upon the entire sphere of the earth. For the same star which is seen by those in India is not hidden from the sight of the Scythians; it shimmers over land, illuminates the sea, and serves as a pilot for those who sail. And even though we may not know their names on account of their numbers, we nevertheless marvel at their splendor on account of their beauty. So it is with each of the saints. For even though their relics are enclosed within tombs, their power under heaven is not restricted. And you can learn that this is true from the scriptures. Palestine contains the relics of Abraham,[1] and yet his hut rivals paradise itself. For the same God who appeared in paradise to pass a sentence on Adam,[2] was welcomed as a stranger in the tent of the patriarch.[3] A single tomb enshrines the bones of Joseph,[4] but the whole world is astounded by his struggle against the Egyptian woman.[5] The tomb of Moses is nowhere to be found,[6] and yet after his death he bears witness to the one who tore the Red Sea asunder with a rod.[7] We do not know where Isaiah is buried, and yet through his prophecy the whole church cries out: “Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb, and shall bring forth a son.”[8] Daniel is buried in Babylon,[9] and yet he cries out through all the earth: “Behold, one is coming upon the clouds of heaven as the Son of man.”[10] The children in the company of Ananias likewise fell asleep in Babylon, and yet through them the

[1]cf. Gen. 49.29–33 [2]cf. Gen. 3.9, 18–20 [3]Gen. 18.1–8 [4]Jos. 24.32 [5]Gen. 39.7–18
[6]Deut. 34.6 [7]Ex. 14.16; cf. Ex. 15.1–9 [8]Is. 7.14 [9]cf. Dan. 1.1–8 [10]Dan. 7.13

ἐκοιμήθησαν καὶ δι' αὐτῶν πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη βοᾷ· "εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον."[11] Ἰεζεκιὴλ παρὰ Πέρσαις ἐχώσθη[12] καὶ μετὰ τῶν χερουβὶμ κέκραγεν· "εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα Κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ."[13] οὕτως οὐδὲν ὠφέλησεν ὁ διάβολος ἐν παραδείσῳ τὸν Ἀδὰμ θανατώσας, ἠνέῳξεν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς δικαίοις διὰ θανάτου παρρησίας θύραν.

II. Ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι μὲν τῶν ἁγίων αἱ μνῆμαι θαυμασταί, οὐδὲν δὲ τοσοῦτον εἰς δόξαν οἷα ἡ παροῦσα πανήγυρις. ὁ Ἄβελ διὰ θυσίαν ὀνομάζεται,[14] ὁ Ἐνὼχ δι' εὐαρέστησιν μνημονεύεται,[15] ὁ Μελχισεδὲκ ὡς εἰκὼν [υἱοῦ τοῦ] Θεοῦ κηρύσσεται,[16] ὁ Ἀβραὰμ διὰ πίστιν ἐγκωμιάζεται,[17] ὁ Ἰσαὰκ διὰ τύπον ἐπαινεῖται,[18] ὁ Ἰακὼβ διὰ πάλην μακαρίζεται,[19] ὁ Ἰωσὴφ διὰ σωφροσύνην τιμᾶται,[20] ὁ Ἰὼβ δι' ὑπομονὴν μακαρίζεται,[21] Μωϋσῆς ὡς νομοθέτης εὐφημεῖται,[22] Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ ὡς στρατηγὸς μνημονεύεται,[23] Σαμψὼν ὡς συνόμιλος Θεοῦ μακαρίζεται,[24] Ἠλίας ὡς ζηλωτὴς μαρτυρεῖται,[25] Ἡσαΐας ὡς θεολόγος ἀναγράφεται, Δανιὴλ ὡς συνετὸς κηρύσσεται,[26] Ἰεζεκιὴλ ὡς θεατὴς τῶν ἀπορρήτων θαυμάζεται,[27] Δαβὶδ ὡς πατὴρ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα μυστηρίου λαλεῖται,[28] Σολομῶν ὡς σοφὸς θαυμάζεται.[29] ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον οἷον ἡ Θεοτόκος Μαρία, ὅν γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες ἐν αἰνίγμασιν εἶδον αὕτη ἐν γαστρὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐβάστασεν. τί γὰρ ἐνεπόδιζεν τὴν ἄρρητον οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου; ὄγκος ὑλικός; ἀλλ' ὄγκου καὶ πάθους ὁ Λόγος ἀλλότριος. μέγεθος; ἀλλ' ἡ θεότης οὐ περιγράφεται. μῦσος; ἀλλ' ἥν πλάττων οὐκ ἐμολύνθη ἐν ταύτῃ σαρκωθεὶς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννηθεὶς οὐκ ἐμιάνθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον δόξαν φέρει τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον. τόκος; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠλάττωσεν τόκος τὸν ἄναρχον. ἐνανθρώπησις; ἀλλὰ μεταβολὴν ἡ θεία φύσις οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν. τὸ σχεῖν κατὰ σάρκα μητέρα; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπώλεσε τὸ εἶναι ἀμήτωρ[30] κατὰ τὴν θεότητα. φάτνη;

[11]Dan. 3.58 [12]cf. Ezek. 1.1–4 [13]Ezek. 3.12 [14]Gen. 4.4; cf. Heb. 11.4 [15]Gen. 5.24; Sir. 44.16; Heb. 11.5 [16]Gen. 14.18; cf. Ps. 110.4; Heb. 5.5–6, 7.3 [17]Gen. 15.7, 22; Heb. 11.8–10, 17–20; Jas. 2.21–24 [18]Gen. 22.1–9; Heb. 11.17, 20; Jas. 2.21 [19]Gen. 32.24 [20]Gen. 39.7–18 [21]Job 1.21, 42; Jas. 5.11 [22]cf. Ex. 34.6; Sir. 45.5; Jn. 1.17 [23]Jos. 5.14; 10–11 [24]Jg. 13.24, 15.18, 16.28; Heb. 11.32 [25]3 Kg. 19.10; Sir. 48.2 [26]Dan. 1.17 [27]cf. Ezek. 1.4 [28]cf. Mt. 1.1; 9.27; 20.30; 21.9, 15; 22.42; Jn. 7.42 [29]3 Kg. 3.5–9; 2 Chron. 1.11–12; 9.13 [30]cf. Heb. 7.3

24 post βοᾷ add. καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν C **25** κυρίου codd. om. P **27–28** θανατώσας CVAB ἀπατήσας Pe **28** ἠνέῳξεν PVAB ἀνέῳξεν C **31** υἱοῦ τοῦ e (cf. Lebon, 187, lin. 17) **32–33** ὁ ἰσαάκ – ἐπαινεῖται CABe om. PV **33** ὁ ἰακὼβ – μακαρίζεται codd. om. AB **36–37** post μαρτυρεῖται add. ἐλλισαῖος ὡς θεοῦ προφήτης ᾄδεται AB **40** μαρία CAB μαριάμ PV **41** τί γὰρ PVAB καὶ οὐδὲν C **41–42** ἐνεπόδιζεν PVAB ἐνεπόδισεν C **42** τὴν οἰκονομίαν C τῇ ἀρρήτῳ οἰκονομίᾳ PVAB | ὄγκος ὑλικός; PVAB ὄγκος; ἀλλ' ὑλικὸν πάθος C **43** μέγεθος; PVAB ἐλαττώματος τοιοῦτου μέγεθος; C **44** ἀλλ' – ἐν ταύτῃ PVABe ἀναπλάττων οὐκ ἐμόλυνεν ἐν αὐτῇ C **45** γεννηθεὶς codd. om. C **46–47** ἐνανθρώπησις; PVABe τόκῳ ἡ ἐνανθρώπησις; C **47** το σχεῖν PAB ἔχει C τὸ ἔχειν V **48** ἀμήτωρ – θεότητα PV κατὰ θεότητα ἀμήτωρ C ἀπάτωρ κατὰ θεότητα AB

whole world shouts out loudly: "O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord."[11] Ezekiel is buried in Persia,[12] and together with the cherubim he cries out: "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place."[13] The devil, therefore, gained nothing by putting Adam to death in paradise, for through death, God opened up to the righteous the gate of confidence.

II. But even though all the commemorations of the saints are marvelous, none of them can compare to the glory of the present festival. Abel is commemorated on account of his sacrifice.[14] Enoch is remembered as well-pleasing (to God).[15] Melchisedek is proclaimed as the image of [the Son of] God.[16] Abraham is extolled on account of his faith.[17] Isaac is praised as a type (of Christ).[18] Jacob is called blessed on account of his wrestling.[19] Joseph is honored on account of his chastity.[20] Job is called blessed on account of his patient endurance.[21] Moses is acclaimed as the giver of the law.[22] Joshua the son of Nun is commemorated as a general.[23] Sampson is blessed as one who spoke intimately with God.[24] Elijah is testified on account of his zeal.[25] Isaiah has been reckoned a theologian. Daniel is proclaimed for his understanding.[26] Ezekiel is admired as a seer of ineffable mysteries.[27] David is heralded as the father of the mystery (of the incarnation) according to the flesh.[28] And Solomon is admired for his wisdom.[29] But there is nothing as exalted as Mary the Theotokos, for the (same) one whom all (the prophets) beheld enigmatically in their visions, she carried incarnate in her womb. For what could possibly have hindered the unspeakable dispensation of the Word of God? The swelling of pregnancy and the physical changes of the body? But the Word is a stranger to swelling and changing. Confinement (within the womb)? But the divinity is uncircumscribable. The defilement (of the body)? But in what he created without pollution he became flesh, and from there he was born without defilement; indeed, such love resounds to the glory of the King. Childbirth? But childbirth did not diminish the One who is without beginning. His becoming man? But the divine nature did not undergo any change. His having a mother according to the flesh? But he did not cease being motherless[30]

[11]Dan. 3.58 [12]cf. Ezek. 1.1–4 [13]Ezek. 3.12 [14]Gen. 4.4; cf. Heb. 11.4 [15]Gen. 5.24; Sir. 44.16; Heb. 11.5 [16]Gen. 14.18; cf. Ps. 110.4; Heb. 5.5–6, 7.3 [17]Gen. 15.7, 22; Heb. 11.8–10; Jas. 2.21–24 [18]Gen. 22.1–9; Heb. 11.17, 20; Jas. 2.21 [19]Gen. 32.24 [20]Gen. 39.7–18 [21]Job 1.21, 42; Jas. 5.11 [22]cf. Ex. 34.6; Sir. 45.5; Jn. 1.17 [23]Jos. 5.14; 10–11 [24]Jg. 13.24, 15.18, 16.28; Heb. 11.32 [25]3 Kg. 19.10; Sir. 48.2 [26]Dan. 1.17 [27]cf. Ezek. 1.4 [28]cf. Mt. 1.1; 9.27; 20.30; 21.9, 15; 22.42; Jn. 7.42 [29]3 Kg. 3.5–9; 2 Chron. 1.11–12; 9.13 [30]cf. Heb. 7.3

ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἐγυμνώθη κόλπων.[31] σπήλαιον; ἀλλ’ οὐδέποτε τῷ θρόνῳ ἡ Τριὰς ἐνέλειψεν. οὐδὲν τοίνυν ἐν βίῳ οἷον ἡ Θεοτόκος Μαρία. περίελθε δή, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ βλέπε εἰ ἔστιν ἴσον ἢ μεῖζον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ Θεοτόκου παρθένου. περινόστησον τὴν γῆν, περίβλεψαι τὴν θάλασσαν, πολυπραγμόνησον τὸν ἀέρα, τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐρεύνησον, τὰς ἀοράτους πάσας δυνάμεις ἐνθυμήθητι καὶ βλέπε εἰ ἔστιν ἄλλο τοιοῦτον θαῦμα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει· “οὐρανοὶ μὲν γὰρ δόξαν διηγοῦνται Θεοῦ,”[32] ἄγγελοι δὲ λειτουργοῦσιν μετὰ φόβου, ἀρχάγγελοι προσκυνοῦσι μετὰ τρόμου, τὰ χερουβὶμ μὴ φέροντα φρίττει, τὰ σεραφὶμ οὐ πλησιάζουσι περιϊπτάμενα κεκράγασι δὲ τρόμῳ· “ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος Κύριος σαβαὼθ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ.”[33] ἡ λίμνη τὸ ἦχος οὐκ ἤνεγκεν,[34] αἱ νεφέλαι τῆς ἀναλήψεως τρόμῳ γεγόνασιν ὄχημα,[35] ὁ ἥλιος τὴν ὕβριν μὴ φέρων ἔφριξεν,[36] ὁ ᾅδης τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν φόβῳ ἐξέμεσεν, πυλωροὶ δὲ ᾅδου εἰδόντες ἔφριξαν, τὸ ὄρος τὴν ἐπίβασιν δεξάμενον ἐκαπνίσθη,[37] ἡ βάτος μὴ ἐνέγκασα τὴν ὀπτασίαν ἐφλέγετο,[38] ὁ Ἰορδάνης φρίξας ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω,[39] ἡ θάλασσα φοβηθεῖσα τὴν ῥάβδον ἐσχίσθη διὰ τὸν δεσποτικὸν τύπον καὶ πάλιν ἡμερώθη,[40] ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν διὰ τὴν εἰκόνα παρὰ φύσιν ἤνθησεν,[41] τὸ πῦρ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Τριάδος ἀριθμὸν ᾐδέσθη.[42] ἀρίθμησον τοίνυν τὰ παράδοξα καὶ θαύμασον τῆς παρθένου τὴν νίκην, ὅτι ὅν πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ ὕμνησεν αὕτη μόνη ἀνερμηνεύτως ἐθαλάμευσεν.

III. Μακαρίαι δι’ αὐτὴν πᾶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες. οὐκ ἔτι τὸ θῆλυ ἐν κατηγορίᾳ· ἔσχεν γὰρ τὸ γένος ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ ἀγγέλους νικήσει εἰς δόξαν. τεθεράπευται ἡ Εὔα,[43] σεσίγηται ἡ Αἰγυπτία,[44] τέθαπται ἡ Δαλιδάς,[45] λεληθάργηται ἡ Ἰεζάβελ,[46] ἀμνημονεῖται καὶ Ἡρωδιάς.[47] καὶ νῦν θαυμάζεται τῶν γυναικῶν ὁ κατάλογος. εὐφημεῖται Σάρρα ὡς λαῶν ἄρουρα,[48] τιμᾶται Ῥεβέκκα ὡς εὐλογιῶν πανοῦργος πρόξενος,[49] θαυμάζεται καὶ ἡ Λία ὡς μήτηρ τοῦ

[31]cf. Jn. 1.18 [32]Ps. 18.1 [33]Is. 6.3 [34]Lk. 8.22–25 [35]Acts 1.9 [36]Lk. 23.45; Mt. 27.45 [37]Ex. 19.18 [38]Ex. 3.2 [39]Ps. 113.3, 5; cf. Mt. 3.13; Mk. 1.9; Lk. 3.21; Jn. 1.29 [40]Ex. 14.16, 21 [41]Num. 17.8 [42]Dan. 3.23 [43]Gen. 3.17 [44]Gen. 39.7–18 [45]cf. Jg. 16.4–22 [46]3 Kg. 16.31; 18.4 [47]Mk. 6.14–29 [48]cf. Gen. 17.15–20 [49]cf. Gen. 27.6–17

49 ἐγυμνώθη codd. ἐγύμνωσε C **53** οὐρανοὺς C ἀνθρώπους PVAB **54** πάσας codd. om. V **56** θεοῦ CABe om. PV **57** φρίττει PVC φρίττουσι AB **58** κεκγράγασι codd. κέκραγον C **59** σαβαὼθ codd. om. VAB **60** τρόμῳ codd. om. P **61** ἔφριξαν P ἔπτηξαν CVAB **65** ἡμερώθη codd. ἡμερωθεῖσα C **68** φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ om. V **69** μόνη om. AB **70** οὐκ ἔτι CAB οὐκ ἔστι PV **70–71** κατηγορίᾳ PVAB κατάρᾳ C **71** post δόξαν add. θεοῦ A **72** σεσίγηται codd. τεσίγηται AB | δαλιδάς codd. δαλιδά P **73** ἀμνημονεῖται PC μνημονεύεται V οὐ μνημονεύεται AB **74** λαῶν codd. om. AB **75** μήτηρ codd. πατὴρ C

according to his divinity. Lying (swaddled) in a manger? But he was not stripped of the bosom of the Father.[31] (His presence in) the cave? But the Trinity was never absent from its throne. Thus there is nothing in all the world like Mary the Theotokos. Traverse all creation in reflection, O man, and try to see if there is anything greater or even equal to the Holy Virgin Theotokos. Go round the earth and come back; scan the seas; examine the air; scrutinize the heavens with your mind; consider carefully all the invisible (angelic) powers, and see if there is anything so marvelous in all creation. For the "heavens declare the glory of God";[32] the angels perform their duties in fear; archangels tremble as they worship; the cherubim shudder unable to endure; the seraphim, borne about on their wings, are unable to draw near and cry out in terror, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of his praises."[33] The sea could not endure the sound (of his voice);[34] the clouds in terror became a vehicle for his Ascension;[35] the sun shuddered unable to endure his maltreatment (on the cross);[36] Hades in fear vomited forth its dead; the gatekeepers of Hades trembled when they saw him; the Mount fumed with smoke at the presence of his approach;[37] the bush burst into flames unable to withstand the sight of him;[38] the Jordan shivered and turned back;[39] the (Red) Sea, dreading the rod as a sign of the Lord, was rent asunder and again grew calm;[40] the rod of Aaron on account of the image (of the incarnation) blossomed contrary to the laws of nature;[41] the fire in Babylon stood in awe before the number of the Trinity.[42] Count up the miracles, and marvel at the victory of the Virgin, for he whom all creation praises in fear and trembling she alone admitted ineffably into the bridal chamber of her womb.

III. On account of Mary all women are blessed. No longer does the female stand accused, for it has produced an offspring which surpasses even the angels in glory. Eve is fully healed;[43] the Egyptian woman has fallen silent;[44] Delilah is wrapped tightly in a shroud;[45] Jezebel has fallen into oblivion;[46] and Herodias has been stricken from memory.[47] And now the assembly of women is admired: Sarah is praised as the fertile seedbeed of nations;[48] Rebeccah is honored as a shrewd purveyor of blessings;[49] Leah also is admired as the mother of the

[31]cf. Jn. 1.18 [32]Ps. 18.1 [33]Is. 6.3 [34]cf. Lk. 8.22–25 [35]Acts 1.9 [36]cf. Lk. 23.45; Mt. 27.45 [37]Ex. 19.18 [38]Ex. 3.2 [39]Ps. 113.3, 5; cf. Mt. 3.13; Mk. 1.9; Lk. 3.21; Jn. 1.29 [40]Ex. 14.16, 21 [41]Num. 17.8 [42]Dan. 3.23 [43]cf. Gen. 3.17 [44]cf. Gen. 39.7–18 [45]cf. Jg. 16.4–22 [46]cf. 3 Kg. 16.31; 18.4 [47]Mk. 6.14–29 [48]cf. Gen. 17.15–20 [49]cf. Gen. 27.6–17

κατὰ σάρκα προγόνου,[50] ἐπαινεῖται Δεββῶρα ὡς ὑπὲρ φύσιν στρατηγήσασα,[51] μακαρίζεται καὶ ἡ Ἐλισάβετ ὡς σκιρτήματα τοῦ προδρόμου τῆς χάριτος κυοφορήσασα.[52] προσκυνεῖται καὶ ἡ Μαρία ὅτι γέγονε μήτηρ καὶ δούλη[53] καὶ νεφέλη[54] καὶ θάλαμος καὶ κιβωτὸς[55] τοῦ δεσπότου. μήτηρ· ἔτεκεν γὰρ τὸν βουληθέντα τεχθῆναι. δούλη· ὁμολογοῦσα τὴν φύσιν καὶ κηρύττουσα τὴν χάριν. νεφέλη· ἐκ πνεύματος γὰρ συνέλαβεν ἁγίου[56] ὅν ἀπαθῶς ἔτεκεν. θάλαμος· ὡς ἐν νυμφῶνι γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος τὸ μυστήριον ἐν αὐτῇ κατεσκήνωσεν.[57] κιβωτός· οὐ τὸν νόμον βαστάσασα ἀλλὰ τὸν νομοθέτην κυοφορήσασα, δι' ὅπερ εἴπωμεν πρὸς αὐτήν· "εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν."[58] ἡ μόνη τῆς Εὔας θεραπεύσασα τὴν λύπην,[59] ἡ μόνη τὰ τῆς στεναζούσης ἀπομάξασα δάκρυα,[60] ἡ μόνη τὸ κοσμικὸν βαστάσασα λύτρον, ἡ μόνη τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ μαργαρίτου πιστευθεῖσα,[61] ἡ μόνη ἄνευ ἡδονῆς ὀγκωθεῖσα καὶ ἄνευ πάθους τεκοῦσα, ἡ μόνη τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ ὡς ἠθέλησεν αὐτὸς γεννήσασα. "εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξὶν καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου."[62] ὁ καρπὸς οὐχ ὁ σπόρος, τὸ ἄνθος οὐ τὸ πάθος, τὸ ἀπαύγασμα[63] οὐ τὸ κτίσμα, ὁ σύνθρονος οὐχ ὁ δοῦλος, ὁ ἥλιος οὐχ ἡ ψάμμος, [ὁ προσκυνούμενος οὐ τὸ κτίσμα,] τὸ λύτρον[64] οὐχ ὁ ὑπόχρεος. "εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξὶ καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου."[65] ἀντὶ πάντων εἰς εὐφημίαν ἀρκεῖ σοι ὁ προφήτης βοῶν· "ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει"·[66] εἶπεν τὸ θαῦμα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐσίγησεν. "καὶ τέξεται υἱόν"· ἐκήρυξε τὴν ὠδῖνα καὶ τὴν σχέσιν οὐκ ἐνόθευσε. "καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ"· εἶπεν τὸ μυστήριον καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν ἐβρόντησεν. "ὅ ἔστι μεθερμηνευόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός."[67] τὸν τεχθέντα Θεὸν ἐκήρυξεν καὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀπέρραψεν στόματα. "μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς" και ἐσβέσθη ἡ πλάνη· "μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς" καὶ περιτομὴ κατηργήθη· "μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς" καὶ οἱ δαίμονες φυγαδεύονται· ["μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς" καὶ ὁ διάβολος κατήργηται·] "μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς" καὶ ἡ κολυμβήθρα τίκτουσα οὐ κάμνει· "μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς" καὶ βασιλεῖς εὐσεβοῦσιν· "μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς"

[50]Gen. 29.35; cf. Lk. 3.30 [51]Jg. 4.4–14 [52]Lk. 1.44 [53]Lk. 1.38 [54]cf. Is. 19.1 [55]cf. Ex. 25.10 [56]cf. Lk. 1.35 [57]cf. Jn. 1.14 [58]Lk. 1.42 [59]cf. Gen. 3.17 [60]cf. Gen. 3.17 [61]cf. Mt. 13.44–46 [62]Lk. 1.42 [63]cf. Heb. 1.3 [64]Mt. 20.28 [65]Lk. 1.38 [66]Is. 7.14 [67]Is. 7.14; Mt. 1.23

77–78 σκιρτήματα – κυοφορήσασα PAB τῆς χάριτος om. V σκίρτημα τοῦ προδρόμου διατεθεῖσα τῆς χάριτος C **79** νεφέλη codd. om. AB **80–81** ὁμολογοῦσα – χάριν PVAB ὁμολογῶ γὰρ φύσιν καὶ κηρύττω τὴν χάριν C **82–83** τὸ μυστήριον codd. om. C **83** ἐν αὐτῇ codd. om. V **83–84** ἀλλὰ – κυοφορήσασα codd. om. AB **87** ἡ – πιστευθεῖσα Ce om. PVAB **92** ὁ προσκυνούμενος – κτίσμα C om. PVABe **95** τὸν τρόπον codd. om. AB **96** καὶ – ἐνόθευσε codd. om. V **99** ἀπέρραψεν PVAB ἐφίμωσεν C **99–100** μεθ' – ἡ πλάνη PC om. VAB **100** μεθ' – κατηργήθη codd. om. AB **100–101** μεθ' – φυγαδεύονται C om. PVAB **101–102** μεθ' – κατήργηται C om. PVAB **102–103** μεθ' – κάμνει codd. om. AB

ancestor (of Christ) according to the flesh;[50] Deborah is praised because she overcame nature and fought as a leader in combat;[51] Elizabeth is also called blessed because she conceived in her womb the leapings of the Forerunner of grace;[52] and Mary is venerated for she became a mother, a servant,[53] a cloud,[54] a bridal chamber, and the ark of the Lord.[55] A mother, for she gave birth to the one who willed to be born. A servant, confessing her nature and proclaiming the grace. A cloud, for by the Holy Spirit she conceived[56] him to whom she gave birth without pain. A bridal chamber, for the Word of God pitched the tent[57] of the mystery (of the incarnation) in her as in a wedding hall. An ark, containing not the Law, but bearing in her womb the Giver of the Law. Because of this, let us say to her: "Blessed are you among women."[58] You, who alone healed the pain of Eve.[59] You, who alone wiped away the tears of her who was groaning.[60] You, who alone bore the redemption of the world. You, who alone were entrusted with the treasury of the pearl.[61] You, who alone conceived without pleasure and gave birth without pain. You, who alone brought forth Emmanuel, as he himself desired. "Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb."[62] The fruit, not the seed. The flower, not the passion. The radiance (of God),[63] not a creature. The one who sits on the throne (with the Father), not a slave. The sun, not the sand. [The one who receives worship, not a creature.] The ransom,[64] not the debtor. "Blessed are you among women and blessed is the fruit of your womb."[65] In place of all, the prophet alone suffices to praise you, crying out: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb":[66] he uttered the miracle, but kept silent as to how it came about. "And shall bear a son": he proclaimed the birth, but did not adulterate the relation. "And they shall call his name Emmanuel": he uttered the mystery and thundered forth the name, "which means: God is with us."[67] He declared that the one who was born is God, and thereby stopped the mouths of the Jews. "God is with us," and error is extinguished. "God is with us," and circumcision is abolished. "God is with us," and the demons are put to flight. ["God is with us," and the devil is defeated.] "God is with us," and the baptismal font gives birth without tiring. "God is with us," and kings become pious. "God is with us," and the churches are filled with

[50]Gen. 29.35; cf. Lk. 3.30 [51]cf. Jg. 4.4–14 [52]Lk. 1.44 [53]Lk. 1.38 [54]cf. Is. 19.1 [55]cf. Ex. 25.10 [56]cf. Lk. 1.35 [57]cf. Jn. 14 [58]Lk. 1.42 [59]cf. Gen. 3.17 [60]cf. Gen. 3.17 [61]cf. Mt. 13.44–46 [62]Lk. 1.42 [63]Heb. 1.3 [64]Mt. 20.28 [65]Lk. 1.38 [66]Is. 7.14 [67]Is. 7.14; Mt. 1.23

καὶ ἐκκλησίαι στενοχωροῦνται· [“μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς” καὶ ὁ θάνατος γέγονεν ὕπνος·] “μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς” καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν σκιρτῶντες βοῶσιν· “οὐκ ἄγγελος, οὐ πρέσβυς, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἦλθεν καὶ ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς.”[68] αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

[68]Is. 63.9; cf. Heb. 1–2

104–105 μεθ’ – ὕπνος C om. PVAB **107** post δόξα add. καὶ τὸ κράτος AB | ἀμήν codd. om. C | post ἀμήν add. πρόκλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτὴν ⟨τοῦ χριστοῦ γέννησιν⟩ P

crowds. ["God is with us," and death becomes but sleep.] "God is with us," and the dead, leaping up in freedom, cry out: "Not a messenger, nor a minister, but God himself came and saved us."[68] To him be glory unto the ages of ages. Amen.

[68] cf. Is. 63.9; Heb. 1–2

HOMILY 5

NOTES AND COMMENTARY

5.I, 4; cf. 5.II, 29–30: Proclus' prologue, and the beginning of 5.II, served as the model for Hesychius of Jerusalem, *In s. Mariam Dei genitricem*, 1: πᾶσα μὲν μνήμη δικαίων πανεύφημος καὶ πᾶσα πανήγυρις θεοφίλων εὐκλεής, πάντες ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἠρίστευσαν … ἡ δὲ παροῦσα νῦν ἡμέρα τῆς ἑορτῆς ὑπερένδοξος· παρθένου γὰρ περιέχει πανήγυριν, ἥτις τοσοῦτον ὑπερέβαλε πάσας ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ἐθελοντὶ ὑποδέξασθαι χωρηθέντα παρ' αὐτῆς ἀστενοχωρήτως (ed. Aubineau, 194, lines 1–8; cf. ibid., 181–89 for the dating and context of this sermon, and 145–47 for Hesychius' dependence on Proclus). See also, Basil of Seleucia, hom. 39, *annunt.*, 5 (attributed to Proclus by Marx, *Procliana*, 84–89, no. 85): "What shall we say about the Theotokos? For she outshines all of the martyrs as the sun outshines the stars" (*PG* 85.441C).

5.I, 7–8: 'The same star is seen by those in India [and] not hidden from the sight of the Scythians,' cf. Ps.-Chrysostom, *Thom.* (cited below, 5.I, 11–12); Basil, *hex.*, 6.9: "In whatever part of the heaven they (i.e., the sun and the moon) may be, whether rising, or setting, or in mid-heaven, they appear always the same in the eyes of men, for the whole extent of heaven cannot make them appear greater in one place and smaller in another. There is no one who can be nearer or more distant from the sun. All the inhabitants of the earth see it at the same distance. Indians and Britons see it of the same size (καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Βρεττανοὶ τὸν ἴσον βλέπουσιν). The people of the East do no see it decrease in magnitude when it sets; those of the West do not find it smaller when it rises" (ed. Giet, 370–72). For fifth-century Constantinople, the *Chronicon paschale* notes that in 422, 'a star appeared in the heavens (over the capital) shining forth a great ray of light for ten nights' (*PG* 92.797AB). For a general introduction to Byzantine astronomy, see Tihon, "L'astronomie byzantine" (1981).

5.I, 8–9: 'Serves as a pilot for those at sea.' For similar imagery, cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *v.Mos.*, 11: "Just as at sea those who are carried away from the harbor bring themselves back on course by a clear sign, upon seeing a beacon of light raised up high or some mountain peak coming

into view, in the same way scripture, by the example of Abraham and Sarah, may guide again to the harbor of the divine will those adrift on the sea of life with a pilotless mind" (ed. Musurillo, *GNO* 7.1 [1964], 5, lines 10–16); id., *Cant.* 13: "The establishment of the church is the creation of a new universe, with new lights, for Christ said 'you are the light of the world' (Mt. 5.14), and thus many stars rise in the firmament of faith" (ed. Langerbeck, *GNO* [1960], 385–86); and id., *quad. mart.*, II.3 (*PG* 46.761B); Ps.-Chrysostom, *De Joseph et de castitate*: "Those in great danger at sea, for whom neither rock, nor land, nor mountain, nor summit can be found to indicate the direction of dry land, set their sights on certain stars, and, steering the ship accordingly, avoid shipwreck. The disciples of the church, who find themselves adrift in the sea of this life, do not set their sights on the stars, but focus the eye of their mind on their fathers, and, diligently following their footsteps, arrive at the very harbor of the kingdom" (*PG* 56.587), and the nearly identical passage in Basil of Seleucia, *Or.* 8 (*PG* 85.112). See also the astral images of Chrysostom, *in Heb.* 13.5 (*PG* 63.109); *neoph.* (ed. A. Wenger, *SC* 50 [Paris, 1957], 7.23); *In principium actorum*, 1.5 (*PG* 51.75); and Ps.-Macarius, hom. 1 (*PG* 34.452D).

5.I, 11–12: 'Relics.' This passage appears to respond obliquely to doubts or criticisms regarding the cult of saints and relics; cf. Theodoret, *curat.*, 8: "The noble souls of the victorious (martyrs) traverse the heavens, while their bodies are not obscured by their tombs, but (their relics) are disbursed throughout cities and towns, and they are called doctors and saviors of souls and bodies, and are honored as protectors and guardians … and though their relics be divided, their grace is not divided, and the smallest of relics is equal in power to the whole martyr" (*PG* 83.1012BC); Basil of Seleucia, hom. 39 *annunt.* (attributed to Proclus, cf. 5.I, 4): "What wonder is it if the saints, who wrought (miracles) while they were alive, should not, after their death, have their power buried in the earth, for even though stones conceal their bodies, they are able to rescue those in danger" (*PG* 85.449); and Ps.-Chrysostom, *Thom.*: "Nothing is able to conceal him (i.e., Thomas), and he is absent from no place. He has illuminated the entire earth; he was buried in a tomb, but rises everywhere like the sun; the relics of this righteous man have conquered the world, and have appeared as more expansive than creation itself. What then shall I call him? A star? But the light of day cannot obscure him, for at all times he shines on creation, dispersing the gloom of the world" (*PG* 59.498). See also the

comments of Schatkin, *Saint John Chrysostom* (1985), 37–44; and Constas, "Apology for the Cult of Saints" (2002).

5.I, 13f.: The following catalogue of Old Testament prophets and their burial places bears comparison with Ps.-Epiphanius, *De prophetis, eorumque obitu ac sepultura* (*PG* 43.303–414); as well as id., *Liber de vitis prophetarum* (*PG* 43.415–28). These collections of traditional and legendary material probably stem from Jewish sources, perhaps similar to the 'Praise of the Fathers' in Sirach 44.1–51, which were redacted by Christian editors in the third and fourth centuries. For a study of this question, see Satran, *Biblical Prophets* (1995), who also provides a translation (pp. 121–28) of the 'Lives of the Prophets,' a kind of *synaxarion* providing information about the lives, deaths, and burial places of twenty-three prophets. See also Schwemer, *Vitae Prophetarum* (1995).

5.I, 13: 'The relics of Abraham.' The pilgrim Egeria mentions her visit to a 'memoriam sancti Abrahae,' *Peregrinatio*, 20 (ed. P. Maraval, *SC* 296 [Paris, 1986], 216), but Gingras, *Egeria* (1970), 82, n. 225, suggests that this word does not refer to a tomb or a grave, as it does elsewhere in the *Peregrinatio*, but to a church or shrine.

5.I, 14: 'Abraham's hut,' cf. Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.* (= Proclus; cf. Marx, 39–40, no. 27; Leroy, 272): "(Gabriel asks Christ): Heaven and earth cannot contain you, and how shall you be contained by the Virgin's womb? And the Lord replies: 'How did the tent (σκηνή) of Abraham contain me?' And the angel said: 'Because it was an ocean of hospitality'" (*PG* 50.794D).

5.1, 16: 'The bones of Joseph.' According to the *Chronicon paschale*, the relics of the Old Testament patriarch Joseph were brought to Constantinople on 4 September 415, where they were received upon their arrival from Chalcedon by the senate, headed by the city prefect Ursus (*PG* 92.788B); cf. below, 5.II, 33–34. On 19 May 406, the remains of the prophet Samuel had similarly been conveyed to the capital (ibid., 785A).

5.I, 16–17: On the translation of 'Egyptian woman,' see Lebon, "Discours d'Atticus," 187, n. 6.

5.I, 17–18: 'Tomb of Moses.' Egeria reports that she was shown the grave of Moses on Mt. Nebo, *Peregrinatio*, 12 (ed. Maraval, 172–74), on which see Saller, *Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo* (1941). Unaware of

such a monument is Gregory of Nyssa, *laud. Basilii*: οὔτε γὰρ Μωϋσέως τάφος εὑρίσκεται … ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας (*PG* 46.813A).

5.I, 19–20: On the burial place of Isaiah, see F.-M. Abel, "Le Tombeau d'Isaïe," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 2 (1922), 25–33.

5.I, 21: 'Daniel is buried in Babylon.' According to Eusebius, *v.Const.*, 3.49 (*PG* 20.1109AB), there was a bronze statue of Daniel and the lions displayed in one of the forums of Constantinople.

5.II, 30f.: Encomiastic litanies of Old Testament figures, identified by specific attributes and virtues, is a common feature of patristic sermons. See, for example, Gregory Nazianzus, *De pauperum amore*, 2–5 (*PG* 36.860–61), where nine Old Testament, and six New Testament figures are grouped under various virtues, such as faith, hospitality, etc., as they are in his *Or.* 28.18–20 (ed. Gallay, *SC* 250 [1978], 136–40), which features nine figures from the Old Testament and three from the New Testament; cf. below, 5.II, 40. A similar pattern can be found in Basil of Seleucia, *Or.* 8 (*PG* 85.113AB). In the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, a catalogue of such figures is included in the eucharistic anaphora (ed. Metzger, *SC* 336 [1987], 3.7, 37–38; 8.12, 20). On the possible connection between these literary 'processions of prophets' and the Byzantine religious theater, see La Piana, "Byzantine Theater" (1936), 182.

5.II, 31: The Syriac version of Homily 5 reads: 'Melchisedek is honored as an image of *the Son of* God,' cf. Lebon, "Discours d'Atticus," 187, line 17. On 'Melchisedek,' see the treatise of Proclus' contemporary Mark the Monk, *De Melchisedech* (*PG* 65.1117–40), written to refute the notion that Melchisedek was an incarnation of the Word of God; cf. Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition* (1976).

5.II, 33–34: 'Joseph is honored on account of his chastity.' Cf. Basil, ep. 2.3: "The lover of chastity has frequent recourse to the story of Joseph, learning chastity from him, and finding him not simply restrained with respect to pleasure, but well disposed toward virtue" (ed. Courtonne, 1:9). Basil's sentiments were given dramatic rhetorical treatment by Gregory Nyssa, *Contra fornicarios* (ed. Gebhardt, *GNO* 9.1 [1967], 214–16); cf. Hollander, *Joseph as an Ethical Model* (1981); and Argyle, "Joseph in Patristic Teaching" (1955–1956).

5.II, 36–37: After the phrase, 'Elijah is testified on account of his zeal,' the sixteenth-century Athenian manuscripts add: 'Elisha is celebrated

as a prophet of God,' see the apparatus above. For a study of these two figures in early Christian literature, see Poirot, *Élie et Élisée* (1997).

5.II, 37: 'Isaiah has been reckoned a theologian.' For Proclus, Isaiah's standing as a 'theologian' rests on his celebrated prophecy of the incarnation (Is. 7.14, cited in Mt. 1.23), a verse which Proclus invokes repeatedly. See, also, Cyril of Jerusalem, *Or. cat.*, 23: "We commemorate the seraphim that Isaiah saw soaring aloft and crying, 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' and this is why we recite the 'theology' given to us from the seraphim" (διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν σεραφεὶμ θεολογίαν λέγομεν) (*PG* 33.1113B). More generally, Isaiah was the 'great prophet' and his book was held to contain an abundance of christological prophecies; cf. Bundy, "Isaiah 53 in East and West" (1982). Pulcheria is said to have constructed a church in honor of the prophet Isaiah sometime after her marriage to Marcian in 450 (Janin, *Églises*, 139).

5.II, 40: 'There is nothing in the world like Mary the Theotokos,' cf. Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Christi natalem diem* (= Proclus; cf. Marx, 30–31, no. 18; Leroy, 272): χωρὶς Θεοῦ μόνον, πάντων ἀνωτέρα ὑπάρχεις (*PG* 61.737CD). This passage follows the rhetorical form of a *synkrisis* (or 'comparison'); cf., for example, Athanasius, *inc.*, 35–37 (ed. Kannengiesser, *SC* 199 [1973], 388–98), who sixty-three times cites the names of Old Testament figures in order to demonstrate that Christ surpassed them all; and Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.70–74 (ed. Bernardi, *SC* 384 [1992], 282–92, cf. 282, n. 1), where Basil himself is said to have surpassed the righteous figures of the Old Testament. See also Epiphanius, *pan.*, 79.5.2: "Like the bodies of the saints, Mary has been held in honor (ἐν τιμῇ τετιμημένη) for her character and understanding (γνώμην καὶ αἴσθησιν) … She is like Elijah, who was virgin from his mother's womb, always remained so, and was taken up, but did not see death. She is like John who leaned on the Lord's breast, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' (Jn. 13.23). She is like St. Thecla; and yet Mary is still more honored (τιμιωτέρα) than she, because of the dispensation (οἰκονομία) that was entrusted to her" (ed. Holl, *GCS* 37 [1985], 3:479–80). Note that this passage appears in Epiphanius' refutation of the Collyridians, a sect that had elevated Mary to the status of a goddess, impelling the heresiologist to clarify the church's veneration of the 'supremely chosen vessel' who was nevertheless a human being. Epiphanius' distinction between the 'honor' (τιμή) due to Mary and all the saints, and the 'worship' (προσκύνησις) due to the divinity alone, formally anticipates the distinctions canonized by later Byzantine theologians who sought

to clarify the degree of veneration properly offered to icons. Finally, Mary's unique position as 'Theotokos' is a state that may be replicated by the one who 'contains' God; cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Cant.* 2: "Nothing in creation can compare to your greatness. All of heaven is contained in the grasp of God's hand (but) you can wholly contain him. God dwells in you, penetrates you, and is not confined in you" (ed. Langerbeck, *GNO* [1960], 68).

5.II, 44: 'What he created without defilement,' cf. above, Proclus, hom. 1.II, 34–35.

5.II, 40–59: This section, from 'There is nothing in all the world,' through the end of the citation from Isaiah 6.3, was excerpted as a proof-text by John of Damascus in his essay *De hymno Trisagio*, 18 (ed. Kotter [1981], 4:323–24). This excerpt follows a similar citation from Homily 1, cf. 1.IX, 152–53.

5.II, 51–52; cf. 67–68: Proclus' wager, and its concluding assurance, has verbal parallels to God's promise to Abraham: ἀνάβλεψον δὴ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς ἀστέρας, εἰ δυνήσῃ ἐξαριθμῆσαι αὐτούς (Gen. 15.5).

5.II, 59–60: 'The sea could not endure the sound (of his voice).' This is probably a reference to the calming of the storm in Lk. 8.22–25 which alone describes the body of water as a λίμνη; cf. Mt. 8.18 and Mk. 4.35, where it is called a θάλασσα.

5.II, 64–65: On the 'rod of Aaron,' cf. Proclus, hom. 4.III, 70–71.

5.III, 70f.: There is a partial English translation of this passage in Pantel, *History of Women in the West* (1992), 409–10. Proclus' praise of women bears comparison with the prayer for the deaconess in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 8.20: "Eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, creator of man and woman, you filled Miriam, Deborah, Anna, and Olda with the Spirit, and you did not deem it unworthy for your Only Begotten Son to be born of a woman" (ed. Metzger, *SC* 336 [1987], 220–22); Clement of Alexandria (cited below, 5.III, 76); and Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (trans. H. G. Evelyn-White, *LCL* [Cambridge, Mass., 1936], 154–219), on which see M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford, 1985).

5.III, 76: 'Deborah … fought like a leader in combat,' lit., 'like a general,' cf. Clement of Alexandria, *strom.*, 4.19, with its praises of Judith, Esther, Sarah, and Miriam who "served as a general alongside

Moses the prophet" (συνεστρατήγησε τῷ προφήτῃ) (ed. Stählin, *GCS* 52 [1960], 300); and Severian of Gabala, *de Legislatore*, 7, a passage which forms the conclusion to a lengthy catalogue of valorous Biblical women whose power and boldness is continued in the person of the Theotokos: νῦν οὐ λείπει τῷ Θεῷ Δεββώρα, οὐ λείπει τῷ Θεῷ Ἰαήλ. ἔχομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον καὶ θεοτόκον Μαρίαν πρεσβεύουσαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. εἰ γὰρ ἡ τυχοῦσα γυνὴ ἐνίκησε, πόσῳ μάλλον ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μήτηρ καταισχύνει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῆς ἀληθείας; (*PG* 56.409).

5.III, 78: 'Mary too is adored.' For a slightly different outcome, see Demetrius of Antioch, *On the Birth of our Lord and on the Virgin Mary*: "We never saw a woman (i.e., Mary) like unto this. Sarah the wife of Abraham, cannot compare with her … Rebecca, the wife of Isaac, resembled her somewhat, but she cannot compare with this virgin. Leah and Rachel were married women, and they bore sons, and they never attained the honourable estate of this virgin. And Anna, the mother of Samuel, only laboured for one day; she poured out her tears before God, and He granted her petition," trans. Budge, *Coptic Homilies* (1910), 658.

5.III, 79: 'Cloud,' cf. above, Proclus, hom. 1.I, 17.

5.III, 79: 'Bridal-Chamber,' cf. above, Proclus, hom. 2.VII, 83–84.

5.III, 79: 'Ark,' cf. Heb. 9.4; Rev. 11.19. The identification of the Theotokos with the ark of the covenant underlines her role as 'God-bearer,' so that the divine promise to "dwell in the midst of the daughter of Sion" (Zeph. 3.15) is fulfilled in her conception of Christ. These connections seem to inform the Visitation narrative in the Gospel of Luke (1.39) which is typologically linked to 2 Kg. 6.2–11: "And why is this granted to me, that the Mother of my Lord should come to me (πόθεν μοι τοῦτο ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου πρὸς μέ;)?" (Lk. 1.43). "How," says David, "can the Ark of the Lord come to me (πῶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς μὲ ἡ κιβωτὸς κυρίου;)?" (2 Kg. 6.9). "And Mary remained (ἔμεινεν) with her about three months" (Lk. 1.56). "And the Ark of the Lord remained (ἐκάθισεν) in the house of Abeddara the Gethite three months" (2 Kg. 6.11).

5.III, 99: 'God is with us,' cf. John of Damascus, *nativ. Mariae*, I.4: "'God is with us,' know this, Nestorians, and 'be defeated, for God is with us'" (ed. Kotter, 5:173, lines 15–16).

CHAPTER FIVE

"THE EAR OF THE VIRGINAL BODY": THE POETICS OF SOUND IN THE SCHOOL OF PROCLUS

Introduction

Visitors to the Frauenkirche in Würzburg generally take note of its remarkable fifteenth-century stone carving of the Annunciation in which God the Father blows into the mouthpiece of a serpentine tube the other end of which is attached to the ear of Mary. Propelled through the tube by the breath of the Father, a miniature infant plunges headlong into the "ear of the virginal body, the sexual organ changed into an innocent shell, the receptacle of sound."[1] In his poem "The Mother of God," W. B. Yeats similarly images

> The three-fold terror of love; a fallen flare
> Through the hollow of an ear;
> Wings beating about the room;
> The terror of all terrors that I bore
> The Heavens in my womb …
>
> What is this flesh I purchased with my pains,
> This fallen star my milk sustains?[2]

Situated both in a modern poem and a medieval tympanum (itself a linguistic coincidence of the ear and architecture), these artistic confessions of faith in the fecundity of Mary's ear are in fact relatively recent redactions of an ancient theological tradition. Yeats himself was aware of this and in his notes on the poem revealed that the "words 'a fallen flare through the hollow of an ear' are, I am told, obscure. I had in memory Byzantine mosaic pictures of the Annunciation, which show a line drawn from a star to the ear of the Virgin. She received the

[1] The carving is located over the north-door entrance; for a reproduction see Gibson, *Theater of Devotion* (1989), 151, fig. 6.6. The quotation is from Kristeva, "Stabat Mater" (1987), 248.

[2] *Collected Poems*, ed. Finneran (1989), 249.

Word through the ear, a star fell, and a star was born."[3] A capacious rhetorical vessel, the trope of Mary's conception 'through hearing' was a linguistic and anatomical fragment endlessly available for imaginative occupancy, not only by Proclus of Constantinople and his Byzantine disciples among whom it is well attested, but in a large number of Syriac and Latin Christian writers from late antiquity through the middle ages.[4]

Focusing primarily on Greek sources from the late-antique and Byzantine periods, this chapter studies the origins and development of the notion that the Word of God was conceived by the Virgin through her 'sense of hearing' (understood to include her ear, the organ of hearing). Both the Würzburg carving and the musings of Yeats are graphic illustrations that the Virgin's *conceptio per aurem* has 'in memory' the story of the Annunciation. This chapter will therefore hold within vision a 'Byzantine mosaic' of sermons, liturgical poems and exegetical commentaries on Luke 1.26–38, the sole scriptural source for Mary's momentous encounter with the Word. The complex poetics of sound embedded within this mosaic is ascribed to the 'school of Proclus,' a term which designates both the immediate followers of the fifth-century archbishop and the larger tradition that continued to explore the theological significance of Mary's ear. The chapter itself is divided into three parts dealing in turn with history, exegesis, and theology. The first part considers early developments through the middle of the fifth century, when, largely through the agency of Proclus and his disciples, the doctrine of the Virgin's *conceptio per aurem* achieved normative status. The second part explores the typological connections between the ears of Mary and Eve, and concludes with a glance at the symbolism of the

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[3] Ibid., 462.

[4] Murray, "Mary, the Second Eve in the Early Syriac Fathers" (1971), thinks that this is a peculiarly *Syriac* image, but it is widespread throughout late-antique Greek and later Byzantine literature. Moreover, Graef, *Mary: History of Doctrine and Devotion* (1963), 56, finds it in the fourth-century Latin writer Zeno of Verona, *Tractatus*, 13.10 (*PL* 11.352B), although the list of Latin writers who use this formula (*per aurem*, or *ex auditu*) is far more extensive than Graef's work suggests: cf. Gaudentius of Brescia, *sermo* 13, *Die natali domini* (*PL* 20.934B); Augustine, *sermo* 196.1, *In natali domini* (*PL* 38.1019D); Ps.-Augustine, *sermo* 121.3, *In natali domini* (*PL* 39.1988B); id., *sermo* 123.1, *In natali domini* (*PL* 39.1990–91); id., *De natale domini* (*PL* suppl. 2.1340A); Dracontius, *Carm. de Deo*, 3 (*PL* 60.778); Ps.-Chrysostomus Latinus, *Opus imperf. in Mt.* (*PG* 56.630); Gregory the Great, *Benedictio in natali s. Mariae* (*PL* 78.619B); and Ildefonse of Toledo, *Liber de virginitate perpetuae Mariae* (*PL* 96.86B).

pearl, an emblem of the incarnation formed by the irritant of Eve and fastened to the (pierced) ear of Mary. Because the echo of the Word in the Virgin's 'soft-conched ear' (to borrow a phrase from Keats) was a breathless performance enacted through the medium of the archangel Gabriel (Lk. 1.26–38), the third part of this chapter deals with a crisis of angels in the spheres of christology and anthropology, which, as we shall see, led to the general demise of Mary's ear as a viable theological category.

From the New Testament to the Council of Ephesus

Mary is an elusive figure in the New Testament. In the Gospel of John, the story of Jesus is framed by the role of Mary at Cana and the Cross (cf. Jn. 2.1–11; 19.26–27), and yet John never mentions Mary by name: she is simply the 'mother of Jesus.'[5] Consistent with this tendency, it was precisely Mary's relation to Jesus, that is, her strictly christological function, that was central to devotion and reflection on her throughout the period under consideration. However, as a body without a name (Mary's) elided maternalism was itself problematic, and the Annunciation narrative in Luke 1.26–38, with its peculiar account of impregnation without physical intercourse, raised more questions than it answered.

The Gospel of Luke subsequently became the site of massive literary and theological excavations, and none of its lexical or conceptual stones was left unturned. "For just as miners seek veins of gold, and there focus all of their efforts," a sermon attributed to Proclus reasoned, "those who seek to understand the virgin birth must take in hand the Gospel of Luke and systematically search out its contents."[6] The yield was a wealth of christological titles such as 'Lord,' 'Christ,' and 'Savior,' which, in another sermon ascribed to Proclus, are struck into virginally commemorative coinage: "If the child who was born is the

[5] For discussion, see Brown, *Mary in the New Testament* (1978), 20–21, 179–218; and Witherington, *Women and the Genesis of Christianity* (1990), 88–91.

[6] Ps.-Athanasius, *Sermo in descriptione deiparae* (on the attribution, cf. Marx, *Procliana*, 77–79, no. 86): τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντες … καὶ κατὰ τάξιν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν ἀνιχνεύσομεν (*PG* 28.944A); cf. Ps.-Athanasius, *In nativitatem Christi* (attributed to Proclus, cf. Marx, ibid., 52–56, no. 47): "If you wish, ask Luke the Evangelist, and he shall answer you regarding the Lord's dispensation in the flesh" (*PG* 28.961C).

Lord (i.e., *Kyrios*), how then is the Virgin not the 'Kyriotokos'? For my part, I call the holy Virgin 'Christotokos,' 'Kyriotokos,' 'Soteriotokos' and 'Theotokos'."[7]

When, however, Luke's mercurial deposits ran dry, apocryphal works provided fresh sources for exegetical exploits by extending the virgin territory modestly marked out by the evangelist. In the apocryphal *Protoevangelium of James*, for example, the skeptical and tough-talking midwife Salome, about to insert her finger into Mary's body, explains her actions by saying: "Mary, make yourself ready, for there is no small contention concerning you." In the *Questions of Bartholomew*, Mary is physically restrained and closely interrogated regarding her conception: "Tell us how you conceived the incomprehensible, or how you carried him who cannot be carried, or how you bore so much greatness."[8] These popular works, which often provide striking and dramatic complements to learned exegetical commentary, suggest that the hermeneutical dimensions of narrative are polyphonic and dialogical, distinctively shaped by the curiosity and frustration of the audience: its questions are their questions.[9]

Mary's conception was also the focus of early Christian apologetics in the face of both Greek and Jewish criticisms. Writing in the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr found it necessary to respond, not only to the pagan charge that Mary, like so many before her, had merely been abducted by Zeus, but also to the textual criticisms of the rabbis who sought to expose the philological flaws at the basis of the Christian construction of Mary's virginity.[10] Further criticisms

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[7] Ps.-Athanasius, *nat. Christ.* (as above, n. 6): εἰ οὖν ὁ κύριος ὁ τεχθείς, πῶς οὐ Κυριοτόκος ἡ παρθένος; ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω καὶ Χριστοτόκον, καὶ Κυριοτόκον, καὶ Σωτηριοτόκον, καὶ Θεοτόκον τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον (*PG* 28.965C), after which the preacher urges his audience to "call the Virgin 'Θεοτόκος' and not 'Θεοδόχος' (i.e., 'God-receiver'), or rather call her both, for if she 'received God' then she also 'gave birth to God' (*PG* 28.968A). Note that this sermon contains two references to the Virgin's conception through hearing, see below, n. 22.

[8] *Protoevangelium Jacobi*, 20.1, ed. Tischendorf, 37; cf. Strycker, 158–60; trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament* (1993), 65; cf. Smid, *Commentary* (1965), 141: "In this (passage) the author names the debate of his time and the motive of his writing. Violent contention has arisen around the person and nature of Mary, particularly the nature of her childbirth." For the text of the *Questions of Bartholomew*, see *CANT* 63; trans. Elliott, ibid., 658–60. The *Questions*, said to be of Greco-Egyptian origin, have been dated to the third century; the *Protoevangelium* to the second.

[9] See the important methodological statements of Kaestli, "Le rôle des textes bibliques" (1983); and Bovon, "Jesus' Missionary Speech" (1995).

[10] Justin, 1 *Apology*, 22.1–5; 33.1–6 (ed. Wartelle [1987], 128; 142); id., *Dialogus*, 43.3–6;

can be heard in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, where a group of Jews accuse Mary of pre-marital intercourse.[11] Elsewhere, the charge becomes that of adultery (cf. Jn. 8.41), for Mary apparently was not the first Jewish woman to have been 'seduced' (ἀπατωμένη) by the false promise that she would give birth to the Messiah.[12] And in his belated apology to the Greek philosopher Celsus, Origen responds to the further accusation that Mary was raped by a Roman soldier called 'Panthera,' possibly a corruption of the word 'parthenos' (i.e., virgin), although Epiphanius argues that 'Panthera' was simply the surname of Joseph's brother Clopas.[13]

Such charges, and the embarrassment they caused, taxed the patience and ingenuity of church authorities. In a sermon attributed to Proclus, the preacher endeavors to reconceptualize the disputed question in categories drawn directly from scripture. Working backwards, as it were, from Paul's typology of Adam and Christ (cf. Rom. 5.14; 1 Cor. 15.21–22, 45–49), the virgin earth of paradise which produced Adam is put forward as a type of Christ's virginal germination from Mary:

> Let then the heretics come to their senses and desist from their Jewish drunkenness, those, I mean, who say that it is impossible for a woman to bear a child apart from union with a man. What is harder to accept: a virgin giving birth, or a man being formed from the earth? A virgin's womb carrying a child, or earth receiving a soul, and seeing, and speaking, and hearing? Long ago, God took earth and fashioned man. God again took virgin soil, that is, her flesh, and shaped himself into a man.[14]

66–67; 77–78; 84 (ed. Marcovich [1997], 140–41; 183–85; 203–205; 215–16); cf. Kamesar, "The Virgin of Isaiah 7.14" (1990); Trakatellis, *Pre-Existence of Christ in Justin Martyr* (1976), 146–58; and Adler, "The Jews as Falsifiers" (1990).

[11] *Gospel of Nicodemus*, 1.1; 2.3–5 (ed. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 215; 224–26; trans. Elliott, 170; 172).

[12] See the remarks of Origen, *Letter to Julius Africanus*, 12 (ed. Harl, *SC* 302 [1983], 540, lines 6–11); cf. below, n. 46.

[13] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 1.28, 31–32, 69, claims that Celsus learned of the charge from the Jews (ed. Borret, *SC* 132 [1967], 150–52, 158–64, 268–70; cf. Chadwick, *Origen, Contra Celsum* [1965], 27–32, 64, esp. 31, n. 3). Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 78.1–5 (ed. Holl, *GCS* 3 [1985], 456–57). In the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the Christian interpolations of which probably date to the second century, the attempt is made to clarify Mary's relationship to Joseph, noting that: 'He did not approach Mary, but kept her as a holy virgin,' trans. M. A. Knibb, in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (1985), 2:174.

[14] Basil of Seleucia, *Or.* 39, *annunt.* (on the attribution, cf. Marx, *Procliana*, 85–89, no. 89) (*PG* 85.437); cf. above, 2.VI, 66–73.

John Chrysostom, writing before the Council of Ephesus and generally innocent of pious devotion to Mary,[15] nevertheless coached his congregation in a series of similar argumentative stances: "When the Jew asks you, 'How did the Virgin give birth?' Say to him, 'How did the virgin earth of Eden produce its wondrous trees?'," or, "When the Jew asks you, 'How did Mary give birth?' Say to him, 'How did Sarah, Rebeccah or Rachel give birth?'," or, "When the Jew asks you, 'How did the Virgin give birth?' Say to him, 'How did the aged and sterile woman give birth?' "[16]

How indeed did Mary engender the Word of God? The question would not go away. In response, a variety of explanations were cleverly canvassed: some suggested that Mary, having been perfumed by an angel, conceived through her sense of smell.[17] Others argued that Mary conceived through her mouth, the angel having instructed her to "Open thy mouth, and receive into thee the cloud of light, and thou shalt conceive." In Mary's words, "Gabriel came … he opened my mouth, he went down into my womb … and ministered unto that which was inside my innermost part."[18] Another school of thought held out for the faculty of sight, claiming that Mary became pregnant after

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[15] Chrysostom argues that Mary's remarks at the wedding in Cana were motivated by her pride and self-interest (*in Jo.*, 21.2; *PG* 59.130). Elsewhere he notes that "Gabriel appeared to Mary *before* her conception, for it was likely that, not clearly understanding what had happened, she might have done something amiss, and gone on to strangle or stab herself, not enduring the disgrace" (καὶ ἐπὶ βρόχον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ ξίφος, οὐ φέρουσαν τὴν αἰσχύνην) (*in Mat.*, 4.5; *PG* 57.45AB).

[16] Chrysostom, *De mutatione nominum*, II.3 (*PG* 51.129B); id., *Non esse desperandum*, 3 (*PG* 51.367A); id., *in Gen.*, 49.2 (*PG* 54.445D); cf. Proclus, hom. 23.19 (cited above, 4.III, 70).

[17] Ps.-Demetrius of Antioch, *On the Birth of our Lord and on the Virgin Mary*: "The Virgin herself was marvelling at the 'salutation' (i.e., of Gabriel), and she was troubled, saying in her heart, 'Behold, the sweet odour hath reached me through the angel. And behold, his word is fulfilled, for lo, I have conceived, lo, my breasts are full of milk, and lo, my womb is swollen'" (trans. Budge, *Coptic Homilies* [1910], 687). The folk-tradition that Gabriel presented the Virgin with an Easter lily is, one suspects, a florid reification of conception by olfactory stimulus (cf. Song 2.1).

[18] These quotations are from Ps.-Epiphanius, *On the Holy Virgin Mary Theotokos* (trans. Budge, ibid., 712); and Cyril of Rakote, *On the Virgin Mary* (ibid., 719). Conception through oral sensation is perhaps derived from the theology of the eucharist, but also prompted by Ps. 118.131: 'I will open my mouth and it shall be filled with the Spirit,' a verse which serves as the first line of the canon for the Byzantine feast of the Annunciation, now sung repeatedly throughout the year. Mary is also said to have become pregnant *ex osculo*, cf. Kuryluk, *Salome and Judas* (1987), 273, citing N. J. Perella, *The Kiss Sacred and Profane* (Berkeley, 1969), 73. Conversely, Viliet, "Une Vierge de Daphné" (1994), analyzes two Byzantine texts concerning the anti-Christ, who, in the form of a small fish, is touched by an impure virgin, resulting in her pregnancy.

a small child appeared to her in a vision.[19] The value of these intriguing proposals was their common attempt to identify a mode of bodily perception and experience that could not only provide a physiological analogy for sexual intercourse, but that could do so with a relatively minimal degree of palpable physical contact. Although highly creative and deeply compelling, these particular solutions nevertheless proved to be conceptual dead ends, and, one suspects, public relations' disasters of catastrophic proportions.

A Fifth-Century Consensus

Despite the false labors described above, a wide-spread consensus on Mary's conception was nevertheless reached by the middle of the fifth century. It was of course no coincidence that the first three decades of that century witnessed a sharp rise in private and public devotion to the Virgin culminating in her official canonization as 'Theotokos' at the Council of Ephesus. During this period, popular preachers increasingly addressed the question of Mary's virginal conception which, they now asserted, was effected through her 'sense of hearing.'[20] Theodotus of Ancyra (d. ca. 446), for example, reported that "it was through her sense of hearing (δι' ἀκοῆς) that Mary conceived the Living God, for the sense of hearing (ἀκοή) is the natural channel of words." For Isaac of Antioch, writing in the same century, the point needed no argument: 'If he was not God, how did he enter by the ear?'[21]

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[19] Described in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, trans. Knibb, 2:174–75 (as above, n. 13); cf. the remarks of Norelli, *Ascension du prophète Isaïe* (1993), 50–58; and Knight, *Ascension of Isaiah* (1995), 75–76, 88. See also Ps.-Athanasius, *Quaestiones aliae*, 19, who finds an analogy for the virgin birth in the notion that the 'eyes of certain molluscs,' when 'illuminated by flashes of lightning,' are subsequently 'transformed into pearls' (*PG* 28.792A); and the divine Word's approach to the soul in the Gnostic tractate *Authoritative Teaching*: "He applied the word to her eyes like a medicine so that she might see with her mind … and renounce matter," trans. G. W. Macrae, in Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library* (1996), 305.

[20] The Virgin's *conceptio per aurem* may already be implied in the *Protevangelium*, 11.2: "And behold, an angel of the Lord suddenly stood before her and said, 'Do not fear, Mary; for you have found grace before the Lord, and you shall conceive of his word' (ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ)" (ed. Tischendorf, 22; cf. Strycker, 114, cf. 415; trans. Elliott, 61). On the phrase, 'of his word,' cf. Smid, *Commentary*, 83–84, who provides a variant reading from an Armenian version: "At the same time that Gabriel spoke the word and the holy Virgin bowed down, God the Word entered into her ear of hearing within"; and Barbel, *Christos Angelos* (1941) 241, n. 266.

[21] Theodotus, hom. 4 (*PG* 77.1392D); Isaac of Antioch, hom. 1 (ed. P. Bedjan, *Homiliae s. Isaaci syri Antiocheni* [Paris, 1903], 715). Theodotus' assertion that 'conception through hearing' was somehow 'natural' is an oblique reference to the Greek medical

The same explanation occurs with heightened frequency in the sermons of Proclus, who repeatedly describes the divine Word as 'leaping in through Mary's sense of hearing' (εἰσπηδήσας δι' ἀκοῆς).[22] In one sermon, Proclus 'brazenly dares to interrogate' the Virgin regarding the paradox of her maternity, to which she, in fashionable rhetorical figures, replies: "An angel appeared and arrayed me without corruption in the garments of a bride, and I heard a word, I conceived a Word, and I delivered a Word."[23] In a sermon on the Annunciation identified as the work of Proclus, the pre-incarnate Christ sends Gabriel to the Virgin, directing him to "speak into the ears (εἰς τὰ ὦτα) of the spiritual ark, and to prepare for me the entrances of her ear (τῆς ἀκοῆς τὰς εἰσόδους)."[24] The first of these citations is from Proclus' celebrated Homily 1, which he delivered in open defiance of Nestorius who had banned the Marian epithet 'Theotokos.' Proclus' public challenge did much to bring the Theotokos controversy out into the open, a fact acknowledged by Cyril of Alexandria, who appended Proclus' sermon to the official proceedings of the Council of Ephesus, granting the *conceptio per aurem* both wide circulation and the imprimatur of an Ecumenical Council.

Cyrus of Panopolis, a follower of Proclus, reflects the influence of his teacher in his only extant sermon. After a successful career in the capital, Cyrus was exiled by Theodosius II to a see in Phrygia, where

writers, who typically stress the physical impact of λόγος striking and penetrating the ear. For Plato, vocal sound (φωνή) is identified with 'air' (πνεῦμα) striking the ears, passing through the brain and blood, and 'conveyed to the soul' (μέχρι ψυχῆς διαδιδομένη); cf. Beare, *Greek Theories of Cognition* (1906), 117–30, esp. 107–8; Siegel, *Galen on Sense Perception* (1970), 127–36; and Onians, *Origins of European Thought* (1951), 69–73.

[22] Proclus, hom. 1.I, 25; hom. 3.V, 47–48; *Tome*: ὁ εἰσπηδήσας εἰς τὸν βίον (192, line 20); hom. 35: κήρυγμα … διὰ γλώσσης προσφερόμενον, δι' ἀκοῆς εἰσδυόμενον, ἐν ψυχῇ ῥιζόμενον, καὶ τριάδος ἔλλαμψιν χαριζόμενον (ed. Rudberg, 315, line 70); cf. Ps.-Athanasius, *In nativitatem Christi* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, *Procliana*, 52–56, no. 47): ὁ θεὸς εἰσῆλθε διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῆς παρθένου ὡς ἠθέλησεν (*PG* 28.959, cf. 969D, where the phrase is repeated); Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, ibid., 68–69, no. 72): εἰς τὴν σὴν κοιλίαν διὰ τῆς σῆς ἀκοῆς εἰσπεπήδηκε (*PG* 60.758A). On the Neoplatonic 'leapings' (πηδήσεις) of souls into flesh, see Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian* (1986), 67–68.

[23] καὶ λόγον ἤκουσα, λόγον ἐκύησα, λόγον ἀπέδωκα, hom. 36, ed. Amand, 241, lines 20–25, reading lines 22–23 as emended by Rudberg, (1952), 189–200; cf. Amand (1952), 300–301.

[24] Ps.-Gregory Thaumaturgus, hom. 3, *annunt.* (*PG* 10.1173D; cf. 1176A); on the attribution, cf. Marx, 39–40, no. 27, and under 'Proclus' in the Bibliography. See also Ps.-Gregory Thaumaturgus, hom. 2, *annunt.*: 'The Holy Spirit entered into the pure temple of the Virgin through her sense of hearing' (διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς) (*PG* 10.1164BC).

the spirited congregation had lynched four of its previous bishops. Cyrus' sermon was thus delivered before a potentially violent audience and consists of but a single, carefully crafted sentence: "Brethren, let the birth of God our Savior Jesus Christ be honored with silence (σιωπῇ τιμάσθω), because the Word of God was conceived in the holy Virgin through hearing alone (ὅτι ἀκοῇ καὶ μόνῃ συνελήφθη). To him be glory for ever. Amen." The sermon met with enthusiastic approval for in one lapidary stroke Cyrus had aligned himself with Proclus, the Council of Ephesus, and the popular veneration of the Virgin.[25]

Further variations on the theme of Mary's *conceptio per aurem* can be found in the poetry and preaching of Romanos the Melodist (ca. 490–556), Abraham of Ephesus (ca. 550), Anastasius of Antioch (d. 599), Sophronius of Jerusalem (d. 638), and Andrew of Crete (d. 740), to mention only a few.[26] In response to a question regarding the virgin birth, a text falsely ascribed to Athanasius suggests that: "Just as sunlight passes through a pane of glass without shattering it, so too did the Son of God pass through the glass window, that is, through the ears (διὰ τῶν ὠτίων) of the Virgin without destroying her virginity."[27] The *conceptio per aurem* also appears in two credal texts, where it has assumed the status of a dogmatic formula. The first is in the pseudo-Athanasian *Symbolum Quicumque* addressed to Julian of Rome,[28] and the second in a letter attributed to Felix of Rome addressed to Peter of Antioch (the Fuller), extant in the sixth-century *Collectio sabbaitica*.[29]

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[25] Gregory, "Remarkable Homily of Kyros Panopolites" (1975). Gregory discusses Cyrus' alignment with Proclus on p. 323; cf. Av. Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople" (1978), 88; Baldwin, "Cyrus of Panopolis" (1982); and A. Cameron, "Empress and the Poet" (1982), 244, who notes that "the theory that the Virgin conceived Christ aurally was in Cyrus' day one of the latest attempts to solve an age-old embarrasment. There can be no doubt where he got it: Proclus the archbishop of Constantinople."

[26] References are given here only for those authors not cited elsewhere in this chapter: Abraham of Ephesus, *annunt.*, 4: ἤκουσεν ἡ παρθένος τὸ χαῖρε καὶ εὐθέως δόχος ἀνεδείχθη (ed. Jugie *PO* 16.3 [1922], 445 [21], lines 24–25). Abraham mentions the contribution of Proclus to the theology of the virgin birth (p. 442 [18], line 6); Anastasios of Antioch (*PG* 89.1384CD).

[27] Ps.-Athanasius, *Quaestiones aliae*, 19 (*PG* 28.789C).

[28] ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς καὶ θεοῦ, τῶν οὐρανῶν οὐκ ἐκστὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατῆλθε καὶ δι' ἀκοῆς εἰσδὺς τὴν νηδὺν τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου, μυστικῶς τὴν κυοφορίαν εἰργάσατο (*PG* 28.1589D). The attribution may not be completely arbitrary, cf. Athanasius, *Homily on the Theotokos*, ed. Lefort, "L'Homélie de S. Athanase" (1958), 213: 'Et l'ange se retira. Alors elle conçut par l'audition de ses oreilles.'

[29] ὁ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνυπόστατος καὶ θεὸς λόγος δι' ἀκοῆς εἰσπηδήσας τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου μυστικῶς τὴν κυοφορίαν εἰργάσατο (*ACO* 3, p. 21, lines 29–30).

As these citations indicate, the notion of Mary's conception through hearing was authoritatively established by Proclus and subsequently orchestrated in a large number of theological circles in late antiquity. Thus it was included by John of Damascus (d. ca. 750) in his encyclopedic handbook *On the Orthodox Faith*, through which it was transmitted to Byzantine theology and culture.[30] Indeed, the solution was elegant, the orifice inoffensive, and the whole construction had a compelling inner logic that was difficult to deny: 'The sense of hearing,' in the memorable phrase of Theodotus, is, after all, 'the natural channel of words.'[31] However, despite the obvious and intimate connection between words and hearing, the nexus of associations and implications went far beyond what the bishop of Ancyra was willing, or able, to share with his flock.

Fertile Imaginations: Mary, Eve and the Serpent

In addition to being a compelling theological appropriation of the human sensorium, faith in the miraculous fecundity of Mary's ear was a form of symbolic shorthand, a signature flourish in whose arabesques were entangled a broad range of narrative, exegetical, and typological traditions. As we shall see, the *conceptio per aurem* was part of a much larger solution to the problem of Mary and her place within the plan of redemption. In broad brush strokes, the details of which could be variously worked out, Mary was linked typologically to the figure of Eve, a juxtaposition encouraged by the suggestive parallels between Genesis 2.2–7 and Luke 1.26. In both cases, a virgin left on her own is approached by a stranger who speaks to her and seeks to persuade her with an extravagant promise by which the entire orientation of humanity is dramatically altered.[32]

[30] John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, 87.4.14: 'Christ was conceived through the Virgin's sense of hearing (δι' ἀκοῆς)' (ed. Kotter [1973], 2:201–202, lines 95–96). For the Egyptian iconography of this motif see Urbiank-Walczak, *Die "Conceptio per aurem"* (1992).

[31] Cited above, n. 21.

[32] The parallel between Mary and Eve further corresponds to a basic pattern governing Greek myths concerning the mothers of important heroes: (1) a young girl leaves home, or is separated from childhood and family, followed by (2) an idyll of seclusion. (3) The girl is then surprised, raped, and impregnated by a god. This is followed by (4) a period of tribulation in which the girl is severely punished and threatened with death by her parents or relatives. Finally, (5) the girl is rescued by giving birth to a boy who saves her from destruction and death, cited in Burkert, *Structure and History* (1979), 6–7.

According to the logic of typological recapitulation, which can here be defined as a dialectical trope in which Christ and Mary reverse the damage of Adam and Eve, Mary's conversation with Gabriel mirrors and thus reverses Eve's dialogue with the serpent. Mary's conception through her ear, therefore, becomes the antidote to Eve's auditory reception of the venomous words spoken to her by the serpent.[33] In the concise formulation of Ephrem, 'Death entered by the ear of Eve, therefore Life entered by the ear of Mary.' Elsewhere, the Syrian poet describes Eve's ill-fated ear as a 'small womb' through which Death ebbs and flows like liquid.[34]

Proclus, a keen theoretician of virginal hearing, embroiders these formulations with elaborate puns, noting that:

> What was once the door of sin was made the gate of salvation. For where the serpent injected his poison through disobedience (διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς), in that same place, the Word, entering in through the sense of hearing (διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς), fashioned for himself the living temple of his body. From the place where Cain, the first disciple of sin, emerged, from there also did Christ, the redeemer of the race, sprout unsown into life.[35]

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[33] It is noteworthy that in Hesiod, snakes 'lick the ears (τὰ ὦτα) of [Melampous] and breathe (ἐμπνεῦσαι) into him prophetic knowlege (τὴν μαντικήν),' *Eoiae*, frg. 149, cited in Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, 70.

[34] Ephrem, *Diatesseron*, 20.32; trans. Leloir, *SC* 121 (1966), 366–67; cf. id., *Hymns on the Church*, 49.7: "Just as from the small womb of Eve's ear death entered in and was poured out, so too through a new ear, that was Mary's, Life entered and was poured out" (ed. E. Beck, *CSCO* 199, Scr. Syr., 85 [Louvain, 1960], 122). See also the anonymous Syriac hymns in Brock, *Bride of Light* (1994): "The serpent, with venomous intention, breathed poison in the ears of Eve … until there came forth from Mary the Infant who slew the snake. The Word of the Father made his descent down to the ear by which misfortune had entered in … thus by the gate through which death had come, Life should enter in" (27.4–6, pp. 92–93); "Through Mary's ear did the road travel by which Life entered in, destroying the serpents' footprints" (28.2, p. 98); "The Royal Son set off to descend, making straight his course to her ear … so that by the path through which Death brought rebellion Life might enter in for Adam" (45.104–8, p. 143); "By means of the serpent the Evil One poured out his poison in the ear of Eve; the Good One brought low His mercy and entered through Mary's ear; through the gate by which death entered, Life also entered, putting death to death" (46.161–6, p. 145). Brock dates these anonymous poems and verse homilies 'approximately to the fifth or early sixth century' (p. 13).

[35] Proclus, hom. 1.II, 28–32; I have here slightly modified the English translation to emphasize the sense of the text. Proclus' repeated use of the verb to 'leap' (εἰσπηδῶ) in this context (cf. above, n. 22) may itself be a reference to serpentine locomotion, as suggested in a contemporary passage by Cyril of Alexandria, who demonizes an opponent as a "serpent, leaping upon (ἐπιπηδᾷ) the contrary position, and raising aloft his poison-filled head," *in Jo.*, 3.5 (PG 73.484D).

Ephrem's image of the 'little womb,' and Proclus' reference to the birth of Cain, the 'first disciple of sin,' bring to light a central feature of Eve's conversation with the serpent. As the antitype of Mary's miraculous pregnancy through hearing, Eve's aural encounter with the serpent was frequently sexualized, so that "in Eve's ears," to borrow a phrase from Milton, "the sound rung of his (i.e., the serpent's) persuasive words, impregned with reason."[36] Milton's rather subtle sexualization of the serpent's speech is ultimately derived from late-antique sources, although these generally do not share the delicate sensibilities of the English poet. Narsai of Edessa (d. 502), for example, casts Eve in the role of a debauched bride, unfaithful to her husband on the eve of her marriage: "Through her sense of hearing, the royal bride, Adam's betrothed, committed adultery, and her wedding day had not yet come when she gave birth to sin."[37] Narsai elsewhere notes that:

> At the beginning of time, the envious one was unable to deceive man, so he chose a serpent to contain his bitterness, and strummed, as if to the strains of a lyre, on the strings of the flesh. He entranced the serpent, and composed a rhapsody for the woman, who found it soothing, and accepted its counsel. On a flute of flesh, the deceiver chanted the words of deception. Through a material voice, he cultivated the ears of the weak woman, and the slanderer deposited his seed deep within her soul.[38]

There are of course several agendas operative in this passage and before commenting further on Eve's adultery with the serpent it will be useful to consider that she attends, not simply to a voice, but to sounds of a decidedly musical character. Greek sermons conjure up similar scenarios. A sermon attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus depicts Eve dancing in paradise to the seductive strains of the devil's music.[39] At one level, these texts undoubtedly reflect the restrictive attitude of the

[36] Book 9, line 737; cf. Evans, *Paradise Lost and the Genesis Traditions* (Oxford, 1968).

[37] Ed. A. Mingana, *Narsai. Homiliae et carmina* (Mausilii, 1905), 353.

[38] Ed. Gignoux, *Hom. de creatione*, 1 (*PO* 34.3–4 [1968], 541–43, lines 241–72); note the corrections of Jansma, "Narsai's Homilies on Creation" (1970); and the response of Gignoux, ibid., 237–39; cf. id., *On the Nativity*: "(Gabriel) proclaimed a new message in the ears of flesh, sowing his good pleasure in a land of flesh … in order to wash away the bitterness that the evil one sowed in the ears of Eve," trans. McLeod, *PO* 40.1 (1979), no. 182, 45, lines 103–12; cf. 43, lines 81–82; 49, lines 189–202; 67, lines 463–66; and 47, lines 137–38: "You (i.e., Cyril of Alexandria) as the most skilled of the heretics, respond against us! Whose conception is it that the vigilant one proclaimed in the ears of Mary?"

[39] Ps.-Gregory Thaumaturgus, hom. 1, *annunt.* (*PG* 10.1148D).

early church toward music. Though it would eventually come to pluck the aesthetic lyre with a vengeance, the Byzantine church maintained a deep aversion to musical instruments, and stigmatized musicians, whom it associated with paganism and the immorality of the theater. In the words of Epiphanius: "The pipe (ὁ αὐλός) is a symbol of the serpent by which the Devil spoke to Eve and deceived (ἠπάτησε) her. On the model of the serpent, the pipe was invented to deceive the people." In an aphorism worthy of Gertrude Stein, Chrysostom noted that: 'Where flute players are, there Christ is not.'[40]

In terms of its exegetical import, the ligature of a mortal woman with a fallen angel through the medium of music may have been prompted by a conflation of the story of Eve with two seemingly unrelated passages also from Genesis: the 'fall of the sons of God' (Gen. 6.1–4), and the fate of the 'sons of Seth' (cf. Gen. 4.20–22). In the first passage, the 'sons of God' (who are also said to be 'angels') are beguiled by female beauty and descend from heaven in order to couple with the 'daughters of men.' By the early Christian period, the angelic sons of God were identified with the 'sons of Seth,' who were said from the heights to have been seduced by the siren songs of the daughters of Cain (cf. Gen. 4.20–22).[41] These narratives are governed by a central image in which divine beings are lured from their celestial abodes by the beauty of female bodies and the seductive sounds of music. So too, it would seem, the narrative of the Annunciation, when the Son of God descended into the ear of a Virgin as the 'Spirit sounded a hymn of praise on the harp strings of the Virgin's soul.'[42] The harp of the

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[40] Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 25.4.9–11 (ed. Holl, *GCS* 25 [1915], 1:272, lines 9–10); Chrysostom, *hom.* 12.6 *in Col.*: ἔνθα αὐληταί, οὐδαμοῦ ὁ Χριστός (*PG* 62.389D); note that the *Apostolic Constitutions*, 8.32.9, deny baptism to those who played the 'pipe' and the 'harp' if they did not renounce their trade (ed. Metzger, *SC* 336 [1987], 238).

[41] Ephrem, *Hymns on Paradise*, 1.11: "There the families of the two brothers had separated: Cain went off by himself and lived in the land of Nod, a place lower still than that of Seth and Enosh; but those who lived on higher ground, who were called 'Sons of God,' left their own region and came down to take wives from the daughters of Cain down below" (trans. Brock [1990], 81–82); id., *Hymns on Fasting*, 2.2: "Cain adorned his daughters like flowers for the 'Sons of God.' Cain's two sons invented songs and instruments; Tubal Cain fashioned beautiful cymbals, Yubal made beautiful harps. While the Left played they captured the party of the Right. The sons of Seth acted wickedly and fell; they lost their great name among the daughters of men" (trans. Anderson, Darling, and Griffith). For discussion, see Wickham, "Gen. 6.2 in Early Christian Exegesis" (1974); Kooij, "Peshitta Gen. 6: Angels or Judges?" (1997), 43–51; and Zimmerman, "Spuren des Mythos in Gen. 6.1–4" (1999).

[42] Narsai, *Nativity*, trans. McLeod, 49, line 191.

virginal body was an instrument typified by Miriam's tambourine (Ex. 15.20–21), the leather surface of which simultaneously signified the skin of the incarnation, the unbroken seal of the Virgin's womb, and the taut skin of the ascetic, all resounding with the praise of God.[43]

It is unclear to what extent early Christian notions of Eve's liaison with the serpent are indebted to the influence of Jewish traditions. Rabbinic texts such as *Genesis Rabbah* and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathon*, as well as 4 Maccabees[44] and the writings of Philo on Genesis,[45] all tend to sexualize Eve's encounter with that 'most crafty of brutes' (Gen. 3.2).[46] According to one midrashic tradition, the serpent is said to have observed Eve engaging in sex with Adam, and immediately developed a passion for her. While Adam slept after intercourse, the serpent waxed wanton, and, uncoiled and standing erect, introduced itself to Eve.[47] Another tradition relates that "the serpent came to Eve and made her pregnant, and Adam saw that, from the fetus' likeness, it belonged, not

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[43] Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate*, 19 (ed. Aubineau, *SC* 119 [1966], 484–88). Note that Nyssa here refers to the Virgin as 'Theotokos' (486, line 6); cf. Proclus, hom. 36 (ed. Rudberg, 320–321).

[44] See 4 Maccabees 18.6–8, where the mother of the seven martyred sons says, "I was a pure virgin (παρθένος), and I strayed not from my father's house, and I kept guard over the 'rib that was built up' (i.e., into Eve, cf. Gen 1.22). No seducer (φθορεύς) of the desert, no deceiver of the field, corrupted (διέφθειρεν) me; neither did the false, beguiling serpent (ἀπατηλὸς ὄφις) sully the purity of my virginity (ἐλυμήνατό με τὰ ἁγνὰ τῆς παρθενίας)," cf. Reggiani, *Commentario* (1992), 143–45.

[45] For Philo, Adam generally signifies the rational mind (or soul) (e.g., *Leg. All.*, 1.90, 92; 3.50, 185, 246; *Cher.*, 10.572), while Eve signifies sense perception and pleasure. In contrast to the activity of mind, Eve embodies the relative passivity of the senses (*Op.*, 165; *Leg. All.*, 2.5, 9, 14, 24, 38–45, 49, 53, 68–70; 3.49, 56–68, 182, 184, 200, 216, 220–24; *Cher.*, 40, 43, 57–65; *Post.*, 124–26, 170). Like Eve, the serpent also represents sensual pleasure, and thus seduces the senses and through them corrupts the mind (*Op.*, 165). Eve's curse includes 'resort to her husband' (cf. Gen 3.17) of which Philo says she has two, the lawful husband of the mind, and the other a seducer (*Leg. All.*, 220). I am thankful to Abraham Terian for directing me to these sources.

[46] Based on the Septuagint lexicography of ἀπάτη (cf. Gen 3.13) which, unlike the original Hebrew *hishshî' ani* ('to beguile'), carries a clear sexual connotation, it has been argued that the transition from deception as 'beguilement' to deception as 'seduction,' points to a Greek speaking milieu and that the legend of Eve's seduction by the serpent therefore originated in Greek speaking Judaism, see Hanson, *Studies in the Pastoral Epistles* (1968), 65–77 = 'Eve's transgression: 1 Tim. 2.13–15.'

[47] *Genesis Rabbah*, 2.19.2: "Where was the man (i.e., Adam) when this conversation (i.e., with the serpent) took place?" Abba Halpun bar Qoriah said, "He had earlier had sexual relations, and now he was sleeping it off," cited in Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden?" (1989), 124.

to the creatures of earth but to the celestial beings; and Eve prophesied and said, 'I have begotten a man with the help of the Lord'."[48]

The offspring from this unfortunate affair, as suggested above by Proclus, was Cain, the 'first disciple of sin,' who, favoring his father, murdered his brother Abel, a tradition which may very well underline the sense of John 8.44, where Jesus declaims: "You are of your father the devil, and your will is to do your father's desire. He was a murderer from the beginning, and has nothing to do with the truth."[49] In fifth-century Constantinople, the demonic paternity of Cain seems also to have underlined the caustic exchange between Pulcheria and Nestorius. When the empress endeavored to enter the sanctuary in order to receive the eucharist, as had been her habit, Nestorius barred the way, saying: 'Only priests may walk here,' to which she replied, 'Why? Have I not given birth to God?' 'You?' he retorted, 'You have given birth to Satan,' and proceeded to drive her back into the nave. Shortly afterwards, Nestorius launched an attack on the cult of the Virgin, and challenged the propriety of calling Mary the 'Birth-giver of God.'[50]

Returning to the origins of this tradition, the earliest Christian text which refers explicitly to Eve's seduction by the serpent is the second-century *Protoevengelium of James*, an apocryphal amplification of the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke. Upon learning of Mary's pregnancy, Joseph complains bitterly and wonders: "Is not the story of Adam repeated (ἀνακεφαλαιώϑη) in me? For as Adam was absent in the hour of his prayer and the serpent came and found Eve alone and seduced (ἐξηπάτησεν) and defiled (ἐμίανεν) her, so hath it befallen me."

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48 Ed. Déaut, *Targum du Pentateuque*, *SC* 245 (1978) 100, n. 1; cf. Bowker, *Targums* (1967), 132; Urbach, *The Sages* (1975), 169; 2 Cor. 11.3; 1 Tim. 2.13–15.

49 See Dahl, "Der Erstgeborene Satans" (1964), 70–84. There are violent permutations on this motif in the Gnostic doctrine of the 'rape of Eve': "And the first ruler saw the female virgin standing with Adam … and he defiled and begat on her two sons" (*Apocryphon of John*, 47); "Then the authorities came up to Adam. And when they saw his female counterpart speaking with him they became enamored of her. They said to one another: 'Come, let us sow our seed in her,' and they pursued her. And she laughed at them for their folly and their blindness, and in their clutches she became a tree, and left before them a shadow resembling herself, and they defiled it foully" (*Reality of the Rulers*, 71); "The others came and were amazed at her beauty, and they called her Eve. And they became enamored of her, and begot children on her, and these they also call angels" (cited in Irenaeus, *Haer.*, 1.30.6) (176); numbers in parentheses refer to pages in Layton, *Gnostic Scriptures* (1987); cf. Stroumsa, *Another Seed* (1984), 35–70.

50 This exchange is described in the *Letter to Cosmas*, 5–8, in Nau, *Nestorius. Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas* (1910), 363–64; cf. Braun, "Ein syrischer Bericht über Nestorius" (1900); and Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 152–55, who studies this episode in detail.

Contemplating a course of action, and knowing that, during her childhood, Mary had commerce with angels in the Holy of Holies, Joseph is reluctant to bring charges against her, 'lest that which is in her be from the angels.'[51] Justin Martyr, who is familiar with many of the traditions contained in the *Protoevangelium*, was among the first to develop the Eve-Mary parallel systematically:

> The Word became man by the Virgin, so that disobedience (παρακοή), which came forth from the serpent, might receive its destruction in the same manner in which it derived its origin. For Eve, who was a virgin and undefiled, conceived (συλλαβοῦσα) the word of the serpent and gave birth (ἔτεκε) to disobedience (παρακοή) and death. But the virgin Mary received (λαβοῦσα) faith and joy, when the angel Gabriel announced the good tidings to her.[52]

As noted at the outset of this chapter, apocryphal narratives and learned theological treatises, despite differences in genre and audience, are often motivated by shared concerns, and thus can illuminate a particular set of problematics from complementary perspectives. The complaint of Joseph, in his comic cuckold role, and the antitheses of Justin the tragic philosopher, are to be distinguished perhaps only by degrees of metaphor and representation. For both, Mary and Eve are joined in a diptych of fall and restoration understood either as a momentous embrace or a tragic rejection of the Word of God. Through a process of abstraction from bodily experience, however, Justin parts ways with Joseph as apocryphal reification is supplanted by the symbolic discourses of ethics and theology. In this conceptual transference, the penetration of the body becomes the hearing of the ear, which in

[51] Chap. 13.1–2; 14.1: φοβοῦμαι μήπως ἀγγελικόν ἐστιν τὸ ἐν ἑαυτῇ (ed. Tischendorf, 26, 27; cf. Strycker, 124, 128, cf. 238, no. 2; trans. Elliott, 62).

[52] Justin, *Dialogus*, 100.4–5 (ed. Marcovich, 242–43); cf. Rom. 5.19: "Just as through one man's disobedience (παρακοή) … so through one man's obedience (ὑπακοή)." See also Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 5.19.1: "The Lord was recapitulating that disobedience (παρακοή) which occurred in connection with a tree, through the obedience (ὑπακοή) on the tree (of the cross), and also of that seduction (ἐξαπάτησις) by which Eve, who was married, was seduced (ἐξηπατήθη), through the truth which was announced to the Virgin Mary. For just as the former was seduced (ἐξηπατήθη) by the word (ῥήμα) of an angel; so did the latter, also by the word (ῥήμα) of an angel, receive the glad tidings that she should bear (βαστάσῃ) God by being obedient (ὑπακούσασα) to his word. And if the former was seduced (ἐξηπατήθη) to disobey (παρακοῦσαι) God, the latter was obedient (ὑπακοῦσαι) to God … and as the human race fell into bondage and death by means of a virgin, so is it rescued by a virgin; virginal disobedience (παρθενικὴ παρακοή) having been balanced in the opposite scale by virginal obedience (παρθενικὴ ὑπακοή)" (ed. Rousseau, *SC* 153 [1969], 249–51).

turn serves to model (or demonically parody) the entry of God into the mimetic fecundity of consciousness. In the act of listening, Eve and Mary become the other, or rather, they allow the other to become a part of themselves. 'Hearing' is thus symbolically ordered to obedience, signifying a procreative conjunction of wills, and in both Greek and Syriac the words 'hearing' (ἀκοή), 'obedience' (ὑπακοή), and 'disobedience' (παρακοή) are all derived from the same root.[53]

Similar connections between hearing and (dis)obedience are explored by Gregory of Nyssa in an extraordinary passage from his *Life of Moses*:

> It is said that at Aaron's command they took off their earrings, which provided material for the idol (Ex 32.3; cf. Dt. 15.17). What shall we say about this? That Moses adorned the hearing (ἀκοή) of the Israelites with an ornament for the ear (τῷ ἐνωτίῳ κόσμῳ), which is the Law, but the false brother through disobedience (παρακοή) removes the ornament placed on their hearing (ἀκοή) and makes an idol of it. Even at the original entrance of sin, the advice to disobey the commandment (Gen 3.5) was a certain 'removal of the earrings,' that is … to remove from the hearing (ἀκοή) the earring of the commandment.

Gregory then likens the creation of Adam and Eve to the creation of the first two tablets of the decalogue (Ex. 24.12; 32.15). From this he concludes that the beginning of human nature was 'unbroken and immortal,' and that Adam and Eve were like living tablets, inscribed by the 'finger of God':

> But when the sound of sin had struck (προσέπεσε τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἦχος), which Genesis calls the 'voice of the serpent' (Gen. 3.4), but which the story about the tablets calls the 'voice of drunken singing' (Ex 32.18), then the tablets fell to earth and were broken. Then Christ, the true law-giver, cuts for himself the tablets of nature from our earth, and he became the stone-cutter of his own flesh, which was carved by the divine finger, for the 'Holy Spirit came upon the virgin and the power of the Most High overshadowed her' (Lk. 1.15).[54]

[53] Cf. Hesychius of Jerusalem, *de Hypapante*, 4: "What is the meaning of the name 'Symeon'? It means the 'Hearing of God' (ἀκοὴ θεοῦ), a name fitted to his manner of life, for wherever there is the 'Hearing of God' there is assuredly obedience (ὑπακοή) to the law, the keeping of the commandments, and the way of a pure life leading to salvation, which very things characterize the true human being," ed. Aubineau, 1:32, lines 19–24; cf. 33, n. 2, where Aubineau cites a parallel in Neilus of Ancyra, ep. 190: 'Symeon' = ὑπακοὴ θεοῦ (*PG* 79.121C). Note that Byzantine iconography closely identifies the figures of Symeon and the Theotokos, on which see Carr, "Presentation of an Icon" (1993–94).

[54] Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Moses* [212–16], ed. Musurillo, *GNO* 7.2 (1964), 107, lines

In this extremely dense passage, Gregory brings together three pivotal moments in the history of redemption: the creation of Adam and Eve, the giving of the Law at Sinai, and the conception of Christ in the womb of the Virgin. These seemingly unrelated events are pulled into a single alignment and made to orbit in a universe of discourse in which 'hearing' provides the center of gravity. At the outset, faithful attention and obedience to the Law are figured as ornaments of gold for the ear.[55] However, the 'false brother' transgresses the Law through disobedience, and, having subverted the symbolic function of hearing, lapses into the deafening inebriations of idolatry. As the 'false brother' of Moses (himself a type of Christ), Aaron is subtly assimilated to Cain, and, through his 'disobedience,' to Eve. In a fascinating twist of the allegorical rope, Nyssa deftly intertwines the fall at Sinai with the fall in Eden. The first two tablets, which 'fell to earth and were broken,' repeat the fate of the fallen first pair, who, like 'living stones,' return in death to the earth whence they were taken. In both instances, the tablets are toppled by the 'sound of sin,' the shattering force of which is equally present in both the 'voice of the serpent' and the 'voice of drunken singing.' Finally, Christ, the new Moses, assumes the role of a new Adam, as the drama of Sinai and Eden is reenacted in a virgin's womb in Nazareth. In the final act, the 'true-lawgiver' is himself the Law, and the tablet of his body is quarried from the flesh of Mary. Submitting to the self-emptying of language and representation, the humanity of God is formed as an incision, an absence, a trace left by the dragging of a finger.

Mother of Pearl

With Mary's aural reception of the divine Word, the virginal ear is once again bound to the voice of the Bridegroom. Bound, that is, by a pearl-studded earring. In a liturgical poem written by Romanos for the feast of the Annunciation, Mary questions Joseph after the departure of Gabriel: "Where were you, O wise Joseph? Why did you not protect

3–15; 108, line 18–109, line 7. Baltoyianni, "Christ the Lamb and the 'ΕΝΩΤΙΟΝ' of the Law" (1993–94), 53–58, links Nyssa's argument to the iconography of the Christ child depicted with "an exquisite earring, with a ring on its upper part, and with three small pendants that reach to his shoulder." I am thankful to Maria Parani for this reference.

[55] For a discussion of Philo's rather different treatment of this passage, see Chidester, *Word and Light* (1992), 30–43.

my virginity? For a winged being came to me, and gave me gifts of betrothal, pearls for my ears. He hung his words like rings upon my ears. Look and see how beautifully he has arrayed me."[56] Born in Syria, the poet may have derived this notion from a local tradition which held that pearl earrings worn by Christian women were fitting symbols of the incarnation:

> If I am hung from the ear, it is to crown the hearing of women, who were worthy to receive by their ears the Word, the Pearl which the Father gave to save the world, and I am hung from the ears of virgins to honor the ear which served as the gateway to the Word. I am placed as guardian of the gate, outside the gateway of the ear, to honor the abode in which he dwelt.[57]

The metaphor of Christ as the 'Pearl of the Father' was encouraged by the lore of the natural sciences which believed that pearls were produced by a bolt of lightning (Yeats' 'fallen flare') penetrating the ocean depths and impregnating the oyster. "Let heaven above rejoice, let the earth below be glad," exclaimed John of Damascus on the day of the Virgin's birth, "and let the sea of the world be shaken, for within it a shell (κόχλος) is born, which shall conceive in its womb by the lightning bolt of divinity, and shall give birth to Christ, the precious pearl."[58] As a shimmering compound of fire and water, the pearl's paradoxical origins provided Christian rhetors with a striking image of the incarnation, and Mary's ear was subsequently transformed into a delicately fluted shell, a 'soft-conched' receptacle of divine breath and sound. Given their

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56 Romanos, IX.12, ed. Grosdidier de Matons, *SC* 110 (1965), 2:32, lines 4–8; cf. the *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (London, 1916; repr. New York, 1981), 100: "God gave the woman nine curses (including the curse that) her ear shall be 'pierced' like the 'ears of perpetual slaves'" (cf. Dt. 15.17).

57 Graffin, "Le thème de la Perle" (1967), 362; cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 2.12: "More prized than precious stones is the pearl. It forms inside the oyster-shell and looks like a great fish's eye. And some women are not ashamed of attaching great importance to the product of a sea shell. But a holy stone would be a far better ornament for them, the Word of God which scripture has described as a pearl. It is Jesus in his brightness and his purity, the all-seeing eye, the invisible Logos which took human flesh, whose precious flesh was made regenerate in the water of baptism" (ed. Stählin, *SC* 108 [1965], 224–26). Similar sentiments are voiced by Chrysostom, *De virginitate*, 63.2, who warns women that wearing jewelry may not actually enhance their beauty: "Dark skin only appears darker when the light hue of the pearl is laid upon it, as if the pearl were glistening in the gloom" (ed. Musurillo and Grillet, *SC* 125 [1966], 324, lines 13–15). On Romanos and the Syriac tradition, cf. Peterson, *Ephrem and Romanos* (1985); and Brock, "From Ephrem to Romanos" (1989).

58 John of Damascus, *In nativitatem Mariae*, I.4 (ed. Kotter, 5:172–73).

aesthetic and economic value, pearls were also the privileged tokens of imperial authority, and Leo I (*sed.* 457–474) expressly proscribed their use by private individuals.[59]

With such a range of associations, it was not long before the Virgin was linked inseparably with the pearl in both its naturalist and aristocratic settings.[60] In a sermon attributed to Epiphanius, Mary's links to the pearl are strengthened by the invention of an imaginary etymology,[61] while in a sermon ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus, Gabriel uses the pearl's binary origins to indoctrinate Mary in the christology of Chalcedon: "'Just as the pearl is compounded out of two natures, that is, from lightning and from water, so too is the incarnate savior in two natures.' And in this way (i.e., through the medium of the angel's greeting)," the preacher concludes, "Mary received the Word, and brought forth the priceless Pearl."[62] These literary tropes were monumentalized in the architecture of the Byzantine sanctuary, a sacred grotto terminating at its east end with a semicylindrical apse. The apse itself was

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[59] The law is preserved in the *Justinianic Codex* 11.12 [11]. The imperial cult of pearls reached an early peak under the Ptolemies. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 9.119, mentions Cleopatra's *hypogeion* lavishly adorned with pearls, as well as her own costly collection valued at 100 million sesterces (ed. Saint-Denis, *Pline l'Ancien* [1955], 9:75–76).

[60] Proclus notes that 'Mary alone was entrusted with the treasury of the pearl' (above, 2.XII, 191; cf. 5.III, 84); cf. id., *In natale domini*: 'The pearl lodged in the shell (ἐν τῷ ὀστράκῳ)' (ed. Leroy, "Une nouvelle homélie acrostiche," 164, lines 18–19, cf. under 'Proclus' in the Bibliography); Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, 72–73, no. 79): 'Joseph and Mary deposited a priceless pearl in the manger' (*PG* 60.755D); cf. Basil of Seleucia, *annunt.* (attributed to Proclus; cf. Marx, 84–89, no. 89): "How will I dare to search out the depths of the virginal sea and find the great mystery hidden therein, if you do not instruct me, O Theotokos? Only then, shining with the light of your mercy, shall I find within you the pearl of truth" (*PG* 85.436A); Chrysippus, *Hom. in s. Mariam*: 'Hail Cave (πέτρα) of the pearl beyond all price' (ed. Jugie [1926], 337 [219], line 5); Joseph the Hymnographer, *Canon ad hymnum Acathiston*, 5.5: 'You are the conch-shell (κόχλος) which brought forth the sacred pearl' (*PG* 105.1021D); Ps.-Epiphanius, *laudes s. Mariae*: 'Hail, spiritual sea, whose depths contain the heavenly pearl' (PG 43.489D); and Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.*: 'You were shown to be the treasury of the spiritual pearl' (*PG* 62.766B).

[61] Ps.-Epiphanius, ibid.: "The name 'Mary' also means 'myrrh of the sea,' myrrh denoting immortality, for in the sea of the world she gave birth to the immortal Pearl … Rejoice, O spiritual sea containing Christ the Pearl … (you are an) imperial crown in which is set the precious pearl which is Christ … you bore the Pearl, and you wove the Crown" (*PG* 43.489A, 496B).

[62] Hom. 1, *annunt.* (*PG* 10.1149B; 1152CD; cf. 1157D); cf. Ps.-Athanasius, *Quaestiones aliae*, 19: "Just as the pearl is both heavenly and earthly, heavenly according to the bolt of lightning, and earthly according to its union (συμπλοκή) with the oyster, so too is Christ heavenly according to his divinity and earthly according to his humanity" (*PG* 28.792B).

vaulted by a shell-like quarter-sphere, called a 'conch' (κόγχη), decorated with an image of the Theotokos caressing her luminous, dual-natured offspring.[63]

The female body, reconfigured as a shell-like receptacle for its precious deposit, was an ancient sexual symbol, an emblem of the universal matrix construed within an aquatic cosmology.[64] The embryological symbolism of the pearl formed within the oyster, and the perceived resemblance between marine-shells and female reproductive parts, encouraged their association with female generative powers. In addition, powdered pearls were frequently used as aphrodisiacs, and the wearing of oysters, shells, and pearls was thought to induce pregnancy, assist in parturition, and to heighten the magical powers of the womb. Finally, the symbol of the pearl suggests some of the ways in which Mary appropriated the attributes of her ancient counterparts, particularly 'shell-born Aphrodite' who was known in Syria as the 'Lady of the Pearls.'[65]

In this poetic universe, the crystalline edifice of sacred history is constructed, shattered, and renovated upon a vast acoustic scaffolding. In the beginning, voices created the heavens and the earth, animating the cosmos through sound. In the end, new voices create new perceptions and new attentions: a salutation of joy. What began with the voice of the Father comes to fulfillment with the voice of the Mother. In a liturgical poem written by Romanos for the feast of the Nativity, Mary sings to her newborn child who is cradled in her arms like a pearl in a sigh-

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[63] Cf. Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, 3.32 (*PG* 20.1092C); and Ps.-Basil, *Historia mystagogica*, 2: "The 'conch' (i.e., the apse) is the cave in Bethlehem where Christ was born, as well as the cave in which he was buried" (ed. Brightman [1908], 258, line 4).

[64] See, for example, Henderson, *Maculate Muse* (1983), 142, who notes that the word "*kogche*, the cavity (pink or red) of a seashell, used in technical writers for many bodily cavities, is a double entendre meaning 'vagina'." According to Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* (1968), 12:147, the "symbolism of the shell seems to be an adaptation from the Greek tradition, where it originally represented the vulva of the sea from which Aphrodite was born, and then the vulva of the sea goddesses, especially Aphrodite and the nymphs, which they offer to men for rebirth into immortality." See also the *Hymn of the Pearl*, in which the quest for a pearl symbolizes the soul's entry into and emergence from bodily incarnation (trans. Layton, *Gnostic Scriptures*, 371–75); for a study of this work, along with a survey of earlier scholarship, see Poirier, *L'Hymne de la perle* (1981).

[65] On Aphrodite, see Déonna, "Aphrodite à la coquille" (1917), 400; for the amulets see Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions* (1930), 73. In the Christian iconography of Ethiopia, Mary and Christ are frequently adorned with cowrie shells, cf. Grierson, *African Zion* (1993), 98–99; and Barb, "Diva Matrix" (1953), 204–207.

ing shell.[66] The sound of her lullaby descends into the depths of Hades, where it echoes in the ears of Eve who 'gave birth to children in sorrow and pain' (Gen. 3.16). Filled with joy, Eve declares that the 'sound of Mary's voice alone has put an end to my pain.' Like a 'nightingale singing at dawn,' Mary's song awakens the slumbering Adam, who 'opens his ear that had once been sealed by disobedience.' "I hear a sweet, rushing sound," he declares, "a murmur of delight, but the voice of the chanter charms me not, for it is that of a woman, the sound of whose voices I have been taught by experience to fear. Will she deceive me as of old, bringing me disgrace, the one full of grace?" Eve reassures her spouse that the child of Mary has made all things new: "Inhale his dew, blossom like a flower, rise like a stalk of wheat, for spring has come even to you; Jesus Christ breathes a sweet, fresh breeze. Come and follow me to Mary." Leaving their tombs and arriving at the manger, the first parents are greeted by their virgin daughter, who, assuming the role of Gabriel, proclaims 'good-tidings' (εὐαγγελισμός) in the 'ears of Eve.'

Theological Problems: The Demise of Mary's Ear

Despite the mastery with which these symbolic ornaments were wrought, the doctrine of the *conceptio per aurem* was not without certain theological problems. In this auditory drama, the three main characters, Christ, Gabriel, and Mary, all suffered from what would prove to be fatal flaws. While Mary's ear may have provided a satisfactory analogy for the interior dynamics of parthenogenesis, it gave birth to a number of unwanted corollaries and fostered an unruly brood of conceptual misunderstandings. In theological terms, the *conceptio per aurem* posed serious concerns for christology and the doctrine of the incarnation, threatening to undermine the church's commitment to the full human nature of Christ.

The spectre of christological docetism was further complicated upon its insertion into a labyrinthine angelic cosmography, a hermetic universe twisting and turning like the spiral of a marine shell, in which Christ was confused with an angel as he passed through the orders of celestial hierarchies in his dissembling descent to the earth. Thus when Mary conceived upon hearing the Word of God from the mouth of

[66] The imagery in this paragraph is paraphrased from Romanos, XI, *On the Nativity* (II), 3–6, 18, ed. Grosdidier de Matons, *SC* 110 (1965), 2:90–94, 110.

Gabriel, it was concluded that either the timbre of the angelic voice was itself the immediate cause of her pregnancy, or that Gabriel was actually Christ himself in the semblance of an angel. Finally, if the Virgin conceived simply because her ear was struck by the sound of the angel's voice (Lk. 1.28), then her consent to the incarnation, tendered after the fact (Lk. 1.38), would appear to be emptied of its significance. That a human body could be so wantonly inhabited by the divine raises fundamental questions of freedom and human agency, although these were not at the forefront of the fifth-century debates. However, a number of later Byzantine writers became increasingly concerned about these questions, and some of them explicitly rejected the reductive identification of conception with annunciation. Instead they argued not for the agency of Mary's acquiescent hearing, but for the creative power of her own voice.

'Like Water through a Tube'

It was perhaps inevitable that the notion of the Virgin's conception through hearing, with its breathtakingly sublimated physiology, would find itself in tension with the full humanity of Christ, whom it seemingly diminished to the sound of a distant echo dying in the ditch of Mary's ear. 'Could it be,' mused Mary, 'that I am pregnant with wind?'[67] Advocates of orthodox christology did not think so, and were at pains to point this out. In the third-century Syriac *Acts of John*, for example, the formula of 'conception through hearing' appears no less than four times. In each instance, however, it is carefully qualified by the repeated affirmation of Mary's 'nine-month pregnancy,' emphasizing that 'the Word shared in the flesh of the fallen Adam, and remained nine months in the womb of Mary.'[68] The reiteration of these uni-

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[67] From an anonymous Syriac verse homily on Mary, in Brock, *Bride of Light*, 139, line 127.

[68] Text and trans. in Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (1871); for the four attestations, cf. pp. 7, 14, 26, 33. It is worth noting that the entire narrative of John's authoritative preaching is described as a conflict of voices demonic and divine. The *Acts* begin with the 'flaming tongues' of Pentecost, and with the apostles 'preaching for the hearing of the faith' and 'illuminating the ears blinded by the evil one.' Through John's preaching, the 'roaring of demonic falsehood' is silenced by the 'apostolic voice of thunder.' Unavoidably, John becomes involved in a shouting match with the priests of Artemis, who are themselves mesmerized by a voice emitted by the cult statue of the goddess: "From the mouth of the image came the sound of a humming like that of bees, and the priests laid their ear on the mouth of the image, and the devils in the statue gave forth

form avowals undoubtedly reflects one side of what Salome the midwife described as 'no small contention' concerning the virgin birth. In this case, the emphasis on Mary's full pregnancy is clearly a counterweight to the docetic assertion that the Word took nothing from the humanity of Mary but instead passed through her like 'water through a tube' (διὰ σωλῆνος). This latter formula was traditionally associated with the christologies of Valentinus and Apollinarius, and was uniformly condemned by such notables as Irenaeus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzus, Ephrem, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Theodoret,[69] and John of Damascus, who provides an interesting variant: "Christ was conceived through the Virgin's sense of hearing (δι' ἀκοῆς), but made his exit in the more usual manner, even though some myth-makers claim that he was delivered through her side (πλευρά)."[70]

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a voice." At the mass-baptism of the city, John prays that the Lord will 'sanctify this water with thy voice, which resounded over the Jordan.' The *Acts* close with the episode of an angel striking the emperor Nero, who 'loses his speech and howls like a dog.'

[69] Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, 1.7.2: "They say that Christ passed through (διοδεύσαντα) Mary like water flows through a tube (καθάπερ ὕδωρ διὰ σωλῆνος ὁδεύει)" (ed. Rousseau, *SC* 264 [1979], 103, line 698); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. illum.*, 4.9: 'The incarnation did not occur in semblance or fantasy, but in truth; neither did the Lord pass through the Virgin as if through a tube (οὐδὲ διὰ σωλῆνος διελθὼν)' (*PG* 33.465B); Gregory Nazianzus, ep. 101.16: "If anyone says that Christ passed through (διαδραμεῖν) the Virgin like water through a tube (διὰ σωλῆνος) he is likewise separated from God (ὁμοίως ἄθεος)" (ed. Gallay, *SC* 208 [1974], 42); Ephrem, *Homily on the Nativity*: "Not as he entered did he leave her, for from her he put on a body and came forth" (Brock, *Harp of the Spirit* [1985], 66, lines 137–38); Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 31.7.4: "They (i.e., the Valentinians) say that his body came down from heaven and passed through (διεληλυθέναι) Mary like water through a tube (διὰ σωλῆνος)" (ed. Holl, *GCS* 25 [1915], 1:396, lines 9–11; cf. ibid., 31.4.3, p. 388, lines 8–11); Chrysostom, *in Mt.* 4.3: "The Gospel says just enough to refute those who say that Christ passed through (παρῆλθον) the Virgin as if through a tube (διὰ τινος σωλῆνος)" (PG 57.43B); and Theodoret, ep. 145: "Valentinus and Basilides, Bardesanes and Harmonius, and those of their company, allow indeed the Virgin's conception and the birth, but affirm that God the Word took nothing from the Virgin, but devised an alternative way (πάροδόν τινα ποιήσασθαι) and passed through her like a tube (διὰ σωλῆνος)" (*PG* 83.1380B); cf. id., *Haer. fab. comp.*, 5.11 (ibid., 488D); and Hippolytus, *Elenchus*, 6.35 (ed. Wendland, *GCS* 26 [1916], 3:164–65). See also the study of Tardieu, "Comme à travers un tuyau" (1981), 151–77.

[70] *De fide orthodoxa*, 87.4.14 (as above, n. 30). That Christ emerged from Mary's 'side' is a reference to the formation of Eve from the side of Adam, cf. Gen. 2.21–22: "And God formed the rib (πλευρά) which he took from Adam into a woman." By extension, this is also a reference to the passion, foreshadowed in the striking and piercing of Mary's ear.

The Voice of Gabriel and the Word of God

To complicate matters further, Luke's foregrounding of the archangel Gabriel at the moment of Mary's conception suggested a causal connection between the sound of the angelic voice striking Mary's ear and the incarnation of the Word in her womb. Origen is among the first to stress such a connection. In an uncharacteristically literal reading of Luke 1.28 ('The Lord is with you'), the Alexandrian exegete notes that: "From this it follows that together with the angel's greeting (ἅμα τῷ εὐαγγελίσασθαι), the virgin immediately (εὐθύς) conceived in a manner beyond all expectation."[71] For Peter of Alexandria, the

> 'Word became flesh and dwelt among us' (Jn. 1.14) obviously when the angel greeted the Virgin, saying, 'Hail, O favored one, the Lord is with you!' (Lk. 1.28). For the statement, 'The Lord is with you,' which she hears from the angel, stands for 'God the Word is with you.'[72]

In an acrostic narrative possibly written by Proclus, Joseph underlines the agency of Gabriel's words and says: "You gave the maiden this strange appearance. You delivered the greeting and she became pregnant with salvation: you said 'Hail' (Lk. 1.28), and in her 'the Word became flesh'" (Jn. 1.14).[73] Andrew of Crete noted simply that: "When the time of her betrothal was made manifest … she received the voice (φωνή) of Gabriel instead of seed (σπορά)."[74] With typically Byzantine elaboration, John Geometres stated that: "The phrase (λόγος), 'The Lord is with you' (Lk. 1.28), is itself the very consummation of the promise. The Bridegroom is eloquent (εὔλογος), and, as the Word, it

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[71] Origen, *in Lc.*, frg. 21d, ed. Rauer, *GCS* 49 (1959), 9:235, lines 7–8

[72] Cited by Cyril of Alexandria, *Apologia xii capitulorum*, 13 (*ACO* I, 1, 7, pp. 36–37).

[73] Leroy, "Une nouvelle homélie acrostiche," 172, lines 5–9 (as above, n. 60).

[74] *In nativitatem Mariae* (*PG* 97.820C); cf. Ephrem, *Diatessaron*, 4.15: 'Consider the angel who came to deposit this seed in Mary, the seed, that is, of his words' (ed. Leloir, 102); and the *Hymn on Mary*, 8: "He (i.e., Gabriel) opened his mouth, and sowed the salutation in her ears, to her joy" (Brock, *Bride of Light*, 93); Anastasius of Antioch, hom. 1, *annunt.*: "Gabriel was sent to the Virgin to announce the virginal birth and together with the greeting (ἅμα τε τῷ ἀσπασμῷ) the 'Word became flesh' (Jn. 1.14)" (*PG* 89.1384CD); id., hom. 2, *annunt.*: "When the angel announced these things to the Virgin, together with his words (καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς λόγοις) the only-begotten son of God descended into the virgin womb" (*PG* 89.1388CD); Sophronius of Jerusalem, *annunt.*: "Gabriel, having persuaded the Virgin Theotokos, ascended into the heavens while she bore God within her womb … For no sooner (ἅμα) had the Word of God drawn near to her through the voice of the angel (διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀγγέλου φωνῆς), when it entered into her divine womb and became flesh" (*PG* 87.3277BC).

is through this word, and with this word, and beyond all words, that he becomes incarnate."[75] The momentous concurrence of annunciation and conception continued to be proclaimed and celebrated throughout the Byzantine period, lavishly bejeweled with rhetorical baubles and conspicuously decked out with an effusion of conceits:

> Today the spiritual and precious Bridal Chamber receives the message (μήνυμα) of the mystical and inneffable alliance (συνάλλαγμα), and together with this (σὺν αὐτῷ) she receives the Bridegroom himself in a manner beyond all reasoning … 'Hail, O favored one, the Lord is with you' (Lk. 1.28). How can the mind not tremble before this miracle? A bodiless voice resounds (ἀσώματος ἐξηχεῖτο φωνή), and the formless Son of God is clothed in bodily nature. The utterance of a mere word (λόγος ψιλός) signals joy, and the Word beyond being (ὁ ὑπερούσιος Λόγος) is enfolded within the density of the flesh … Upon hearing the sound of the archangel's voice (φωνή), all the spiritual powers danced with joy. Heaven above was glad because of that voice, which resounded in the clouds like dew drops of delight. The air was sanctified by its reverberations, and the universe glimmered with a great light. Like bolts of lightning striking the ends of the earth, the sun sent forth its rose-colored rays with a still greater light, and the stars twinkled brilliantly with unalloyed beauty. The ears of human nature were opened (διηνοίχθη τὰ ὦτα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως), and the mute voice (ἀφωνία) of the Fall was transformed into praise (εὐφημία).[76]

In these passages, the metaphorical possibilities of hearing have become an ontology of speech as the vocalization of sounds and words is granted an almost magical, actualizing efficacy. The power of language to call forth being from nothingness defines the incarnation as a 'new creation' in which the cosmos is both fashioned and refashioned through the poiesis of speech and sound: "He spoke, and they were made. He commanded and they were created" (Ps. 32.9; cf. Gen. 1.2–24). In addition, the efficacy of the angel's words may also reflect the efficacy of ritual blessings ('The Lord is with you'), including the actualization of the body of Christ at the consecration of the eucharistic gifts, a sacramental speech act performed in the 'conch-shell' of the eastern apse, and traditionally framed by the iconography of the Annunciation.

Other texts dealing with the agency of Gabriel in the incarnation engage in dramatic subversions of time and space as the eternal is man-

[75] John Geometres (ca. 950), *annunt.* (*PG* 106.820BC).
[76] James Kokkinobaphos (ca. 1150), *annunt.* (*PG* 127.632C, 641AB, 653AB).

ifested within finitude.[77] These temporal and spatial paradoxes strive to obviate the causal efficacy of Gabriel's words by stressing that the Word of God is everywhere present and was therefore his own principle of generation in the womb of Mary. In a pseudo-Chrysostomic sermon, for instance, the pre-incarnate Christ sends Gabriel to Nazareth, saying: "Make haste, for you shall find me already there in the place where I send you. Although I will remain here, I shall arrive there (προφθάνω) before you; and both before you, and after you, I am coming to her. You, therefore, bear the announcement of my arrival, and I, invisibly present, shall seal your words with deeds." In another sermon, Gabriel tells Mary that: "You shall conceive in your womb (Lk. 1.31), and the deed has anticipated (προέφθασε) my word, for the mystical conception was faster than the sound of my voice (ὀξυτέρα τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς)." Gabriel makes a similar statement in a sermon by Andrew of Crete: "The Lord is with you (Lk. 1.28), and in you, for having already arrived (προφθάσας), he leaped (εἰσεπήδησε) and settled in your womb."[78]

As mentioned above, these arguments endeavor to undermine the causal role imputed to Gabriel in the incarnation by destabilizing the linear temporality in which the sequence of cause and effect operates and unfolds. In the vertiginous framework of infinite presence, Gabriel's seminal salutation is redefined as a mere temporal medium for the eternal Word of God. Such refined theological distinctions, however, for all their philosophical insight and rhetorical brilliance, appear to have had but little impact on the interpretation of Luke 1.28. The normative temporality of the text inexorably reasserted itself, and philosophical nuances regarding paradoxes of time and space were eclipsed by the unavoidable sequence of the very narrative that they sought to subvert. Scripture itself, moreover, testified to the desire of celestial beings for commerce with attractive young maidens, and the visit of an angel to a virgin lately pregnant continued to be the subject of rumors and speculation.

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[77] Note the catalepsy of creation at the moment of the Nativity in the *Protoevangelium*, 18.2, ed. Tischendorf, 34–35; cf. Strycker, 148–50; trans. Elliott, 64; see also, Smid, *Commentary*, 127–30; and Bovon, "Suspension of Time in the *Protoevangelium*" (1991).

[78] Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.* (*PG* 62.756C); Ps.-Chrysostom, *annunt.* (PG 62.766C); Andrew of Crete, *annunt.* (*PG* 97.905B). See also, Ps.-Chrysostom, *Or. de hypapante* (ed. Bickersith [1966], 56, lines 9–10); Ps.-Gregory Thaumaturgus, hom. 1, *annunt.* (PG 10.1152D); Germanos of Constantinople, *annunt.* (*PG* 98.328CD); and Simeon the Potter, *Hymn* 1.1: "I (i.e., Gabriel) left Him above, on His throne, only to find Him here with you! Blessed is He in whose presence the angels give praise in both heights and the depths" (Brock, *Bride of Light*, 102).

Christ the Angel

On the basis of Gabriel's key role at the moment of the incarnation, some readers (and hearers) of Luke's narrative of the Annunciation concluded that the Savior himself was in fact an angel, or had at least assumed the form of one, in order to enter the body of the Virgin. That Christ could be designated as an angel was a move encouraged in part by the traditional identification of the Old Testament 'Angel of the Lord' with the pre-existent Word in early Christian exegesis. Justin, for example, interpreted the three angels who visited Abraham (Gen. 18.1–15), not as a symbol of the Trinity, but as the appearance of the pre-incarnate Word in the company of two angels.[79] Similarly, Origen taught that the 'two seraphim' of Isaiah 6.2 were the Word and the Spirit, two 'powers' of God alternatively revealing and concealing the divine glory.[80] The so-called 'angel christologies' of 'Jewish Christianity' (to heap one scholarly construction on top of another) were not simply the artifacts of an insufficiently Hellenized Christianity, and though their wings were clipped with the condemnation of Arianism, they continued to take flight in liturgy and the popular imagination.[81] The metamorphosis of Christ into the archangel Gabriel, whose name, as Proclus points out, means 'God and man,'[82] seemed particularly appropriate in the context of the Annunciation, when a heavenly messenger 'sent from God' (Lk. 1.26), was flanked by the 'Holy Spirit' and the 'Power of the Most High' (Lk. 1.35) at the moment of the incarnation.

The designation of Christ as an 'angel' provided early christology with a vocabulary of transcendence based on a unified reading of scripture which served to articulate Christ's function as the messenger and mediator between God and the world. However, these categories

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[79] Justin, *Dialogus*, 56.4–11 (ed. Marcovich, 161–63); cf. Osborn, *Justin Martyr* (1973), 32–35, who emphasizes that Justin is not seeking to reduce the Word to the status of an angel or heavenly messenger, but rather to show how it is possible for the Word to be numerically distinct from the Father.

[80] *Contra Celsum*, 6.18 (ed. Borret, *SC* 147 [1969], 224; trans. Chadwick, 331); cf. the texts collected and studied by Trigg, "Angel of Great Counsel" (1991).

[81] Still worth consulting are the works of Barbel, *Christos Angelos* (1941), 284–97; and Michaelis, *Engelchristologie* (1942). See now, Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 1:46–53; and Hannah, *Michael and Christ* (1999).

[82] Proclus, hom. 1.V, 67; cf. Ephrem, who calls Gabriel the 'mouth of God,' cited in Cramer, *Engelvorstellungen bei Ephräm* (1965), 95. Krüger, "Sermo des Philoxenos" (1954), makes some insightful remarks regarding the connection between the human form of the angel and the human form of Christ.

took on new, and often sinister, import when inserted into the planetary and astrological cosmographies of gnosticism and similar theosophical systems. In this framework, the maze of Mary's ear was but the last stop in a coiling astral conduit, a shell game of planetry spheres controlled by hostile cosmic powers who imprinted their vices on embryos at birth and thwarted the ascent of their souls after death. The incarnation was thus a dangerous rescue mission behind enemy lines, a theater of war in which the savior eluded his enemies by means of a clever disguise.

The *Epistula Apostolorum*, which seeks to counter and condemn the gnosticism of 'Simon and Cerinthus,' backhandedly provides us with several important aspects of this myth. In the form of an apocalyptic-ridden letter to his disciples, the savior reveals that he became an "angel among angels, and appeared in the form of Gabriel to the virgin Mary, and spoke with her, and her heart received me; she believed and laughed; and I, the Word, went into her womb and became flesh." Here, Christ's identification with Gabriel explicitly proscribes the possibility that the latter was the agent of the incarnation: "I alone," Christ declares, "was servant to myself with respect to Mary in an appearance of the form of an angel." Although the savior acknowledges that he found it necessary to 'distract' the angels and divert their attention from his mission, he nevertheless assumed their form to 'become all in all with them.'[83]

In an entry on the behavior of lions, the *Physiologus* states that the 'king of beasts' conceals its tracks in order to elude hunters, a ruse which is taken as an allegory of the incarnation, for Christ, the 'spiritual lion,' is said to have 'concealed the traces of his divinity' as he plummeted to earth: "Among the angels, Christ became an angel; among the archangels an archangel; among the Thrones a Throne; among the Powers a Power, until he entered the womb of the Virgin and became

[83] *Ep. Apostolorum*, 14; on the text, which is dated to the late second century, see *CANT* 22; trans. Elliott, 564–65; cf. the *Ascension of Isaiah*, 10.7, where God commands the Son to "descend through the heavens … and make your likeness like those who are in the five heavens … and none of the angels shall know that you are Lord" (trans. Knibb, *Pseudepigrapha*, 173). On the 'laughing maiden,' see Gen. 18.12; and *Sibylline Oracle*, 8: "The archangel addressed the maiden in speech: 'In thine immaculate bosom, O Virgin, do thou receive God.' As he said this (ὣς εἰπών), God breathed grace (ἔμπνευσε χάριν) into the sweet maiden … she rejoiced and her heart was warmed by the saying, and the maiden laughed, her cheeks flushed scarlet … The Word flew into her body (ἔπος δ' εἰσέπτατο νηδύν), was made flesh in time and brought forth to life in her womb,' ed. J. Geffcken, *GCS*, 8 (Leipzig, 1902), 171–72; 456–70.

flesh."[84] In a Ps.-Chrysostomic sermon probably written by Proclus, Mary is said to be 'betrothed to Joseph' so that the "thief (i.e., the devil) might not learn the mystery of the incarnation, for the wicked one knew that Christ would come through a virgin, having heard Isaiah say, 'a virgin shall conceive' (Is. 7.14)." In the same sermon, the pre-incarnate Word informs Gabriel that "I desire to elude (λαθεῖν) all the powers of heaven, and it is to you alone that I entrust this mystery … therefore prepare for me the entrances of her ears."[85]

In the *Pistis Sophia*, the savior 'assumes the likeness of Gabriel' in order to 'elude the archons of the aeons' (cf. 1 Cor. 2.7–8), and "spoke with (Mary) in the form of Gabriel; and when she had turned upwards toward me, I thrust into her the first power, which is the body that I wore on high. And in the place of the soul, I thrust into her the power which I received from the great Sabaoth."[86] In another version of this myth, docetic christology is matched by an equally docetic mariology as the Virgin is reconfigured as but a mask for the archangel Michael. The angelic apotheosis of Mary became the focus of a doctrinal inquiry recorded in a work attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem. In an extraordinary aside, 'Cyril' expresses his desire to 'relate to you an incident that happened to me,' concerning a certain monk of Gaza, who 'received instruction in the heresy of Sator, Ebion and Harpocratius.' Citing a

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[84] Kaimakis, *Physiologus* (1974), 6a. Two of the variants provided by Kaimakis (6b, 7a) conclude the descent by noting that Christ ultimately became a 'man among men.' Recensions of this work by early Christian editors have been dated from the second through the sixth century, cf. Scott, "Date of the *Physiologus*" (1998), 430–41. See also the anonymous Syriac verse homily on Mary: "(Gabriel) flew through the serried orders of fiery beings without being delayed by a single one of them. He passed through the ranks of flame, through the bands of the Children of Light. On his head he donned white locks so that he might appear to her as someone old" (Brock, *Bride of Light*, 136–37).

[85] *In annuntiationem b. virginis* (*PG* 50.793BC, 794AB); on the attribution, cf. 'Proclus' in the Bibliography. See also Ps.-Proclus, hom. 6.11: "Wishing to elude (λαθεῖν) the enemy, he who shares the throne (σύνθρονος) of the paternal hypostasis shares the form (σύμμορφος) of a slave" (ed. Leroy, 312, lines 5–6).

[86] MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia* (1978), 12, 13–14. On 'eluding the archons,' cf. 1 Cor. 2.7–8: "But we impart a secret and hidden wisdom of God … none of the archons of this age understood it; for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory"; Ignatius of Antioch, *ep. Eph.*, 19.1: 'The virginity of Mary and her giving birth … eluded the archon of this age' (ed. Camelot, *SC* 10 [1969], 74); cf. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (1985), 87–91; *Ascension of Isaiah*, 11.16: Christ's birth was 'hidden from all the heavens and all the princes and every god of this world' (trans. Knibb, 175); and Origen, *in Lc.*, frg. 20b (ed. Rauer, 235, lines 5–10).

passage allegedly from the *Gospel of the Hebrews*,[87] the monk taught that "Christ came to earth through the agency of a mighty Power in heaven called Michael, to whose care Christ was entrusted. And the power came into the world and was called Mary, who was herself a certain 'force,' and Christ was in her womb for seven months." After a verbal thrashing from the archbishop, the monk recanted, and the copy of his beloved 'fifth Gospel' was burnt.[88]

As these texts demonstrate, arcane cosmologies fraught with errant angels and traversed by the protean sons of God continued to engulf the town of Nazareth, populating the microcosm of Mary's womb with an uncanny cast of capriciously embodied characters. A sermon on the Annunciation ascribed to Athanasius, but almost certainly written in the seventh century, refutes a fusion of many of these themes, including a remarkable rendition of the *conceptio per aurem*. This time, the sound of Gabriel's voice is endowed with unprecedented ontological power, amplified into an undulation of sacred sound fully identified with the divinity itself. The sermon begins with a summary of Trinitarian theology, along with a definition of 'hypostasis.' This is followed in turn by a detailed paraphrase of the first chapter of Luke, down through the passage: "In the sixth month, the archangel Gabriel was sent by God to a city of Galilee named Nazareth, to the virgin Mary. And he drew near, greeted her, and said, 'Hail, O favored one, the Lord is with you!'" (Lk. 1.26–28). At this point, the paraphrase is broken off, and the preacher states the following:

> Here we must realize that the voice (φωνή) of the angel (Lk 1.28), according to the force of its resonance (κατὰ προφορὰν πνεύματος ἀπηχήσεως),[89] was not itself the hypostasis of the Son, neither did it become flesh, but

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87 The attribution has been carefully studied and rejected in an important paper by Broek, "Der Bericht des koptischen Kyrillos von Jerusalem" (1990).

88 Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *Discourse on Mary Theotokos*, trans. Budge, *Coptic Homilies*, 626–51; the inquiry is described on 636–40, with the unfortunate loss of an entire leaf; cf. Campagnano, *Ps. Cirillo di Gerusaleme* (1980), 168–77; the work was most probably written in the late-sixth century. On the birth of Christ after 'seven months,' a limited period of gestation characteristic of exceptional individuals, see Horst, "Seven Months' Children in Jewish and Christian Tradition" (1978). The author notes that manuscript witnesses for the *Protoevangelium* give 'seven months' for the births of both Christ and Mary (p. 349); cf. Smid, *Commentary*, 48.

89 This is a curious phrase for which I have found no close parallel. Barbel, *Christos Angelos*, 247, provides a basic paraphrase ('die Stimme des Engels'), while the Latin translation in Migne's *Patrologia* reads: 'secundum prolationem spiritus soni sui' (*PG* 28.926D).

> together with this voice (κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν φωνήν), which was something completely different (ἑτέρα) from the hypostasis of the Son, the Word of God descended into the womb of the Virgin. And they speak blasphemously who say that the voice of the archangel was the hypostasis of the Son of God. This is why I am drawing your attention to this passage, in order to expose and condemn this blasphemy. The hypostasis of the Word being something other (ἑτέρα οὖσα), therefore, than the voice of the archangel, it was when the hearing of the Virgin had been opened (προδιανοιχθείσης) through the archangelic voice (διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς φωνῆς), that the divine hypostasis entered into her.

The preacher continues to develop his argument by returning to the text of Luke, which he subjects to a close reading and analysis. In response to the angel's greeting, which is alleged to have caused Mary's pregnancy, the Gospel indicates that Mary was merely 'troubled about what sort of greeting this might be.' Telling her 'not to fear,' the angel announces that she 'will conceive in her womb and bear a son.' That statement, the preacher points out, is not only uttered *after* the initial greeting, but is conjugated in the 'future tense, and not the present indicative.' Mary has not yet conceived. The rest of the narrative is read down through the verse, 'and the angel departed from her' (Lk. 1.38), at which point the preacher draws the attention of his congregation to the fact that:

> The evangelist emphasizes that the 'angel *departed* from her' (Lk 1.38), precisely so that there may be no opportunity (ἀφορμή) for those who wish to say that it was 'the angel himself who dwelt (ἐνοικήσας) in the Virgin and became flesh,' or that it was 'the angel's word, according to the force of its resonance which wrought (ἐνήργησε) the incarnation.' On the contrary, it was only *after the 'angel departed'* (Lk. 1.38) that the 'Holy Spirit came upon the Virgin, and the Power of the Most High overshadowed her' (Lk. 1.35). Thus it was only afterwards that the saving conception was achieved (ἐτελέσθη) … And again, it was the 'Holy Spirit which came upon the Virgin' (Lk. 1.35), and not, as the heretics say, a 'certain energy' (ἐνέργειά τις) instead of the Spirit that entered the Virgin in order to bring about (τελεσθῆναι) the incarnation.[90]

These traditions were remarkably tenacious and continued to trouble the later Byzantine church, primarily through the teachings of the Bogomils who, in the eleventh century, gained ground in Constantino-

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[90] *Annunt.* (*PG* 28.928AB, 928D, 929C). A compromise seems to be struck in the *Transitus Mariae*, 29: "I (i.e., Mary) bless the great cherubim of light, who became your (i.e., Christ's) dwelling place (παροικία) in my womb," text in Wenger, *L'Assomption de la Vierge* (1955), 226, line 28.

ple and found many converts among the aristocracy. According to the court theologian Euthymios Zigabenos, the Bogomils taught that "after 5,500 years, God sent the Word, who is the same as the archangel Michael, to go down into the world as Jesus … the Word flowed in through the right ear (εἰσρυῆναι διὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὠτός) of the Virgin, took flesh there, and emerged by the same door." However, in one ear and out the other, so to speak, was not what church authorities had in mind.[91]

Against the background of these difficulties, especially the formula's susceptibility to gnostic and dualistic interpretations, it is not altogether surprising that the *conceptio per aurem* was eventually rejected by a number of leading Byzantine theologians and preachers. The basis for that rejection was ironically the close, 'systematic reading' of Luke's Gospel recommended at the outset by the pseudonymous Mariologists, and demonstrated above in the seventh-century sermon ascribed to Athanasius. The twelfth-century theologian Michael Glykas provides us with a good example of such heightened attention to the text of Luke. In response to a question about the precise moment of Christ's conception, Glykas states that: "You should know that the Virgin did not conceive at the moment when Gabriel said to her, 'Hail,' but only after the entire dialogue with the angel had been concluded. Pay attention to the scriptural narrative, for it will explain this to you word for word." After reciting the text of Luke 1.28–31, Glykas argues that: "If the Lord had been conceived at the same moment (ἅμα) that Gabriel had greeted the Virgin, he would not have added afterwards, 'You *shall* conceive in your womb,' from which it seems that the conception had not yet taken place." Glykas therefore concludes that it was "only with her assent (συγκατάθεσις) to the angel's promise that she was 'overshadowed' by the Wisdom and Power of God … a fact which the Gospel according to Luke describes with perfect clarity."[92]

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[91] Euthymios Zigabenos, *Dogmatic Panoply*, 27 (*PG* 130.1301–4); in chap. 30, Zigabenos notes that the Bogomils "call those who have received the Spirit 'Godbearers' (θεοτόκοι), because they too bear the Word of God, and bring it to birth by teaching it to others" (ibid., 1317); cf. Puech and Vaillant, *Le traité contre les Bogomiles* (1945) 161, n. 6; Söderberg, *La Religion des Cathars* (1949), 76–79, 180–87; and, more generally, Hamilton and Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies* (1998). Recent attempts to connect ancient gnosticism with Byzantine gnosis have centered on the afterlife of the alleged fragment of the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, cited above, cf. Broek, "Der Bericht des Koptischen Kyrillos," 154–56; and Quispel, "The Religion of the Cathars and Gnosis" (1994).

[92] Michael Glykas, *Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς θείας γραφῆς κεφάλαια*, 34, ed. S. Eustratiades (Athens, 1906), 1:373–74.

In a fourteenth-century sermon on the Annunciation, the lay theologian Nicholas Cabasilas similarly stresses the critical importance of Mary's verbal assent to the incarnation of the Word. It is not the angelic voice of Gabriel but the human voice of Mary which enables the Word to become flesh. However, Cabasilas does not arrive at this view solely from a close reading of Luke, although that is clearly central to his thinking. Instead, the narrative of the Annunciation is reconfigured as a striking typological recapitulation of the creation of the world described in Genesis. Cabasilas states that, unlike the birth of Eve from Adam, who was neither informed nor persuaded but simply 'put to sleep' (cf. Gen. 2.21), the Word did not enter Mary until she had given her explicit consent (cf. Lk. 1.38). In this way, Mary's active verbal participation in the incarnation, 'Let it be done to me according to your word' (Lk. 1.38), is connected to, and in fact recapitulates, God's creative fiat: 'Let us make man' (Gen. 1.26).[93] Cabasilas returns to this theme in a remarkable passage from the sermon's conclusion, in which he comments on the role of Mary the New Eve as the 'helper' (cf. Gen. 2.18) to the 'second Adam.' She helps him, Cabasilas points out, precisely by uttering the words, 'Let it be done to me according to your word,' because it was only then, he insists, that the incarnation could take place:

> Saying these things (i.e., Lk. 1.38), the deed followed her words (ῥήματα), and the 'Word became flesh, and dwelt among us' (Jn. 1.14). And giving her voice (φωνή) to God, she received the Spirit. And her voice (φωνή) was a 'voice of power,' as David said (Ps. 67.33). And by the word (λόγος) of the Mother the Word of the Father is fashioned, and the Creator is created by the voice (φωνή) of a creature; and just as when God said 'Let there be light' (Gen. 1.3) and immediately there was light, so too, together with the voice (φωνή) of the Virgin, the 'true light which enlightens every man' began to dawn (cf. Jn. 1.9). O sacred voice (φωνή)! O words (ῥήματα) able to work wonders! O blessed tongue (γλῶσσα) recalling in one utterance the entire universe! These words (ῥήματα) made the earth heaven, emptied Hades of its prisoners, inhabited heaven with human beings, and united humans with angels.[94]

[93] Nicholas Cabasilas (d. ca. 1391), *Sermo in annuntiationem deiparae*, ed. Jugie, *PO* 19.3 [1926], 487–88 [369–70], lines 42/1–7.

[94] Ibid., 494 [376], lines 25–43; cf. Isidore of Thessaloniki (Glabas) (d. 1397), *Sermo in annuntiationem deiparae Mariae*, who, like Cabasilas describes the incarnation as a 'new creation' for which Mary served as 'co-creator,' although he recognizes the 'boldness' of such a claim: καὶ εἰ τολμηρόν, συμπλάστης ἂν εἴη Θεῷ (*PG* 139.105AB). See also Theophanes of Nicaea (d. 1381), *Sermo in ss. deiparam*, who speaks of the son 'shared in common between father and mother' (ὁρᾶται ὁ κοινὸς υἱὸς μέσον Πατρὸς καὶ μητρός,

Despite this sweeping removal of Mary's ear from the armature of the incarnation, traces of the *conceptio per aurem*, like a phantom limb, made their presence felt here and there within the ecclesiastical culture of the Byzantine world. The memory of Mary's ear was evoked first and foremost by the large number of patristic sermons for the feast of the Annunciation which continued to be copied and read for centuries after their original delivery. The lavish honors once bestowed upon the power of virginal hearing could also be heard, if only faintly, in the repertoire of hymns for that same feast, and in other sources evincing a theological interest in the metaphorical possibilities of the body and its senses.[95] The Würzburg Annunciation and the poem by Yeats which served to introduce this chapter testify to the formula's survival in the medieval and modern West. A poem called 'Itch' by Colette Bryce, which appears below, is perhaps the most recent literary redaction of the *conceptio per aurem* in a long history of citation and appropriation. Nevertheless, the organ of Mary's ear grew increasingly vestigial in the Orthodox East. With the reconstructive work of writers like Glykas and Cabasilas, a new way of thinking about the virgin birth that was exegetically conscientious, theologically rigorous, and rhetorically brilliant had effectively supplanted one of the signature emblems of the school of Proclus.

Conclusion

"As for the cleft of thine ears, as from the clouds, they are filled with interpretations"[96]

The incarnation of the Word and the proclamation of the Gospel were communications of divine wisdom and utterances of life-giving words which sonorously sought occupancy within the 'hearing of the ear.' In

ἄμεσον ἔχων τὴν συνάφειαν πρός τε τὸν πατέρα ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν μητέρα), resting equally in the 'bosoms' and 'wombs' of both (ἐν κόλποις τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν κόλποις τῆς μητρός … ἐκ τῶν σπλάχνων προῆλθε τῶν πατρικῶν τε καὶ μητρικῶν, ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου γεγέννηται, οὕτω καὶ ἐκ τῆς παρθενικῆς καὶ μητρικῆς γαστρὸς ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων) (ed. Jugie, *Theophanes Nicaenus* [1935], 136–38).

[95] See, for example, Theophanes of Nicaea, ibid., who invokes the *conceptio per aurem* in a remarkable conflation of the Annunciation with 1 Tim. 4.16–17: "For with the sound of a 'cry, that is, through the voice of the archangel,' which is the 'trumpet' of God,' the Lord 'descended' into virgin earth, and 'all those who were dead' in their sins 'were the first to be resurrected' in Christ" (ibid., 184–86).

[96] Ephrem, *Hymn on the Pearl*, I.2 (trans. Morris [1847], 86–87).

what might be called a 'soteriology of words,' the sense of hearing was transformed and granted inexhaustible significance, resounding with allusions to Jewish and Christian sapiential and sophiological traditions, as well as the spiritual maieutics of Platonism.[97] The strong auditory and performative aspects of the sermons and liturgical poems which have provided the individual tesserae for our 'Byzantine mosaic' of the Annunciation further echo the centrality of public discourse and rhetoric in the cultural world of late antiquity, and, perhaps, the voices of the late-antique religious theater, if such a thing ever existed.[98]

That the human ear could be figured as a generative matrix for the seminal power of speech was a notion additionally fostered by the ancient practice of vocalized reading and the phenomenon of the *voces paginarum*, the 'sounds' of the page that were echoed by the moving lips and tongue. As each word was savored and sounded, the ear strained to catch what the mouth brought forth, translating a sequence of letters into bodily movements and activities that physically embodied the word on the page.[99] As a movement from silence to sound, vocalized reading was construed as an act of midwifery, of incarnation through the hearing of the word, prompting one prolific midwife to proclaim: "Glory to that Voice which became Body, and to the Word of the High One that became flesh! Hear him also, O ears!"[100]

If the engrossing materiality of the incarnation promoted a hyper-visual aesthetic of images, icons, and the apprehension of God through vision and sight, the patristic sermon addressed itself, not to the eye, but

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[97] Bovon, "Words of Life in the *Acts of Andrew*" (1994).

[98] La Piana, "The Byzantine Theater" (1936), paying close attention to the homilies of Proclus, argued that late-antique sermons on the Annunciation, drawing their dialogues and scenes from apocryphal gospels and acts, were enacted dramatically in church. Religious drama, according to La Piana, thrived until its supression by the Iconoclasts, who had particular disdain for the Virgin Mary, and who destroyed the dramatic-liturgical texts "only fragments of which survived." After the ninth-century restoration of the icons, those "fragments were incorporated with more or less skill into homiletic compositions under various titles and attributed to various ancient authors" (p. 179); cf. Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 274–75; Datema, "Acrostic Homily of Ps.-Gregory of Nyssa" (1987). While La Piana's thesis has been critiqued and overturned, it nevertheless remains an intriguing interpretation of the surviving sources especially the many misattributed and pseudonymous sermons dealing with what La Piana terms the 'dramatic trilogy' of (1) Annunciation/Nativity; (2) Passion; and (3) Harrowing of Hell.

[99] On these themes, see Rouselle, "Parole et inspiration" (1983), 129–57; Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text* (1993), 54–129; and Svenbro, *Phrasikleia* (1993).

[100] Ephrem, *On the Nativity*, 3 (trans. Morris, 22).

to the ear as the primary organ of intelligence, valorizing the word that was spoken, heard, and tremulously poised between mutually attentive subjects. Delivered in the birthing chamber of the 'liturgy of the Word,' many sermons on the Annunciation labor to reproduce and amplify the words of the angel's greeting, calling upon the congregation to participate in a ceaseless invocation, a fervent *epiclesis* actualizing the ecclesial body of salvation: 'Come, my beloved, and let us repeat the angelic praise, saying, 'Hail, O favored one, the Lord is with you'" (Lk 1.28). Words are pregnant with meaning, and one preacher boldly promised that his sermon on the Annunciation would itself be a kind of Annunciation.[101]

In this elaborate poetics of hearing, the structures of theology and metaphysics are virtually indistinguishable from the structures of auditory experience. In a form of imagination that grows out of the experience of the body, patterns from one domain are projected in order to structure thought and experience in a domain of a different kind. "All have the ears (ὦτα) of sensual perception," Origen noted, "but not all have succeeded in cleansing (κεκαθαρμένας) their inner hearing (τὰς ἔνδον ἀκοάς). Having the former kind of hearing does not depend on us, but having the latter does, for we alone are responsible for our inner deafness." For Origen, the 'hearing' of the 'inner ear' is a pure, virginal hearing of the Word in all words, and beyond words.[102] In this theological appropriation of the body and its senses, the human sensorium

[101] Ps.-Gregory Thaumaturgus, hom. 1, *annunt.* (*PG* 10.1152; cf. 1156BC); this clause begins a litany of six exclamations, each beginning with Lk. 1.28; cf. id., hom. 2, *annunt.* (*PG* 10.1156BC), where Lk. 1.28 is called the 'beginning of all the wisdom and of all the salvific teaching of the New Testament.' Theodotus of Ancyra, hom. 4.3, invites his listeners to 'join their voices to the voice of the angel' (*PG* 77.1393C); as does Anastasius of Antioch, *annunt.* (*PG* 89.1377A). See also the Annunciation sermon by Sophronius of Jerusalem, itself 'another Annunciation' (*PG* 87.3229A) structured around extended anaphoric repetitions and amplifications of key verses from the Annunciation narrative. In one instance, he deploys the word 'Annunciation' (εὐαγγέλια) a dozen times before finally crying: 'Annunciation, Annunciation, Annunciation! I shall never tire of saying it!' (*PG* 87.3284B; 3288A); for an example from the writings of Proclus, cf. above, chap. 2, p. 58, n. 48. The most extravagant example of such repetition can be found in the *Akathist Hymn*, which repeats the angel's 'Hail' more than 150 times; cf. Klauser, "Akklamation" (1950).

[102] Origen, *Dialogue with Heraclides*, ed. Scherer, *SC* 67 (1960), 90, lines 7–21. Note that the doctrine of the 'spiritual senses' also provided a framework for the interpretation of 'prophetic hearing,' a category frequently applied to the hearing of Mary, cf. Grillmeier, "Maria Prophetin" (1975).

is cleansed and converted, lending profound significance to the experience of hearing as a mode of spiritual contact with the divine. The practice of dedicated, contemplative listening was, moreover, a spiritual exercise recommended by the ancient philosophical schools. In the words of one master:

> We must turn our power of apprehension inwards, and make it attend to what is there. It is as if someone was expecting to hear a long-desired voice, and withdrew from all other sounds and awakens his ear to the best of all audible things; so now we must leave behind perceptible sounds (except in so far as we must listen to them) and keep the soul's power of perception pure (καθαρά) and ready to hear the voices from on high.[103]

In the school of Proclus, the doctrine of 'spiritual hearing' was additionally valued as a helpful analogy for the bodiless Word's 'impassible passage' into the body of the Virgin. In the experience of being 'struck' by sound, that which is perceived is relatively intangible; full of felt presence and meaning and yet completely invisible, for one does not hear objects, but rather their utterances and communications. The physiological and psychological processes whereby immaterial sounds intercept and overtake the self, actively communicating deeply felt sentiments and ideas, were transposed by Proclus and his followers into an analogy for penetration and conception without physical contact. For Proclus, the 'unopened womb' of the Virgin is a sealed and yet nevertheless permeable threshold comparable both to the 'closed doors' through which Christ passed after his resurrection from the dead (cf. Jn. 20.26), and the 'closed sanctuary gate' through which passed the 'King of Israel' (Ezek. 44.1).[104]

The Word's impassible passage into the Virgin's body mirrored the Word's impassible generation from the bodiless Father, for which the generation of 'word' (or 'reason') from 'mind' provided the classic analogy. One of Proclus' contemporaries, Theodotus of Ancyra, in a Nativity sermon incorporated into the official proceedings of the Council of Ephesus, responded to a question about the incarnation precisely by referring back to the generation of the Word from the Father. 'Spoken

[103] Plotinus, *Ennead*, 5.1.12 (trans. Armstrong, *LCL*, 444 [1984], 5:50–53); cf. Ferwerda, "Plotinus on Sounds" (1982); and Moutsopoulos, "La 'participation' musicale chez Plotin" (1971).

[104] See the introduction to Homily 1, above, p. 132, n. 6.

words are not visible to the eye,' neither can they be 'grasped by the hand,' but 'resonate only with the sense of hearing.' Thus when scripture describes the 'Only Begotten' as a 'Word,' it does so in order to stress the 'impassible character of his birth' (τὸ ἀπαθὲς αὐτοῦ τῆς γεννήσεως) from the Father, because the 'mind gives birth impassibly to the word' (νοῦς ἀνθρώπων ἀπαθῶς τίκτει τὸν λόγον).[105]

If the emergence of 'word' from 'mind' provided a glimpse into the impassible generation of the Word from the womb of the Father, then the 'resonance' of words within the 'hearing of the ear' seemed a fitting analogy for the Word's incarnate reception in the womb of the Mother. Like all analogies, however, this one was not without its limitations, and the relatively passive experience of hearing, in which sounds lay hold of one's ears without notice or permission, proved to be untenable within a more rigorously constructed theology of incarnation. Similarly, the fact that sound travels much more slowly than light creates the sensation that what we hear has already happened; that the lightning bolt of incarnation, so to speak, has already struck, and all that remains is a belated clap of thunder piercing the defenseless ears of those who had no possibility to consider, respond, or resist.

If Proclus and his followers appear to have been oblivious to the problems inherent in the reduction of 'conception' to 'annunciation,' a concurrence which they actively celebrated and promoted, it might be helpful to recall that the feast of the Annunciation made its initial appearance in close connection with the feast of the Nativity. In fifth-century Constantinople, the commemoration of Gabriel's momentous encounter with the Virgin was a festival dedicated to the latter's role in the incarnation, and as such was celebrated probably on 26 December, the day after the birth of Christ. The lightning, in other words, had already struck; the pearl had emerged from its shell. Thus it may not have been important or even helpful to belabor a series of distinctions that emerged as problematic only after the feast had evolved and been relocated to 25 March.

As we have seen, the doctrine of Mary's conception through hearing (like Mary herself) was 'wider than the heavens,' encapsulating extensive narrative, exegetical, and typological traditions while remaining sufficiently amenable for adoption and appropriation across a wide

[105] Theodotus of Ancyra, hom. 2 (*ACO* I, 1, 2, p. 75, lines 25–26; and p. 76, lines 22–27).

range of doctrinal systems and theological schools of thought. The symbolic christology of Ephrem; the mariology of the school of Proclus; the dogmatic theology of Cyril of Alexandria; the poetry of Romanos; the Chalcedonian christology of Sophronius of Jerusalem; the contradictory christology of the school of Edessa; and the cosmologies and angelologies of ancient gnosticism and Byzantine gnosis, all developed the metaphoric possibilities of the sense of hearing and attempted to organize experience and cognition on the basis of the ear of the virginal body. For almost all of these writers and traditions, the appropriation of hearing as a theological category required an imaginative charting of the (female, virgin, maternal) body and its senses, a distinctly hierarchical topography with stratified zones of higher and lower.[106] In Mary's *conceptio per aurem*, the ambivalent logic of the lower bodily material zone was relocated to the highest levels of sense perception and intellection, thereby de-sexualizing the virgin birth of Christ, or, in what is also true, re-sexualizing it within a different view of sexual union.

Hearing is a very special mode of perception. Sounds cannot be handled or pushed away. We can close our eyes, hold our noses, withdraw from touch, and refuse to taste. And though we can partly muffle our ears, we cannot close them. If the 'eye is the lamp of the body' (Mt. 6.22) casting its light on the objects it sees, the ear is a tympanum that is struck, a shell for the thunderous heaves of the ocean. In the experience of sound, we are 'struck' by something, by someone else. Through sound we experience the distant as proximate, the other as near, and hearing is a process in which we become the other, and let the other become part of us. Hearing seeks selflessness rather than self-expression. Even in a dialogue of equal partners, the one who at the moment happens to be hearing is in the position of humbly receiving. While the word resounds, the ear belongs to the other. For that brief moment, we suspend our own identities, after which we return to ourselves and either accept or reject what has been said. But in that fleeting moment of self-evanescence, something new is born.

[106] On which see, Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World* (1984). It is worth noting that Rabelais' Gargantua emerges from his mother's body by "leaping through the breach and entering the hollow vein, ascending through her diaphragm to a point above her shoulders. Here the vein divides in two; the child accordingly worked his way in a sinistral direction, to issue, finally, through the left ear" (Book 1, chap. 6).

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I believe that Jesus lives
deep in the ditch of my mother's ear,

an unreachable itch that never leaves.
And I believe when Jesus breathes

a million microscopic hairs
lean in the breeze like sapling trees.

Things I begin to tell her,
I believe sometimes she cannot hear

for the whispering like wishes
of Jesus softly breathing there.[107]

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[107] Colette Bryce, 'Itch,' *The Heel of Bernadette* (London, 2000), 13.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PURPLE THREAD AND THE VEIL OF FLESH: SYMBOLS OF WEAVING IN THE SERMONS OF PROCLUS

Introduction

When the 'Word became flesh' (Jn. 1.14) the verbal was woven together with the visual in a seamless fabric fashioned from two fundamental modes of communication. In the ongoing intertwining of word and image, the experience of the ear is reinforced by that of the eye, which in turn seeks confirmation through touch, for "that which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes," was also "touched with our hands" (1 Jn. 1.1–2). Doubt seeks certainty in the desire to touch the wounded body of the Word (Jn. 20.25); faith seeks fulfillment by clasping the hem of his garment (Mt. 9.21), for the infringed form of the divine body longs not merely to be gazed upon but to be touched. "Put your finger here, and place your hand in my side" (Jn. 20.27) is an invitation which beckons the eye of the spectator to become the hand of a participant.[1]

The Word's translation from the orality (and aurality) of language into a medium both visual and tactile delineates an aesthetics of metamorphosis central to the patristic and Byzantine theology of the incarnation. The rich visual and tactile qualities of textiles, along with their technological, social, and symbolic associations, were especially well suited to express the appearance and deportment of God in the flesh. The incarnation of the Word was thus readily described as a laying hold and putting on of palpable clothing and dress, frequently under-

[1] Ivins, *Art and Geometry* (1946), 1–13, suggests that ancient Greek geometry conceived of forms and shapes as figures to be touched and felt, and not simply to be looked at. Although Aristotle tends to privilege the sense of sight (*Met.*, 980), touch (which includes taste) is nevertheless the 'primary form of sense' because it belongs to all animals, including those lacking sight, hearing, and smell, and, unlike the other senses, works by direct contact (*De anima*, 413–15, 435); cf. Montagu, *Touching: The Human Significance of Skin* (1978).

stood as a cultic 'veiling' of naked divine presence.[2] Drawn by the symbolic production of cloth and clothing in the sermons of Proclus, this chapter follows a trail of purple thread into the labyrinth of Mary's womb. At its core stands a 'virginal workshop' containing the 'loom of the divine economy' upon which a human body was gracefully woven into a garment befitting the Word made flesh.

Proclus' association of weaving with the production of human tissue, and his symbolic use of garments as signifiers for the body, are the signature flourishes of a Christian rhetor creatively reworking motifs derived from a much larger broadloom of cultural thought and practice.[3] However, unlike the doctrine of the Virgin's 'conception through hearing,' which is widely attested in the literature of the Annunciation, the Virgin's textile loom is by contrast an imposing piece of machinery that appears only rarely in the later tradition. Nevertheless its importance insured that it could never be entirely forgotten. In the synechdochism of the Byzantine religious imagination, literary and iconographic sources registered the work of Mary's loom by a strand of purple thread which she pulled from a whorl of colored wool at the moment of the incarnation. A great deal was made to hang on that thread, the significance of which this chapter aims to unravel and explore.

In what follows, Proclus' image of the textile loom will be situated within a series of interpretive frameworks joined together through historical and theological analysis. The first framework will be provided by the exegetical imagination of the early church which developed a sophisticated theology of clothing and dress. Here the principal focus is on the symbolism of the 'seamless tunic' (Jn. 19.24) and the 'veil of the temple' (Ex. 26.31). When grasped together, the tunic and the veil reveal a critical feature of Christ's metaphorical clothing, namely, the profound connection between incarnation and passion in the experience of divine 'self-emptying' (cf. Phil. 2.7). A second framework, based

[2] See the study of Papastavrou, "Le voile, symbole de l'incarnation" (1993).

[3] Nestorius also described the incarnation in terms of clothing and dress, but in the interests of christological dualism: 'I venerate the one who was put on for the sake of the one who wore him' (διὰ τὸν φοροῦντα τὸν φορούμενον σέβω) (ed. Loofs, 262, line 3); cf. id.: "non occidit Pilatus deitatem sed deitatis vestimentum" (ibid., 266, lines 10–11); in response to which one of Proclus' contemporaries, Mark the Hermit, wrote an anti-Nestorian treatise "Against those who say that the flesh of the Lord was not united with the Word, but was merely wrapped around him like a garment (ὡς ἱμάτιον περικεῖσθαι)," (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus [1891]); despite the title, the treatise makes only minimal reference to the imagery of clothing. A new edition of this work is in preparation by G.-M. Durand.

on the cultural significance of cloth and loom-work in late antiquity, will allow for a consideration of some of the gendered stereotypes that have traditionally been associated with the activity of spinning and weaving. The cult of the virgin goddess Athena, an archetypical weaver whose statue was robed in richly decorated fabric, will be particularly relevant as a symbolic system in which weaving evokes female power. These associations will additionally serve to frame a discussion of Proclus' alliance with the empress Pulcheria, a consecrated virgin devoted to Mary who may herself have been the author of Proclus' image of the textile loom. In the third and final framework, the trail of purple thread returns to the subject of christology. The notion of divine 'self-emptying' will be retraced through the medium of clothing and dress, from which emerges not a 'theology' but a 'christology of clothing' deeply immersed in the ritual exchange of garments characteristic of Christian baptism. Finally, the paradoxical 'self-emptying' of the divine through the 'assumption of a human form and likeness' (Phil. 2.7) will be shown to unfold within a dialectic of self-disclosure and concealment offering a redemptive discovery of new identity through a transformative exchange of otherness.

Proclus and the Virgin's Loom

Perhaps the most distinctive image in Proclus' galaxy of metaphors for the Virgin Mary, and certainly the one that he developed at the greatest length, is that of the 'textile loom' (ἱστός). In this image, the Virgin's womb (γαστήρ) is depicted as a 'workshop' (ἐργαστήριον[4]) containing the 'awesome loom of the divine economy' on which the flesh of God is woven together providing the bodiless divinity with form and texture. This unusual image, at once mythical and mundane, is partly derived from the early Christian exegesis of cloth and clothing. In the intertextual harmonics characteristic of such exegesis, key passages (often at great remove from one another) were marshaled together and carefully attuned in the orchestration of a new meta-narrative which in turn provided an interpretive matrix for novel readings of scripture. The 'garments of skin' described in Genesis 3.22, for instance, were frequently connected to the 'purple' (and 'scarlet') robe of mockery (Mk. 15.17; Jn. 19.2; cf. Mt. 27.28), as well as the 'seamless tunic' of

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[4] Note the pun on 'womb' (γαστήρ) and 'workshop' (ἐρ-γαστήρ-ιον).

Christ for which the soldiers cast lots in the Gospel of John (19.23). To this sacred wardrobe could be added the vestments of the Levitical priesthood (Ex. 28), the curtains of the tent of meeting (Ex. 26.1–3), and the veil of the temple which separated the 'Holy Place' from the 'Holy of Holies' (Ex. 26.31–33). Together the combined force of these passages generated a symbolic framework for an interpretation of scripture in which the entire drama of sacred history could be expounded in terms of nudity, clothing, and dress.

Within this symbolic frame of reference, Adam and Eve are said to have been originally clothed in 'garments of glory.' Stripped of those garments at the time of their transgression, they are subsequently clothed in 'garments of skin' (Gen. 3.22). To remedy the nudity of the fallen Adam, Christ 'clothed himself' with Adam in three successive stages, all three of which are seen as descents of the divinity into three successive wombs: the womb of Mary, the womb of the Jordan, and the womb of Hades.[5] The lost garments of glory, now understood to be the glory of Christ himself, are restored to the faithful through their ritual rebirth in the watery womb of baptism. "You did not put on a robe of purple," Proclus informed the recently baptized, "neither did you clothe yourself in the garments of a king; but you have put on the King himself, for 'all who have been baptized in Christ have been clothed (ἐνεδύσασθε) in Christ' (Gal. 3.27)."[6]

Absorbed as he was in the controversy surrounding the Theotokos, it is perhaps not surprising that Proclus was preoccupied with the first of the three wombs mentioned above. In the celebrated exordium to Homily 1, Proclus ventures a series of extravagant exclamations in praise of the Virgin's womb. Soaring to an initial crescendo, he declares the Virgin's body to be a "workshop (ἐργαστήριον) in which the unity of divine and human nature was fashioned," and lauds her

[5] These ideas are readily attested in the Greek patristic tradition, although they were thematized to a somewhat greater degree in Syriac theology; cf. Brock, "Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition" (1982). See also Freeman, "A Robe of Splendor" (1972); Vogelzang, "Symbolism of Clothing in Ancient Near Eastern Texts" (1986); and Waldman, "Imagery of Clothing, Covering and Overpowering" (1989). For essays dealing more broadly with these themes, cf. Smith, "Garments of Shame" (1965–1966); and Peterson, "Theologie des Kleides" (1934).

[6] Proclus, hom. 32.8 (ed. Leroy, 229); cf. id., hom. 27.8: "See how the Lord buries your corruption in the tomb of the baptismal font, how as a spiritual child he brings you to life, how by these bright robes he clothes your body anew" (πῶς λαμπροῖς ἐσθήμασι μεταμφιάζει τὸ σῶμα) (ibid., 193); and below, n. 95.

flesh as the "purest fleece drenched with heavenly dew (cf. Jg. 6.37) whereby the shepherd clothed himself (ἐνεδύσατο) with the sheep." As the encomium reaches its climax, these terse allusions to the production of textiles are gathered together in an extended metaphorical figure:

> She is the awesome loom (ἱστός) of the divine economy on which the robe (χιτών) of union was ineffably woven. The loom-worker (ἱστουργός) was the Holy Spirit; the wool-worker (ἔριθος) the 'overshadowing power from on high' (cf. Lk. 1.35). The wool (ἔριον) was the ancient fleece of Adam; the interlocking thread (κρόκη) was the spotless flesh of the Virgin. The weaver's shuttle (κερκίς) was propelled by the immeasurable grace of him who wore the robe; the artisan was the Word who entered in through her sense of hearing … therefore do not rend the robe of the incarnation which was 'woven from above' (ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντός) (cf. Jn. 19.23).[7]

Proclus returns to the image of the weaver's loom in Homily 4, delivered on the feast of the Nativity. On the occasion of God's manifestation in the flesh, Proclus stages an imperial *adventus* with the figure of Christ augustly seated upon the 'richly appointed throne of the Virgin Theotokos.' In place of a 'consular toga' is the sartorial splendor of the 'seedless flesh.' Instead of 'costly stones and priceless pearls,' the incarnate Word is radiant with the 'lives of the saints' and the 'precious prophecies of the prophets.' This dazzling civic spectacle heralds with fitting pomp the long-awaited appearance of Christ to his adoring public. Here images of clothing and dress are central to the theme of divine self-disclosure. However, if garments revealed one's status they did so paradoxically by concealing that which lies hidden beneath. In a mode of dissemblance, the divine toga is transformed into an inconspicuous pedestrian covering, a veil of self-negation, enabling the divinity to undergo suffering and death. Marveling at the metamorphosis of these remarkable garments, Proclus wonders aloud about the origin of their materials and the nature of their manufacture:

> Strange is his apparel (ἔνδυμα) and his robe (ἱμάτιον) is exceedingly unique. Its fabrication (πῆξις) is wondrous, for it has no share in any human craftsmanship. O Virgin who knew not man, and mother who knew not pain! Where did you find (λαβοῦσα) the flax (τὸ ἔριον) to weave the robe (ἱμάτιον) which today has clothed the Lord of creation? What sort of loom (ἱστός) was your womb, upon which you wove this 'tunic without seam' (ἄρραφον χιτῶνα) (cf. Jn. 19.23)? I seem to hear Nature responding instead of the Virgin, saying, "I am unable to make garments

[7] Homily 1.I, 21–25; VIII, 129–30; translation slightly modified.

> of flesh (ἱμάτιον σαρκός) without the mingling of a man. Besides, my loom produces only soiled garments (ῥυπαρὰ ἐνδύματα). I clothed Adam, but he was stripped naked, and he covered his shame with the leaves of a fig-tree." In order, then, to mend the ruined robe (φθαρέντος χιτῶνος), Wisdom became a weaver (ἡ σοφία ἐξυφήνασα) in the virginal workshop, and, by means of a shuttle propelled by divine artifice (κερκίδι θεϊκῆς ἐργασίας), she clothed herself in the robe of the body (χιτῶνα τοῦ σώματος).[8]

These two passages provide somewhat different perspectives on the Virgin's loom. In the first, Proclus presents Mary's loom in largely objective terms, consistent with the descriptive aims of a rhetorical ekphrasis. In the second, he assumes a more subjective point of view and delivers himself of an emotional and intellectual response to the object marked by astonishment and wonder. In the company of Nature personified, Proclus marvels at the wondrous weaving of the body of God. For her part, Nature admits that she is ignorant of such technology, and can clothe her children only in rags and ruin. In a cultured response, Wisdom, like the 'good wife' of Proverbs (to whom we shall return below), assumes a seat in the virginal workshop and 'applies her fingers to the spindle' (Prov. 31.19).

The regeneration of the body in the imaginative form of a garment worn by God is entirely appropriate for sermons delivered on or in conjunction with the Nativity, a feast which celebrates the public *adventus* of God in the flesh. In a manner suggestive of clothing and dress, the Word of God had indeed 'emptied himself and assumed the form of a servant' (Phil. 2.7). To empty oneself in the folds of a human form, however, was to be inexorably swaddled in a garment of suffering and death, for "being found in human form, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross" (Phil. 2.8). With the death of Christ, the fabric of flesh produced on Mary's loom was 'rent in two' by the cross so that the world might be clothed in a robe of glory: "You are truly the 'lamb of God, who removes the sin of the world' (Jn 1.29)," Proclus cried to the crucified Christ, "for you

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[8] Homily 4.II, 54–65. On the technology of ancient weaving, see Blümner, *Technologie der Gewerbe*, 97–205, esp. 135–70 ("Das Weben"). Homily 4 contains further references to clothing, including a reference to the Virgin's womb as a 'spider's web' (a classical metaphor for loom work), cf. 4.1, 17–18: "Come and see the 'unhewn rock' (Dan. 2.34) dangling miraculously in the virginal web" (ἐν τῇ παρθενικῇ ἀράχνῃ); and 4.2, 35–38: "Let shepherds come running on account of the 'shepherd' (Jn. 10.11) who came forth from the virginal lamb. He cloaked himself in the strangely thick sheep-skin of the body (τὴν ξενοπαγῆ τοῦ σώματος δοράν περιέθετο), and the wolf, seeing him like a 'lamb' (Jn. 1.29) pursued him with jaws agape."

were shorn by the shears of the cross, clothing the world in a garment of incorruption."[9] As we shall see, Proclus' celebration of the robe of flesh in the context of the incarnation never loses sight of the ultimate destiny awaiting the one who deigned to wear it.

The 'Tunic Without Seam'

Proclus' mention of the 'tunic without seam' (Jn. 19.23) in the two passages cited above, and, perhaps, the resemblance (and linguistic coincidence) of textile looms to the cruciform mast of a ship,[10] are intertextual allusions which subtly enfold the garment of the Nativity within the robe of the passion. In a parallel construction, the 'swaddling cloths' of the manger (Lk. 2.7) are interlaced with the 'linen cloths' of the tomb, for although "wrapped in swaddling cloths, he unswaddled the cloths of the grave when he rose from the dead."[11] Indeed, the *adventus* ritual described above can itself be read as a *pompa funebris*, so that the day of birth is assimilated to the moment of death and subsequent ascent to heaven. The funeral of the emperor Justinian, for example, was an occasion of triumph for which a "pall was woven in precious purple, covered with precious stones depicting the whole range of the emperor's labors" so that "adorned with his own triumphs he might be borne to his imperial tomb."[12] Along similar lines, Christ's

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[9] ἀφθαρσίαν τὸν κόσμον ἐνέδυσας, Proclus, hom. 29 (ed. Leroy, 208); cf. John of Damascus, below, n. 44, and the texts cited in n. 95.

[10] The Greek word for 'loom' (ἱστός – ἵστιμι) refers primarily to the 'upright' (and not horizontal) loom beam of the ancient Greek world. It was also a word for a ship's 'mast,' such as that to which Odysseus was bound in what many early Christians took to be an allegorical foreshadowing of Christ's crucifixion; cf. Pépin, "The Platonic and Christian Ulysses" (1982); Ps.-Chrysostom, *de ieiunio* (attributed to Proclus, cf. Marx, 67, no. 66): "Sail on the sea of life entrusting the ship of your soul to the wood of salvation; let the cross be your mast (ἱστός), faith your anchor, and Christ your sail" (*PG* 60.716A); and Hippolytus, *De Christo et Antichristo*, 59: "The world is a sea in which sails the church; her skilled pilot is Christ and she bears in her midst the trophy of the cross" (ed. Achelis, *GCS* 1 [1897], 39, lines 12–16).

[11] Gregory Nazianzus, *Or*. 39.19: ἐσπαργανώθη μέν, ἀλλ' ἀποσπαργανοῦνται τὰ τῆς ταφῆς ἀνιστάμενος (ed. Gallay, *SC* 250 [1978], 218, lines 15–16); cf. the sermon *In nativitatem salvatoris* ascribed to Proclus: "I see a child wrapped in swaddling cloths (ἐσπαργανωμένον) pulling to pieces (σπαράττον) the bonds (δεσμά) of the devil" (ed. Aubineau and Leroy [1989], 402, lines 82–83, under 'Proclus' in the Bibliography); and Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Christi natalem diem* (= Proclus, cf. Marx, 30–31, no. 18; Leroy, 272): "Where is he who both bound (δύσας) the dragon and was wrapped with swaddling cloths (σπαργάνοις κειμένοις)?" (*PG* 61.738).

[12] Cited in MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (1981), 154, who notes that

'tunic without seam' (like his 'consular toga') was understood to have a double aspect, simultaneously dyed in the blood of virgin birth and violent death.

Because the 'seamless tunic' of Christ is a key element within this tradition of symbolic associations, it will be helpful at this point to cite the Johannine passage in full:

> When the soldiers had crucified Jesus they took his garments and made four parts, one for each solider. But his tunic was without seam (ἦν δὲ ὁ χιτὼν ἄρραφος) woven from top to bottom (ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντός); so they said to one another, 'Let us not tear it, but cast lots to see whose it shall be.' This was to fulfill the scripture (Ps. 21.18), 'They parted my garments (διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου) among themselves, and cast lots upon my raiment (ἱματισμόν)' (Jn. 19.23–24).

This seemingly straightforward passage, which attracted considerable attention from early Christian exegetes, lent itself effortlessly to symbolic and mystical interpretations.[13] It did not escape notice that the word 'seamless' (ἄρραφος) had virtually no currency in the Greek language prior to its use in the Gospel of John. Even more intriguing was the word's primary meaning of 'un-sewn,' in the sense of 'not made by hands,' a status suggestive of the acheiropoietic dwelling place of God, who "does not dwell in shrines made by human hands" (οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις κατοικεῖ) (Acts 17.24).[14]

In addition, the prepositional phrase 'from top [to bottom]' (ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν) is more literally translated as 'from above,' suggesting both transcendent origin and precipitous descent from the heavens. By the time of Proclus, this latter sense had become an accepted reading

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"on the day of (Justinian's) funeral, the bier was adorned with the jewels, and treasures of the sea, of India and Egypt, which vividly recall the jeweled cloak worn by Honorius in his consular processions." Such funerals were a 'ritual of imperial ascent to heaven' (p. 127). See also Roddy, "Politics and Religion" (2000). Christ's triumphal *adventus* into Jerusalem was likewise understood as a proleptic celebration of his victory over death. In a sermon for Palm Sunday (hom. 9), Proclus describes the entry as the '*adventus* of a heavenly king' (ἀπάντησις τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως), whose 'glory is the cross' (*PG* 65.772C; 776D).

[13] For the exegetical history of this passage, see Aubineau, "La Tunique sans couture" (1970), 100–27, esp. 111–16.

[14] Cf. Theodotus of Ancyra, *Hom. in s. deiparam*, 13: "The one who was begotten before the morning star in these last days called the Holy Virgin his mother; and the Wisdom of God built for herself a temple not made by hands (ναὸν ἀχειροποίητον) in the body of the honorable virgin and 'dwelt among us' (Jn. 1.14), because the 'Most High does not dwell in shrines made by human hands' (Acts 17.24)" (ed. Jugie [1926], 332 [214], lines 19–25).

among prominent preachers and theologians. John Chrysostom, who generally refrained from allegorical readings of scripture, notes that this phrase is not meant to be taken 'literally' (οὐχ ἁπλῶς). He reports that "some say this phrase is an allegory (ἀλληγορία), because the one who was crucified was not simply (ἁπλῶς) man, but had his divinity 'from above'."[15] A similar interpretation was offered by Cyril of Alexandria, who saw the tunic of Christ's passion as a symbol of virginal conception. Because it was 'woven from above,' the tunic "designates Christ's body, which was not born from the union of man and woman, but was woven together by the power of the Spirit from above (cf. Lk. 1.35)."[16] So too Cyril's Antiochene nemesis, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, who likewise saw the 'unwoven tunic' as a symbol of the body that was virginally 'made without threads or the hands of weavers.'[17] Clearly, this was no ordinary fabric, not least for its ability to unite the rival schools of Alexandria and Antioch, for whom the tunic of the passion was a symbol of the virginally conceived body of the Word incarnate.

There are few precedents in early Christian literature for Proclus' image of the textile loom. One text, however, which Proclus may have been familiar with, merits special attention: Hippolytus of Rome's third-century treatise *On the Antichrist*, a passage from which bears close comparison with the excerpt cited above from Proclus' first sermon on the Theotokos. Both writers use the image of the loom to unfold elaborate theological metaphors, although Hippolytus makes only a minor reference to the figure of Mary and the moment of incarnation. Instead, he is principally concerned with the passion and the cross:

> Because the Word of God is fleshless (ἄσαρκος ὤν), he clothed himself (ἐνεδύσατο) with holy flesh from the Virgin, as a bridegroom dons a garment (ἱμάτιον), having woven it (ἐξυφήνας) for himself in the sufferings of the cross, in order to mingle our mortal bodies with his own power, mix the incorruptible with the corruptible, the strong with the weak,

[15] Chrysostom, *hom.* 85.1–2 *in Jo.*, to which he immediately adds that "others say that the Evangelist describes the actual design of the coat, because in Palestine they put together two strips of cloth and so weave their garments" (*PG* 59.461).

[16] Cyril of Alexandria, *in Jo.*, 12 (*PG* 74.661A). This, of course, should not be taken in an Apollinarian sense, as if Christ's body 'came from above,' cf. ibid., 3.5 (*PG* 73.484BC). Cyril further understands the garments that the soldiers 'divided into four parts' (Jn. 19.23) as a sign of the universal distribution of Christ's body in the eucharist to the 'four corners' of the earth (*PG* 74.559).

[17] Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *De incarnatione*, 23. This text, long considered to be the work of Cyril (*PG* 75.1461A), has been restored to Theodoret (cf. *PG* 84.68A), cf. Aubineau, "La Tunique," 112, n. 83.

> and thus save those who were perishing. The Lord's loom (ὁ ἱστός), therefore, was his passion upon the cross; the warp (στήμων) that was on it was the power of the Spirit; the woof (κρόκη) was his holy flesh that was woven (ἐνυφαινομένη) by the Spirit; the thread (μίτος) was the grace of Christ's love, which binds and unites the two (natures) into one; the shuttle (κερκίς) was the Word; the loom-workers (ἐργαζόμενοι) were the patriarchs and prophets, who weave (ὑφαίνοντες) the beautiful and perfect tunic (χιτῶνα) for Christ; and the Word, passing through them like a shuttle (κερκίδος δίκην), completes them (ἐξυφαίνει) through that which was willed by his Father.[18]

As mentioned above, this passage presents a significant number of parallels with the work of Proclus. For both writers, the incarnation is described as an act of 'clothing' in the 'holy flesh' of the Virgin, and the activity of weaving is described in detail. At the same time, however, there is a striking difference: while the loom of Proclus is set up in the workshop of Mary's body, the loom of Hippolytus is stationed on the summit of Golgotha. For the Roman bishop, the loom belongs not to Mary but to Christ, and (like the mast of a ship) is identified with the upright beam of the cross. Consequently, the activity of weaving corresponds not to the moment of nativity but to the dramatic unfolding of the passion, and thus from Hippolytus to Proclus the kenotic focus shifts from death to incarnation.[19] However, just as the

[18] Hippolytus, *De Christo et Antichristo*, 4 (ed. Achelis, 6–7). The image of a finely woven garment, which elides the incarnate body with both a text and a textile, serves as a poetic illustration for Hippolytus' argument regarding the agency of the Word in the inspired unity of scripture. Hippolytus further stresses the church's public reading of scripture (itself a form of incarnation) for which the public manifestation of the individual through the medium of clothing provides an apt illustration; cf. ibid., 11, which deals with Gen. 49.11: 'He shall wash his garment (στολήν) in wine, and his clothes (περιβολήν) in the blood of the grape,' where 'wine' is taken as a symbol of divinity, and 'clothes' of humanity (p. 10, lines 14–17); and ibid., 61, on Rev. 12.2, where the 'woman clothed (περιβεβλημένη) with the sun,' is an image of the church clothed (ἐνδεδυμένη) with the Word of the Father, 'brighter than the sun' (p. 41, lines 11–14). See also, Aubineau, "La Tunique," 112; Norelli, *Ippolito* (1987), 169–71; Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church* (1995), 237.

[19] This shift is conditioned in part by the context of the Nativity in which Proclus' sermons were delivered. If Proclus was familiar with the *De Christo et Antichristo*, as he was with other works ascribed to Hippolytus (cf. Proclus, hom. 14 in the Bibliography; and Voicu, "Note (pseudo-) Ippolitee" [1999], 265–66), he may have been prompted to rework it because of Hippolytus' christological vocabulary, which, while perfectly orthodox in the third century, had increasingly acquired the taint of heresy. The language of 'mingling' (σύγκρασις) and 'mixture' (μῖξις), used by Hippolytus in the passage cited above, was ultimately expunged from christological discourse because it suggested a mixture of humanity and divinity in which one or both was compromised.

'loom of the passion' envisioned by Hippolytus is not entirely without reference to the clothing of the incarnation, neither does the loom of Proclus completely lose sight of the passion and the cross. Indeed it cannot, for the birth and death of Christ are but two moments in the ceaseless 'self-emptying' of the Word (cf. Phil. 2.7), moments contested by Nestorius, who could not accept that the subject of human birth, suffering, and death was the Word of God made flesh. Proclus' image of the loom, therefore, by combining these two kenotic events, struck directly at the heart of the christological dilemma.

The Protoevangelium of James

In the medieval West, Mary herself was said to have woven the 'seamless tunic' of Christ for which the soldiers at the crucifixion cast lots. This was a logical association to have made once that tunic was definitively glossed as a symbol of the body born seamlessly from the Virgin. A panel from the fifteenth-century Buxthude Altarpiece in the Kunsthalle of Hamburg, for instance, depicts Mary at work on a tiny seamless tunic pierced by knitting needles that she holds in the form of a cross. At her feet reclines the infant Christ, who is ominously approached by angels bearing the instruments of the passion.[20] Similar correspondences were developed in the Byzantine world, although they moved in a somewhat different direction. Cultivating the grain of a suggestion dropped in the Letter to the Hebrews, the fabric of Christ's flesh was patterned after exegetical and liturgical traditions concerned, not primarily with the seamless tunic, but more directly with the veil of the temple (Ex. 26.31–33). Perhaps the earliest and certainly the most influential source to develop this theme was the apocryphal wellspring of Marian legends, the *Protoevangelium of James*.[21]

In Proclus' era, this was the language of Apollinarianism, a heresy that Nestorius claimed to detect in the Marian epithet 'Theotokos.'

[20] Cited in Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, 157, and pl. 6.8, who additionally mentions the thirteenth-century *Vita Beatae Mariae Rhythmica*, which states that the tunic had neither 'blemish or seam, never became old or dirty, and was never outgrown as Christ grew to manhood.'

[21] Note that a Ps.-Chrysostomic sermon identified as the work of Proclus displays familiarity with the narrative of the *Protevangelium* (*PG* 50.793D; on the attribution, cf. 'Proclus' in the Bibliography = *In annunt. b. virginis*). In a fourteenth-century manuscript housed at the Patriarchate of Constantinople, cited in Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 53, no. 27 (= *Panag. Kamar.* 1), the text of Proclus' Homily 1 appears immediately after the *Protoevangelium of James*, both of which are assigned readings for the 'Nativity of the

In an episode from Mary's infancy, the Jewish priests call for the "making of a veil (καταπέτασμα) for the temple of the Lord," and assign the task to "seven pure virgins (παρθένοι ἀμίαντοι) from the tribe of David." When the virgins are assembled, lots are cast in order to determine the distribution of the colored threads. The choice colors of 'pure purple and scarlet' (ἡ ἀληθινὴ πορφύρα καὶ τὸ κόκκινον), fall to Mary who 'took the scarlet home and spun it' (λαβοῦσα τὸ κόκκινον ἔκλωθεν).[22] At this point, the scene shifts abruptly to a well outside of Mary's house, or perhaps to a fountain enclosed within her garden, where she has gone to draw water. As she is making ready to lower her pitcher, she is startled by the sound of a voice proclaiming, 'Hail, most favored one, the Lord is with you' (Lk. 1.28).[23] Looking about and seeing no one, Mary, shaken with fear (σύντρομος, cf. Lk. 1.29), returns to her house. Moving indoors from outside, from public space to private interiority, Mary is initiated into a mystery. Leaving aside the ordinary work of drawing water from the well, she turns to her spindle and resumes her sacred labor. Taking up the purple and sitting on a seat which the text describes as a 'throne,' Mary, we are told, 'drew out the thread.'[24] This seemingly trivial detail is of the greatest significance for it is precisely at this moment that Gabriel appears in visible form and repeats the words of the Annunciation that Mary heard uttered at the well. The spinning of the purple thread, in other words, is an activity coincident with the moment of incarnation.

Virgin' on 8 September. The effect of this juxtaposition serves to identify the textile imagery of the *Protoevangelium* with Proclus' image of the loom.

[22] This episode is slightly amplified in the Gospel of Ps.-Matthew, a Latin version of the *Protoevangelium* popular in the medieval West. Here, the other virgins are given names (i.e., Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea, and Zahel), and are said to have become jealous after Mary received the purple, unwittingly calling her the 'Queen of the Virgins,' for which they are rebuked by an angel, ed. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 70; partial trans. in Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament* (1993), 89.

[23] Note that the Old Testament patriarchs typically meet their future wives at wells; cf. Gen. 24.43, where Jacob meets the 'virgin' (παρθένος) Rebecca (cf. Jn. 4.6–7); and Ex. 2.15–21, for the meeting of Moses and Sepphora. See also the iconographic study of Mathews, "Annunciation at the Well" (1983), who suggests that the 'mingling' of the waters from the two jets of the well (not mentioned in the narrative) is a metaphor for the monophysitical 'mingling' of two natures in Christ. Note that Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 12, reports that a "certain Pamyles, while he was drawing water in Thebes, heard a voice issuing from the sanctuary of Zeus, ordering him to proclaim aloud that the 'great king Osiris is born'" (trans. Babbitt, *LCL* [1936], 5:33).

[24] λαβοῦσα τὴν πορφύραν ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτῆς καὶ ἧλκεν αὐτήν, *Protoevangelium Iacobi*, 10–11, ed. Tischendorf, 20–23; cf. Strycker, 108–14; trans. Elliott, 61.

In typical apocryphal fashion, the Marian mythographer knows more than the evangelist, and drawing on a range of texts and traditions has cleverly woven his narrative expansions into the seams of the Gospel of Luke.[25] The curtain that Mary is charged to weave is the cultic veil which separates the 'Holy place' from the 'Holy of Holies.' The apocryphal description of the veil is taken directly from Exodus 26.31, a passage which had long been the subject of allegorical commentaries,[26] including Philo's *Life of Moses*, to which we shall return in a moment. With the distribution of threads to the virgins, apocryphal legend may reflect historical fact inasmuch as the Mishnah calls for the preparation of two temple curtains every year to be woven by eighty-two young girls, presumably virgins.[27] That the choicest fibers fall by lot to Mary resonates with Lk. 1.9, where the same language is used to describe Zechariah's priestly service in the Holy of Holies, as well as with Jn. 19.23, where lots are cast for ownership of Christ's tunic in the fulfillment of ancient prophecy (cf. Ps. 21.18). Mary's inclusion in the 'tribe of David' grants her lineage in a royal blood-line, a theme which fits well with her allotment of the royal purple, along with the 'throne' upon which she is seated.[28]

Mary's reception of the purple skein, and her preoccupation with spinning at the moment of the Annunciation, were favorite subjects for subsequent writers and artists. In the Byzantine iconography of the Annunciation, Mary clasps, not a book, but a spindle from which she 'draws out the purple thread.'[29] In a twelfth-century homily on the early

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[25] I draw much of the following material from Smid, *Commentary* (1965), 75–80.

[26] The Septuagint text reads: καὶ ποιήσεις καταπέτασμα ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου κεκλωσμένου καὶ βύσσου νενησμένης ... καὶ διοριεῖ τὸ καταπέτασμα ὑμῖν ἀναμέσον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀναμέσον τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων (= Ex. 26.31, 33).

[27] Cf. Ex. 35.25–26: "Every woman wise in her heart (σοφὴ τῇ διανοίᾳ) to spin with her hands brought spun articles, the blue, the purple, and scarlet and fine linen. And all the women to whom it seemed good in their heart in their wisdom, spun the hairs."

[28] On Mary's Davidic lineage, see Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 78.13.4–6 (ed. Holl, *GCS* 37 [1985], 463–64). In addition, the dedication of Mary's handwork to the service of the sanctuary may be an apologetical response to the contemporary charge that Jesus 'fabricated the story of his birth from a virgin,' in order to conceal the fact that he "came from a Jewish village and from a poor country woman who earned her living by spinning (χερνῆτις)," cited in Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 1.28 (ed. Borret, *SC* 132 [1967], 150, lines 8–11).

[29] On the iconography of Mary's reception of the skein, cf. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge* (1992), 1:182–83; cf. pl. 102, where Mary's hands, draped with a white linen cloth, receive the purple as if it were a eucharistic particle. See also Underwood, *Kariye Djami* (1966), 1:76–78, who notes that the "Virgin Receiving the Skein of Purple Wool is a rarely illustrated subject, and the mosaic version of it in

life of the Virgin, James Kokkinobaphos deals in part with her work on the veil of the temple, a textile which he identifies as a symbol for the flesh of Christ. The Byzantine monk sees in Mary's reception of the purple a foreshadowing of Christ's coming kingship, for the Son of God will presently "clothe himself in the royal robe of the flesh woven from the body of the Virgin, and in return he shall show her forth as the Queen of all created beings." He then ponders the meaning of the word 'veil' (καταπέτασμα), which he defines as a 'polysemic' term (ὄνομα πολύσημον) having a range of applications (διαφόροις ἐφαρμόζον τοῖς πράγμασιν). Thus the curtain of the temple is a 'veil,' because it shrouds in mystery the secrets of holiness. The sky above us is also a 'veil,' because the heavenly azure conceals the depths of the universe. The first veil was intended by Moses to symbolize the veil of heaven, and both of these veils prefigured the flesh of Christ which enfolded and concealed his divinity.[30]

Christian thinkers who made these associations were exploring a relationship between the veil of the temple and the flesh of Christ that was posited in the Letter to the Hebrews. In an allegorical reading of the Jewish temple liturgy, the 'outer tent' is said to be a 'symbol of the present age' (Heb. 9.9), rendering by implication the 'inner tent' a symbol of heaven. Traversing the outer boundary, Christ the 'high priest' passed through the 'greater and more perfect tent not made with hands' (οὐ χειροποιήτου) (Heb. 9.11), entering, 'not into a sanctuary made with hands, an antitype of the true one, but into heaven itself' (Heb. 9.24). 'Therefore,' the argument concludes, "we have confidence to enter the sanctuary by the blood of Jesus, by the new and living way which he opened for us through the curtain, that is, his flesh" (διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ) (Heb. 10.19–20).[31]

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the Kariye Djami is by far the most impressive one that has come down to us." See also below, nn. 40–43.

[30] James Kokkinobaphos, hom. 4, which remains unedited, cf. *Vat. gr.* 1162, fol. 109v; cited in Hutter, "Die Homilien des Mönches Jakobos" (1970), 2:26; cf. 1:157–59.

[31] In his commentary on this passage, written in Constantinople in 402, Chrysostom remarked that: "By the 'tent not made with hands' he means the flesh. And well did he call it a 'greater and more perfect tent,' since God the Word and all the energy of the Spirit dwells (ἐνοικεῖ) within it, for 'it is not by measure that God gives the Spirit to him' (Jn. 3.34). And it is 'not made with hands,' for man did not construct it, but it is spiritual, of the Holy Spirit (cf. Lk. 1.29). He calls the body (σῶμα) a 'tent,' a 'veil,' and 'heaven' to the extent that one thing or another is signified (σημαινόμενον), although they are called by the same word. I mean, for instance, that heaven is a 'veil,' for as a veil it walls off (ἀποτειχίζει) the Holy of Holies; and the flesh of Christ is also a veil,

The Veil of the Temple

In order to clarify these ideas, it is helpful to recall that the temple was a microcosm of the six days of creation (Gen. 1–2) revealed to Moses during his six-day sojourn on Mt. Sinai (Ex. 24.16).[32] The days of creation, moreover, determined the various phases of the temple's construction. On the second day, the veil was hung to screen off the sanctuary (Ex. 26.31–33) as a reflection of the 'firmament' which on the second day of creation separated the heavens from the earth (Gen. 1.6–8). The basic liturgical division of the temple, therefore, mimics the structural division of creation, whose respective veils conceal the mysteries of the universe and the mysteries of God. For later commentators, including the author of the Letter to the Hebrews, reality was ordered by veiled passages concealing and connecting states of change and permanence, time and eternity, being and becoming.[33]

As is well known, entry into the Holy of Holies was strictly forbidden, except for the high priest, once a year on the day of Atonement, when he negotiated his survival before the divine presence by sprinkling the veil with the innocent blood of a substitute (cf. Lev. 16). For the Letter to the Hebrews, an eternal atonement had been rendered by Christ when he passed through a veil of blood, a dramatic screen through which

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for it conceals his divinity (κρύπτουσα τὴν θεότητα)," *in Heb.* 15 (*PG* 63.119, 139); cf. Theodoret, *in Heb.* 9.11–12; 10.19–22 (*PG* 82.741, 749). It is likely that Kokkinobaphos was familiar with Chrysostom's commentary.

[32] Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Moses* [179], follows Hebrews in his interpretation of the veil of the temple, noting that "doubtless he (i.e., Paul) himself had a vision of the tabernacle when he entered the supercelestial sanctuary where the mysteries of paradise were revealed to him by the Spirit (cf. 2 Cor. 12.2–4)" (ed. Musurillo, *GNO* 7.1 [1964], 92–93); Theodoret, *qu. in Ex.*, 60, also citing Hebrews, states that the 'tabernacle was an image of creation' (τῆς κτίσεως τὴν εἰκόνα) (*PG* 80.281AB); cf. Cosmas Indicopleustes, a sixth-century geographer who states that the tabernacle was a 'type' (τύπος, cf. Ex. 15.30) of what Moses had seen on Sinai, i.e., an 'impress of the whole world' (τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον), *Christian Topography*, ed. Winstedt (1909), 142; cf. Wolska, *La Topographie Chrétienne* (1962), 113–18. See also Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (1978), 160–65.

[33] Cf. Philo, *Questions and Answers on Exodus*, 2.85; cf. ibid., 2.83 (trans. Marcus, *LCL* [1953], sup. II:132–37); id., *vita Mosis*, 2.17–18 (trans. Colson, *LCL* [1935], 6:490–92); cf. Cosmas, *Topography*, who notes that the new tabernacle 'abides eternally while the former is dissolved' (ὡς ἀεὶ διαμενούσης, ἐκείνης δὲ καταλυομένης), ed. Winstedt, 143; and Theodoret, *qu. in Ex.*, 60: 'Just as God divided the earth from the heaven by means of the 'firmament' … he ordered that the veil be placed in the midst of the tabernacle as a type of the firmament, dividing the tabernacle in two' (ἐν μέσῳ τὸ καταπέτασμα ἐν τύπῳ τοῦ στερεώματος, διχῇ διεῖλεν αὐτὴν) (*PG* 80.281AB).

Christians beheld the God of Israel sacrificed upon his own altar. It was at that precise moment, according to the Gospel writers, that the veil of the temple was 'rent in two, from top to bottom' (Mt. 27.51; Mk. 15.38; Lk. 23.45), an act which refigured the ancient barrier as a gate of divine disclosure, an open door into "heaven itself, the living and new way through the curtain of Christ's flesh" (Heb. 10.20). The veil of the temple and of heaven itself were thus swept aside by a new third veil, irreparably torn in two, the wounded flesh of divine love.

With these ideas in mind, we may now return to the cultic symbolism of Mary's spinning in the *Protoevangelium of James*. When Mary devotedly spins the wool for the veil of the temple, the labor of her hands serves as a symbol for the labor of her womb. Her work on both the cultic veil and the veil of flesh begins in earnest at the moment of the Annunciation, when she 'draws out the thread.' The 'true purple and deep scarlet' signify Mary's intact but nevertheless traversed womb, the 'virginal workshop' painted the color of blood, in which a silent loom weaves a veil of flesh for the Word incarnate.[34] With the sacrificial death of Christ on the cross, both the work of Mary's hands and the work of her womb are 'rent in two' by a blow that will also 'pierce through even to her own soul' (cf. Lk. 2.35). In an icon from Mt. Sinai, Mary gazes sadly upon the figure of Simeon, the prophet who uttered these words to her, while the infant child clutches at her scarlet garments, losing himself within the symbolic folds of her flesh.[35]

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[34] Christian writers expressed considerable interest in the material and colors of the veil. For Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Moses* [183], the scarlet represents the 'saving passion,' and the woven hairs 'point to death, for hair on the body has no feeling, hence it is rightly a symbol of death' (ed. Musurillo, 95, lines 1–9); cf. id., *Cant.* 7 (ed. Langerbeck, *GNO* [1960], 221, cf. 269); Cyril of Alexandria, *De Adoratione*, 9: "The beauty and multiform ornament of the church is Christ, who is one according to nature but understood by many riddles, such as the 'fine-spun linen' (Ex. 26.31), for the bodiless Word was spun (κέκλωσται) when he was knitted together (συμπλοκή) with the flesh; and not just 'linen' but 'blue linen,' for he is not only from earth (ἐκ γῆς) but from the heavens (ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ); and 'purple,' for he is not a slave but a King from God; and 'woven from scarlet,' to indicate, as we said, his being knitted together with the flesh, for scarlet is a symbol (σημεῖον) of blood" (*PG* 633D–636A). Jacob of Serugh explains the apparent discrepancy in the description of Christ's 'tunic of mockery' as both 'purple' (Jn. 19.2; Mk. 15.17) and 'scarlet' (Mt. 27.28) by noting that the veil of the sanctuary had a 'warp of scarlet and a woof of purple,' and that the evangelists gesture toward different aspects of the same cloth; Ephrem notes that these two colors symbolize Christ's 'priesthood and kingship' (both cited in Kollamparampil, below, n. 37, p. 288).

[35] In Manafes, *Sinai* (1990), 105; cf. the remarks of Carr, "Presentation of an Icon," who notes that the "Virgin's gaze is aligned along a strong diagonal that leads us to

Like a new Adam soaked to the skin with uterine blood, the child emerges from the red clay of paradise, from a burning bush paradoxically moistened and enflamed. As the scarlet thread unwinds in the workshop of Mary's womb, the Word is bound to birth in the flesh and death on the cross. Coiled within a curtain of colored matter, the formless divinity is transformed in the womb of the Virgin who has rendered it dissemblant from its very self, engendering a form for the formless through the folds of a garment, a veil of flesh. Finally, the symbolic association of the veil of the temple with the formation of the body in Proclus' 'workshop of nature' finds a striking parallel in Philo's *Life of Moses*. Commenting on the fabrication of the temple curtains, Philo notes that there are "ten curtains woven from four kinds of material," calculating that "together they multiply into the number forty." To this the Alexandrian adds that the number forty is "generative of life, corresponding to the number of weeks in which man is fully formed in the workshop of nature" (ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ).[36]

Before concluding this section, it is worth considering another way in which the veil of the temple was imaginatively associated with the body of Christ. In a Syriac sermon on the passion, Jacob of Serugh (ca. 449–521) focuses the 'lucid eye of the soul' on the mysteries hidden within the narrative of Christ's arrest and trial. In their attempt to procure a sentence of death, the priests resolve to clothe Christ in a "piece of the veil of the sanctuary, because it is written in the Law that one who touches the holy objects ought to die" (cf. Num. 4.15). Bringing out the veil, they "made a tunic of purple and decked out the Lord in mockery" (cf. Mk. 15.16; Mt. 27.28). This is why, Jacob submits, the priests insisted that Christ was 'culpable of death' without disclosing the nature of his crime (cf. Mt. 27.33; 26.66). Clothed in the veil of the temple, Christ is unwittingly identified with the cultic locus of divine glory, and when the high priest rends his own clothing (Mt. 26.64), this is yet another sign that 'Levi' has yielded to 'Melchizedek,' because the priesthood, hitherto "confined in that impure man … fled and took refuge in its Lord":

… the figure of Simeon, the last voice of the Old Testament, who holds on his scroll his prophecy of the sword (i.e., Lk. 2.35), characteristically linked with Christ's death. Christ strains, then, toward his mortality. His mortality is the gift of his mother; it is she who veils his divinity in flesh, as he indicates by gripping her veil," 239.

[36] Philo, *Life of Moses*, 2.17.84–85 (trans. F. H. Colson, *LCL* [Cambridge, Mass., 1966], 6:491); cf. id., *Spec. Leg.* 3.33: οἱ ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ ζῳοπλαστοῦντες (Colson, *LCL* [Cambridge, Mass., 1968], vol. 7); and the citations at Hom. 1.I, 14.

> And the veil of the sanctuary itself gives testimony to me that these things happened in this way, for it was 'torn into two from top to bottom' (Mt. 27.51). For if the tunic of the priest was torn by the hands of the priest, the veil of the sanctuary was torn by the Holy Spirit who left them and went out. 'Behold, your house is forsaken' (Mt. 23.38), the Levitical priesthood has run away. Look and see how the Lord of the sanctuary wears the vestments of his ministry, because the Hebrew nation has thrown them upon him. When a betrothed woman desires to separate herself from her betrothed, she throws his clothes to him. Thus, the synagogue took all the worship and the priesthood, which he had given to her, and threw it at him, thereby wrapping round upon him the veil of the altar.[37]

The Work of the New Eve

Foreshadowed in the veil of the temple, the flesh of Christ is not simply the flesh of an isolated individual, but the regenerated flesh of redeemed humanity. The contagion of death afflicting tissue woven in the womb of Eve finds its antidote in the weavings of Mary's virginal workshop. Mary's spindle is therefore a symbolic attribute defining a central aspect of her persona as the 'New Eve.' Whereas Proclus does not directly contrast the virgin loom with the cloth-making of Eve, his personification of Nature (cited above in Homily 4), who 'weaves garments that are tattered and soiled,' surely echoes the voice of the fallen mother of life. Writing somewhat before Proclus, Epiphanius of Salamis made this typological connection explicit, largely by means of a passage in the Book of Job:

> About both Eve and Mary it was said, 'Who gave women the wisdom of weaving (ὑφάσματος σοφίαν), and the knowledge of embroidering?' (Job 38.36), for the first wise woman Eve wove sensible garments (ὑφαίνουσα ἱμάτια αἰσθητά) for Adam, whom she had stripped naked. To her this labor was given, for it was through her that nakedness was discovered, and thus to her was given the task of clothing the perceptible body (ἀμφιεννύειν τὸ σῶμα τὸ αἰσθητόν) on account of its perceptible naked-

[37] Jacob of Serugh, *On the Friday of the Passion*, 17–20, trans. Kollamparampil, *Select Festal Homilies* (1997), 285–86; cf. Konat, "Christological Insights in Jacob of Serugh's Typology" (2001). Procopius of Gaza understood the Pharisees as the brothers of Joseph (cf. Gen. 37.3–4), who envied Christ's garments of life and light, *In Genesim* (*PG* 87.471–72). Note that the words 'light' and 'life,' arranged in a cross-shaped acrostic, formed a common ornament on early Christian garments, cited in Maguire, "Garments Pleasing to God" (1990).

> ness. To Mary it was given by God to give birth to the lamb (τὸ ἀρνίον) and the shepherd, so that from the glory of the lamb and shepherd we might be clothed in a garment of incorruptibility (ἔνδυμα ἀφθαρσίας).[38]

One of Proclus' contemporaries, the Abbot Neilus, writing around 430, comments on this same verse as follows:

> 'Who gave women the wisdom of weaving?' (Job 38.36). The first woman who received such wisdom (i.e., Eve) wove garments (ἐξυφαίνειν ἱμάτια) that could be seen, in order to cover the visible nakedness of bodies. The second woman, that is, the Theotokos, displayed such wisdom and manifold knowledge, that, from the wool of the lamb (ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων τοῦ ἀρνίου) who was born from her, she was able to clothe all the faithful with garments of incorruptibility (ἐνδύματα ἀφθαρσίας), and thereby free them from their invisible nakedness. For all true Christians 'stand at the right hand of the King, in golden fringed garments, embroidered in myriad forms of the virtues' (cf. Ps. 44.14).[39]

The typological ligature of Eve and Mary based on the activity of spinning has precise analogues within early Christian and Byzantine iconography, and at this point it will be instructive to consider them in light of the passages cited above. Of central importance are two images which tellingly have their origins in the fifth century. The first is an Annunciation mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore, which depicts the Virgin crowned and seated on a throne next to a large basket of wool from which she is spinning. Engaged in manual labor, Mary is nevertheless richly attired in the garments of a Byzantine monarch. This mosaic bears comparison with a cognate image in San Marco, Venice, which depicts the 'Expulsion and Labors of Adam and Eve.' Here the mythic pair appears twice: initially being thrust from the gates of Eden, and again, outside the garden, engaged in post-lapsarian labors. In the first scene, Adam holds a digging tool signifying the curse placed upon him by God: "Cursed is the ground in your labors, in pain you shall eat of

[38] Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 78.18.1–4 (ed. Holl, 3:468–69). On the 'garment of incorruptibility,' cf. below, n. 95.

[39] Neilus, ep. 267 (*PG* 79.180–81); cf. ep. 266: "The first Eve was called the 'mother of life' typologically, in order to signify the second, that is, Holy Mary who gave birth to the life of the world, Christ the Lord of glory. She is truly the mother of all who live according to the Gospel, whose souls do not perish through faithlessness" (ibid., 180D); cf. Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 28.24: "Scripture itself marvels at the wisdom that woman have in weaving, for 'Who,' it asks, 'gave women the wisdom of weaving?' (Job. 38.36), because this is the work of a rational being, filled with wisdom, and making its way to heaven" (ed. Gallay, *SC* 250 [1978], 152, lines 24–28). Later sources make Proclus and Neilus classmates in the 'school of Chrysostom,' cf. above, chap. 1, p. 23, n. 61.

it (ἐν λύπαις φαγῇ αὐτήν) all the days of your life … in the sweat of your face you shall eat bread until you return from the earth from where you were taken" (Gen. 3.18–20). The Adamic curse was pronounced after the one placed on Eve, to which it is verbally assimilated, for Eve was told that she would henceforth 'bring forth children in pain' (ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα, Gen. 3.17), a situation symbolized by the distaff that she holds in her right hand (not mentioned in Genesis). The symbolic association of Eve's bodily travail with the labor of spinning is made clear in the second scene. In fulfillment of the curse, Adam tills a field, while Eve, with enlarged breasts and belly, sits crowned on a golden throne holding her distaff like a royal scepter not unlike the Virgin *Regina* of Santa Maria Maggiore. Majestically seated upon her golden throne (which elsewhere in the mosaic cycle is an attribute only of the divinity), Eve's body twists and turns like a spindle in the direction of the pre-incarnate Word.

Installed in the thirteenth century, the Venetian mosaic of 'Queen Eve' was copied more or less directly from a prolifically illustrated Greek manuscript of Genesis which dates to the end of the fifth century. Allowing for changes introduced by the mosaicists of San Marco, these depictions of Mary and Eve emerged contemporaneously with Proclus' praises of the Virgin's loom, for which they provide not only compelling illustrations, but indications of widespread cultural acceptance.[40] In terms of the iconography, it is worth noting that the figures of Mary and Eve are intriguingly merged in a late twelfth-century icon of the Annunciation from Mt. Sinai which depicts the Virgin enthroned on the banks of a river in paradise. With her left hand the New Eve draws a strand of thread across the span of her breast, beneath which is faintly visible the form of the infant Christ, an embryo seated within her womb, painted in the same scarlet undertones as her garments.[41]

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40 Spain, "The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore" (1979), identifies the Marian figure as 'Sarah,' a type of Mary, but is unable to explain her preparation of the yarn, a central feature of this mosaic, which the author relegates to a footnote (p. 538, n. 85); cf. Sieger, "Visual Metaphor" (1987), 85–86; Jolly, *Made in God's Image?* (1997), 59–76; Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (1986), 37–38; and Weitzmann, "The Genesis Mosaics and the Cotton Genesis" (1984), who suggests that Eve's throne may have been added by the thirteenth-century mosaicists.

41 The Sinai icon has been published by Manafes, *Sinai*, 160; cf. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence* (1981), 50–52; and Belting, *Likeness and Presence* (1994), 278–79, who additionally notes that in this icon, "Mary looks at the angel as she answers and lifts her ear, 'through which she received the Word'," cf. above, chap. 5.

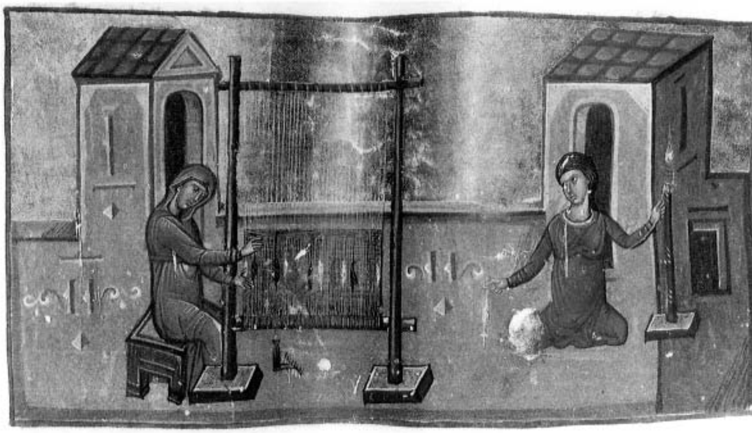


Fig. 1: Jerusalem, *Panhagiou Taphou* no. 5, fol. 234v; illumination of Job 38.36 showing two women producing cloth, 13th century

As we have seen, the question "Who gave women the wisdom of weaving?" (Job 38.36) was understood by patristic writers as a symbolic reference to the fabrication of flesh in the wombs of Mary and Eve. That typology was eventually incorporated into illuminated manuscripts of Job, one of the most frequently illustrated Old Testament books in the Byzantine world. A late thirteenth-century manuscript from Jerusalem (Fig. 1), for example, illustrates Job 38.36 with an image of two women engaged in the production of textiles. The woman on the left is veiled in deep cobalt blue, sits on a throne-like stool, and weaves cloth on a large upright loom. On the right, the second woman sits on the ground; her head is uncovered and she is clothed in a bright red tunic. Instead of working at the loom, she spins uncolored thread from a large distaff, her eyes fixed intently on her partner and the pattern emerging from her cloth. Both women are seated before architectural backdrops reminiscent of the scenography of the Annunciation. The illumination appears directly below the scriptural verse, and the word 'wisdom' is written in large letters directly over the figure of the woman in blue at the loom.[42]

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[42] Jerusalem, *Panhag. Taphou* 5, fol. 234v, cited in Huber, *Hiob* (1986), 233, pl. 224; cf. Galavaris, *Ἑλληνικὴ Τέχνη* (1995); 171, pl. 187. Huber, ibid., provides two further examples of this image, cf. 231, pl. 3; and 233, pl. 225; cf. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (1926), pl. 62, no. 2 (= *Paris. gr.* 135, fol. 222v). Note that many of these manuscripts are illustrated *catenae* and thus juxtapose patristic interpretations with the sacred text and



Fig. 2: Iviron, Mt. Athos, Gospel Lectionary no. 5, fol. 222; Annunciation, 13th century

If the illustration of Job 38.36 encodes a subtle allusion to the iconography of the Annunciation, a miniature of the Annunciation from a contemporary lectionary (Fig. 2) directly incorporates a major element from the illuminated Job tradition. Into the standard composition of the Annunciation, the Byzantine miniaturist has introduced the figure of the woman in red. Here she is depicted at the feet of Mary whom she is presumably assisting with her work on the veil of the temple. While the Virgin stands in an attitude of faithful acceptance, the woman in red is seated low to the ground and recoils as if in surprise or alarm from the figure of the approaching archangel. Both Mary and her red-clad companion simultaneously spin strands of thread coincident with the angel's greeting. A fifteenth-century panel painting of the Annunciation from Mt. Athos (Fig. 3) develops this imagery even further. Relegated to the lower right-hand margin of the panel, the red-cloaked woman is dwarfed by the towering figure of Mary. At the same time, she is provided with a prominent distaff, and is seated before an architectural backdrop complete with a red curtain drawn back across its main entry. Whereas Mary's thread is dyed scarlet, the thread produced by her miniature partner is uncolored, suggestive of whitened fleece. Rather than imposing a single identity on the mysterious woman in red, it is perhaps best to see her embodying a range of referents, including a ser-

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its corresponding image, cf. Hagedorn and Hagedorn, *Griechischen Katenen zum Buch Hiob* (1994).



Fig. 3: Dionysiou, Mt. Athos, panel painting of the Annunciation by Kyr-Tzortzes, 1547

vant, a reflection of Eve, a figure of natural reproduction, and a personified projection of Mary's womb energized into activity by the 'power of the Most High' (Lk. 1.35).[43]

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[43] The Annunciation miniature is from a *Tetravangelon* of Iviron (no. 5, fol. 222a), dated to the latter half of the thirteenth century; Galavaris, ibid., 165, p. 178, identifies the figure as a 'servant' although none are mentioned by the *Protoevangelium*. The panel icon, painted in 1547 by 'Kyr-Tzortzes,' is housed at the Athonite monastery

Finally, the association of spinning and weaving with the wombs of Eve and Mary may have been part of a concerted response to the heretical interpretation of the 'coats of skin' (δερμάτινοι χιτῶνες) (Gen. 3.22), a notion frequently, if unfairly, associated with the anthropology of Origen. For those who wished altogether to deny corporeality in the human condition before Gen. 3.21, the 'coats of skin' signified the body in which God was said to have enclosed the preexistent soul in punishment for its attraction to matter. Origen's own interpretation of this verse was much more nuanced, although that did not prevent Epiphanius from mounting a major attack against him. In contrast to gnostic understandings of embodiment, the bodies produced by the spinning of Eve and Mary are not those of a 'second creation' coincident with the fall, but rather empirical bodies generated within history. The former are prepared by God in the stereotypically masculine role of 'leather worker,' while the latter are produced by the 'wisdom of weaving,' a skill associated, equally stereotypically, with the work of women.[44]

Weaving Symbolism in Late Antiquity

Having considered the major exegetical and theological aspects relative to the image of Mary's loom, we may now expand our frame of reference to the wider social and cultural environment in which these images initially appeared. In addition to the theology of clothing and the cultic traditions concerned with the veil of the temple, it should be noted that the fifth century was a time of important changes, not only in the manufacture of cloth and and other textiles, but in the way

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of Dionysiou, cf. *Δωδεκάορτο* (1991). See also the fourteenth-century panel icon of the Annunciation at the Pushkin Museum, in which a female figure peers at the archangel from behind the safety of a column, cited in Bank, *Byzantine Art in Soviet Museums* (1978), pl. 272–73. Note that a variant of this same figure appears in the iconography of the 'Nativity of the Theotokos,' spinning thread at the side of the Virgin's cradle, which she rocks with her foot, cf. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, 89–121.

[44] For a discussion of the 'garments of skin,' along with additional bibliography, see Dechow, *Dogma and Mysticism* (1988), 315–333; and Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 85–158. See also John of Damascus, *Sermo in s. sabbatum*: "The one who clothed (ἀμφιάσας) the ancestors of the race in 'coats of skin' (Gen. 3.21) was willingly stripped naked for crucifixion, so that stripping us of mortality he might clothe us with the dignity of incorruptibility (τὴν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας περιβάλῃ εὐπρέπειαν). And he allotted his tunic (στολή) to the soldiers (cf. Jn. 19.23), for being raised from the dead he means to send himself to the gentiles as a divine covering (περιβόλαιον) through baptism, for 'those who have been baptized into Christ have been clothed in Christ' (Gal. 3.27)" (ed. Kotter [1987], 5:133, lines 22–28).

that they were experienced and perceived by their users and wearers. Apparently, the traditional decorative style of rigid aniconic patterns and repetitive designs began to lose some of its austerity. While geometric patterns continued to appear, garments were now richly decorated with images of plants, animals, personifications, human figures, and an array of scenes from the Old and New Testaments.[45]

Christian images on garments conveyed not only signs of wealth and status but functioned as apotropaic emblems operating on behalf of the bearer, repelling, by means of crosses and images of holy figures, the threat of malevolent powers. Thus the story of Joseph's robe, an article of clothing that had aroused the envy of his brothers (Gen. 37.3–4), was an especially popular tunic motif.[46] One of Proclus' contemporaries, Asterius of Amaseia, criticized his parishioners whose costly garments, covered to excess with distracting Biblical subjects, rivaled the wall-paintings of his church.[47] In Constantinople, a mystique began to develop around the garments of the emperor, and imperial ideologues suggested that the lavish robes of state were not 'fashioned by hands' but had been 'brought from heaven by an angel,' and thus endowed with supernatural powers.[48] As one might expect, such powers were not always benign. Theodoret of Cyrrhus reports that a certain 'stage dancer,' after illicitly donning an imperial robe, 'fell down and perished.'[49]

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[45] On which see, Gonosova, "Textiles" (1989), 65–72; and Maguire, "Christians, Pagans, and the Representation of Nature" (1993), 1:131–60. The changes in textile patterning have also been detected in contemporary floor mosaics, cf. Kitzinger, "Stylistic Developments in Pavement Mosaics" (1965); and above, n. 37.

[46] Maguire, "Garments Pleasing to God" (1990); cf. Abdel-Malek, "Joseph Tapestries" (1980), 87–120

[47] Hom. 1, ed. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea* (1970), 8–9. Among the scenes listed by Asterius is the 'woman with an issue of blood seizing Christ's hem.' See also Gregory of Nyssa: *De beatitudinibus*, 8: "You are proud because your clothes are dyed in brilliant purple and you have silk robes embroidered with scenes from war or hunting or history … at these things you look, but at yourself you will not look?" (ed. Callahan, *GNO* 7.2 [1992], 86, lines 6–12); id., *De mortuis non esse dolendum*: "Of what use is your garment of golden threads, bright purple, and woven images (ὑφαντικὴ ζωγραφία), by means of which battles and beasts and other such things are depicted by the weavers (τῶν ὑφαινόντων ἐνζωγραφοῦνται)?" (ed. Heil, *GNO* 9.1 [1967], 59, lines 11–15).

[48] When not in use, the imperial costume was spread upon the altar table of the Great Church; cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, 113 (ed. Moravcsik [1949], 1:67–69).

[49] Theodoret, *H.E.*, 2.23 (*PG* 82.1065), who believed that the robe in question had been given to the bishop of Jerusalem by the emperor Constantine to wear during the baptismal liturgy.

These notions found support in the popular *Oneirocritica*, according to which the loom was a 'symbol of life' producing garments of unequal value.[50] Plato himself had suggested the symbolic potentialities of spinning and weaving in his celebrated myth of Er, a soldier slain in battle who returned to life after twelve days. While his body lay unconscious, Er's soul embarked on a journey to the center of the cosmos where it beheld an enormous spindle (ἄτρακτον) revolving in the knees of Necessity. Around it the planets made their orbit spinning on colored whorls; in time with its rhythmic gyrations the Sirens sang their songs while the Fates measured out the threads of human life.[51]

The mythic dimensions of weaving were set to verse by one of Proclus' contemporaries, Nonnus of Panopolis, who muses on Aphrodite's ill-fated attempt to 'try Athena's loom (ἱστός) with unpracticed hands.' Breaking the 'warp threads of the web,' the goddess of love confused the Fates who assisted Athena in the operation of the loom: "Pasithea made the spindle run round, Peitho dressed the wool, Aglaia gave thread and yarn to her mistress." The results wreak havoc on the earth, for "weddings went astray, time was disturbed, Eros unhonored loosed his fiery bowstring, the harp made no music, and life dwindled." Upon discovering Aphrodite at her loom, Athena is overcome by 'anger and laughter,' and the gods come running to see the 'labors of the divine fumbler and her bungling work.' Aphrodite is thereupon mocked by Hermes, who concludes his derisive remarks by saying that "the nature of the world has all gone astray since you have been weaving cloth (πέπλον ὑφαίνεις)."[52]

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[50] *Artemidori Oneirocriticon*, ed. Hercher (1864), 85–89, and 182: ἔοικε γὰρ τῷ βίῳ ὁ ἱστός. Dreams, of course, had a way of seeping into real life, much to the chagrin of the moralizing John Chrysostom, *hom.* 1.7 *in 1 Cor.*: "What shall I say about the amulets and the bells that are hung upon the child's hand, and the scarlet warp (τὸν κόκκινον στήμονα), and the other things of folly, when you ought to invest the child with the protection of the cross? But that which converted the whole earth and destroyed the devil is now scorned in favor of the woof and the warp (κρόκη δὲ καὶ στήμων)" (*PG* 61.105D).

[51] Plato, *Republic*, 10.13–16 (trans. Shorey, *LCL* [1935], 2:491–511); cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Rempublicam*, 16.3 (ed. Kroll [1901], 246–47; trans. Festugière [1970], 3:203–204); cf. Sheppard, *Proclus' Commentary on the Republic* (1980), 145–61.

[52] Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* (trans. Rouse, *LCL* [1940], 241–47); cf. Saphho, frg. 135: "I cannot weave my web (οὐ δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἱστόν), for I am overwhelmed through Aphrodite with love of a slender youth" (trans. Edmonds, *LCL* [1934], 277). Another example of what could happen when Athena's cloth was tampered with is noted in Plutarch's tale of Demetrius, who altered the religious practices of Athens in order to honor himself as a god. "Most of these innovations were marked with divine

In Nonnus' yarn the loom-work of Athena is associated with the proper ordering of desire, sexual union, and the flourishing of life, that is, a generative web upset by Aphrodite in a manner analogous to the symbolic weavings of Mary and Eve. The loom as a 'symbol of life,' and the role of fated threads in the reckoning of human destiny, are further indications of the extent to which textile production was closely associated with the process of conception and birth. Inventories from the sanctuary of Artemis preserve numerous dedications of garments by women either successful or not at childbirth.[53] The evocation of the body as a garment was authorized additionally by the histological treatises of the Greek medical writers who routinely describe human tissue in terms of finely woven cloth.[54] Hippocrates swathes the skeleton and its vital organs in a series of membranes that he characterizes as 'veils' and 'webs.' The bodies of men are typically described as 'more densely woven' than those of women, and thus retain fluids more efficiently.[55] Women's bodies, on the other hand, have difficulty managing fluids, because they are porous, penetrable, and only loosely woven together. The gendered categories of 'dry' and 'wet' are evident in Proclus' typological image of the Virgin as the 'bedewed fleece of Gideon' (Jg. 6.37), and accords with the use of such fleeces in agricultural hydroscopy, for which they provided an absorbent medium that was regularly compared to the female body.[56]

With striking similarity to the work of Proclus, the production of cloth as a metaphor for the fabrication of the body is attested in Por-

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displeasure," Plutarch notes, especially the weaving of Demetrius' image onto Athena's sacred *peplos*. In a parallel to the rending of the veil of the temple (Mt. 27.51), the angry gods 'sent a hurricane which smote it,' and the 'robe of Athena was rent in twain' (ὁ πέπλος ἐρράγη μέσος) (trans. Perrin, *LCL* [1920], 28–30).

53 *Corpus Inscriptiones Graecae, Catalogus vestium Dianae dedicatarum* (1514–15) (II 754). I am thankful to Andronike Makres for this reference.

54 It is worth noting that the English word 'histology' is derived from the Greek word for the 'loom' (*histos*), and that modern science continues to describe the production of tissue from a 'double-stranded thread' (DNA) by a system of 'fibers' called the 'mitotic spindle.'

55 Hippocrates, *Nat. mul.*, 1.1, 8.12; id., *Gland.*, 16.8.

56 Hanson, "The Medical Writers' Woman" (1990), 317. In the binary opposition of 'dry' and 'wet,' the female principle signifies that which is relatively formless and without stable boundaries. The female swells, shrinks, and leaks, enveloping male form in a fatal formlessness, as Clytemnestra enshrouded Agamemnon in a 'garment that has no boundaries' (ἄπειρον ὕφασμα, Eur., *Ores.*, 25), cited in Carson, "Putting Her in Her Place" (1990), 155. This distinction would seem to be somewhat overturned in the Christian tradition, in which the 'formless' God is circumscribed in the womb of Mary.

phyry's third-century treatise *On the Cave of the Nymphs*. In an allegorical commentary on a passage in the *Odyssey* (13, 102–12), Porphyry suggests that the "nymphs who weave sea-purple garments on looms of stone in a darkened cave," are an image of the body's growth and formation:

> What symbol could be more appropriate than looms (ἱστοί) for souls descending to genesis and to the creation of a body? … For flesh is formed in and around the bones, which in living beings are like unto stones. This is why the 'looms' are said to be built of stone. The 'garments of sea-purple' are obviously the flesh which is woven together from blood, for sea-purple dye is derived from blood, and the wool that it colors is also rooted in the vital fluids of animals. All flesh is thus from blood and through blood, and every body is a mantle (χιτών) for the soul cloaked within it. This mantle is truly a wonder to behold, whether one considers its own internal fabrication, or its intimate bond (σύνδεσις) of union with the soul.[57]

Working within two different religious universes, the looms of Porphyry and Proclus represent Greek and Christian redactions of a shared cultural symbol. For both writers, the metaphor of weaving emerges in the allegorical exegesis of their respective sacred scriptures. In Porphyry's Platonic cosmography, the world is perforated by two orifices (στόμια), providing access to cavernous gulfs (χάσματα, cf. Lk. 16.26) into which 'souls descend to genesis and embodiment.' Modeled on Bacchic grottos, these gulfs afford passage either out of the body and into the purifying flames of the sun, or back to earth through envelopment in a brine-soaked garment of flesh. In Christian garb, the orifice of psychic migration is the channel of Mary's ear, a tube descending to a darkened pool of water at the center of the earth, the uterine workshop of the mother's body. Homer's cave in Ithaca has thus become a grotto in Bethlehem, where Mary, the 'Nymph (νύμφη) of God,' presides over the genesis of the Word for whom she weaves a robe of purple. The parallel diverges to the extent that Porphyry's commentary reinscribes the Neoplatonic version of the 'garments of skins,' along with its negative estimation of human embodiment.[58] These views were strongly opposed

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[57] Porphyry, *De antro nympharum*, ed. Seminar Classics, 609 = Arethusa Monographs, 1 (Buffalo, 1969); 14, lines 6–13; cf. Lamberton, *Porphyry: On the Cave of the Nymphs* (1991), 3–16; and Alt, "Homers Nymphengrotte" (1998).

[58] Tardieu, "Comme à travers un tuyau," 164–65; Simonini, *Porfirio* (1986), 147–55; Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian* (1986), 318–24; Lardeau, *La philosophie de Porphyre* (1989); and Smith, *Porphyrii Philosophi Fragmenta* (1993). Porphyry knew the New Testament and the Septuagint, and in the *De antro* cites Gen. 1.2: 'The spirit of God was borne above the waters,' cf. Hulen, *Porphyry's Work 'Against the Christians'* (1933), 25–31. Porphyry

by one of Porphyry's contemporaries, Hippolytus of Rome, whose own version of the loom of birth was cited above.[59]

Against this general background, one is not surprised that analogies to weaving, allusions to textiles, images of the body as a garment, as well as images of garments adorned or symbolically merged with visions of the body, appear in the homilies of Proclus. Why, though, did Proclus consider such imagery appropriate for the Theotokos, and apply it exclusively to her at a critical juncture in the christological controversy?

Women's Work

The identification of women with the art of weaving and the production of cloth and clothing is not a novel idea. It has been said that the "only occupation, both in antiquity and Byzantium, considered honorable for a female was the making of cloth for the family, and only for the family."[60] From Homer's Penelope to the 'good wife' of Proverbs, women have been closely associated with the tools and production of textiles. John Moschus mentions a virgin who blinded herself with a shuttle (κερκίδιον) when she learned that her eyes were a source of temptation to an unwanted suitor.[61] Mary of Egypt is said to have cast aside her spindle (ἠλακάτην) as she ran to the docks of Alexandria in a state of unbridled desire.[62] Clement of Alexandria approved of exer-

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elsewhere describes the soul as 'knotted up in the bonds (δεσμοί) of nature' which are 'the belly, the genitals, the throat, and the other bodily members, both in respect to our use and passionate pleasure in them and our fears about them,' text and trans. in Wicker, *Porphyry: To Marcella* (1987), 75 [33].

[59] Hippolytus, *Elenchus*, 1.24.1 (ed. Wendland, *GCS* 26 [1916], 27–28). Porphyry's works circulated among Christians, and were suppressed both under Constantine prior to the Council of Nicaea and again by Theodosius II in 448; cf. the letter of Constantine preserved by Socrates, *H.E.*, 9.1.30 (ed. Hansen, *GCS* 33, lines 21–22); and the *Corpus Juris Civilis Codex Justiniani*, 1.1.3, cited in Hulen, ibid., 6. See also Meredith, "Allegory in Porphyry and Gregory of Nyssa" (1985).

[60] Laiou, "Role of Women in Byzantine Society" (1981), 243; cf. ead., "Festival of Agathe" (1986), 111–12; Balson, *Roman Women* (1962); Wild, "The *Gynaeceum* at Venta" (1967); Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός* (1948), 2:115–16, 202–5; and, more generally, Barber, *Women's Work* (1994). See also Thompson, "Weaving: A Man's Work" (1982).

[61] *Pratrum Spirituale*, 60: κρατοῦσα τὸ κερκίδιον αὐτῆς ἔδακεν, καὶ ἐξέβαλεν τοὺς δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῆς (*PG* 87/3.2913B).

[62] *Vita s. Mariae Aegyptiacae*: ῥίψασα τὴν ἠλακάτην ἥνπερ ἐβάσταζον, ταύτην γὰρ συμβέβηκε διὰ χρόνου βαστάζειν με (*PG* 87/3.3712BC).

cise for women, but not on the "wrestling mat or at the race track, but in spinning and weaving (ταλασιουργίᾳ καὶ ἱστουργίᾳ) … because Christ approves of the woman who 'stretches forth her hands to useful things, and who applies her fingers to the spindle' (Prov. 31.19)."[63] Clearly, for women from across a range of social positions, the shuttle was relentlessly ready to hand, and was an object reinforcing the social construction of gender.[64]

One suspects that literary images of the weaving woman functioned as a sociological legitimization of domiciled female passivity. There is no doubt that the cleaning and carding of wool, the spinning of thread, the preparation of the loom, and the weaving of cloth can be tediously oppressive activities that can physically disfigure the women who practice them. To have succeeded in identifying such activities with the archetypal figure of God's mother would thus seem to have been a singularly decisive moment in the history of domestic drudgery. Variously inscribed within networks of patriarchal power, images and ideas nevertheless remain open to multiple and even contradictory interpretations, often within the work of a single author. Despite his designation of weaving as 'women's work,' Clement of Alexandria elsewhere invoked the activity of spinning and weaving as an analogy for the progressive stages of the philosophical life.[65] And if the proverbial 'good wife' could

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[63] Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 3.10.49.1–5 (ed. Stählin, *SC* 158 [1970], 106–108).

[64] Chrysostom, *De studio praesentium*: "Men and women are different with respect to their bodies; to the latter have been allotted the loom (ἱστός), the distaff (ἠλακάτη), the carding basket, house-keeping and child-rearing; to the former are the courtrooms, the councils, and the public places, along with battles and wars" (*PG* 63.488B); id., *Quod regulares feminae viris cohabitare non debeant*: "What can a man do for a woman that another woman can't do for her? Will you have a man sit and weave with you at the loom (ἱστὸν ὑφῆναι), and thread the warp and the woof (νῆσαι κρόκην καὶ στήμονα)? But this is exclusively woman's work (τῆς γυναικὸς μόνης τὸ ἔργον ἐστίν)" (*PG* 47.520B); id., *Contra eos qui subintroductas habent virgines*: "Christ desires us to be brave soldiers and athletes, and he did not outfit us with spiritual weapons in order for us to busy ourselves with wool and loom work (περὶ ἔρια καὶ ἱστούς), or to take our places with women knitting and weaving (νηθούσαις καὶ ὑφαινούσαις)" (*PG* 47.509D); id., *Quales ducendae sint uxores*: "A woman cannot sharpen a spear, or aim an arrow, but she can take up the spindle (ἠλακάτην δύναται λαβεῖν), and weave at the loom (καὶ ἱστὸν ὑφᾶναι)" (*PG* 51.231A).

[65] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 6.11.91.1: "The studies of philosophy, and philosophy itself, are aids in laying hold of the truth. For instance, the cloak (χλαμύς) was once a fleece (πόκος); then it was shorn (ἐξάνθη), and became warp and woof (κρόκη ἐγένετο καὶ στήμων); and then it was woven (ὑφάνθη). Accordingly, the soul must be prepared and variously excercised if it would become good in the highest degree" (ed. Stählin, *GCS* 52 [15] [1960], 477, lines 20–24).

be pressed into the service of domestic enslavement, then she could also function as a symbol of the highest intellectual activity. "Gathering wool and flax" (Prov. 31.13) she signified "reflection on the nature of animate and inanimate beings." When she "stretched out her hands to useful things, and applied her fingers to the spindle" (Prov. 31.19), her "spindle symbolized the intellect knitting together virtue with virtue and doctrine with doctrine, or, perhaps, a spoken word drawing forth spiritual contemplation from the mind." Making "garments for herself of fine linen and scarlet" (Prov. 31.22), she "contemplated the Holy Trinity, which is a 'garment of fine linen and scarlet' adorning the purity of the intellect."[66]

Finally, Proclus' association of Mary with the machinery of the loom was a way to equip her with instruments of reproduction suggestive of her ability to harness masculine energy, for 'Mary,' in the words of the *Odes of Solomon*, 'had brought forth as a man.'[67] In a tradition popularized by Aristotle and developed by subsequent Greek medical writers, 'loom weights' were familiar metaphors for testicles, "attached to the body just like the stone weights which women hang on their looms when they are weaving" (αἱ ὑφαίνουσαι τοῖς ἱστοῖς).[68] Throughout history, moreover, female spinning and needlework have frequently served as metaphors for active lovemaking based in part on the shape of the spindle and the motion of the cloth-maker's tools. An unabashedly graphic example can be found in an early-seventeenth-century Dutch emblem book called the *Nova Poemata ante hac nunquam*, produced at a time when Holland was becoming the center of linen manufacture for the European and Atlantic economy. Accompanying an image of a young woman shown spinning while gazing out the window is the following inscription:

> I am stretched long—so you see—and fragile. At the uppermost am I the head, slightly big. My mistress wishes me steady, often has me in her lap;

[66] Evagrius, *Scholia in Prov.*, 373, 376, 378 (ed. Géhin, *SC* 340 [1987], 462–68). Evagrius' comments provide an interesting and perhaps intentional gloss on Mary as an exemplar of ascetic practice and discernment.

[67] *Odes of Solomon*, 19: "Mary brought forth as a man, of her own free will, and she brought him forth in great power," trans. Charlesworth, in id., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (1985), 2:753.

[68] Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 1.4.717a, 35–37; 5.7.787b, 22–27; ibid., 788a, 3–5 (trans. Peck, *LCL* [1943], 20, 548, 550); Galen, *Opera Omnia*, ed. C. G. Kuhn (Leipzig, 1821), 8.1, 40–41, cited in Ringrose, "Passing the Test of Sanctity" (1999), 124. See also, Galen, *De semine libri*, 4.572, 6; 575, 15–16; cf. Apollonius, *In Hippocratis de articulis commentarius*, 15.14.

> or instead, she lays me nearby her side. She holds me many times—yes, daily, may I say, with her hands. She pulls her knees up, and in a rough place, now she sticks my top. Now she pulls it out again. Now she goes to place it again.[69]

As many of these texts suggest, the predominance of women in textile production is often linked to symbolic systems in which spinning and weaving evoke various forms of female power. In the ancient Greek world, these patterns were typified in the communal weaving of the *peplos*, an embroidered robe for the roughly life-sized cult statue of Athena Polias at Athens. The production of the Athenian *peplos*, culminating in the *peplophoria* at the Panathenaic festival, was controlled almost exclusively by women and had a decidedly political import.[70] The *peplos* was something of a woven confession of faith, and, in a parallel to the garment of flesh woven by the Theotokos, the *peplophoria* involved the vesting of the deity's image in a ritual which was understood as an act of municipal propitiation that symbolically renewed the contract between the city and its supernatural patron.[71] In another parallel to the 'garment of flesh,' the Panathenaic *peplos* was woven during the nine months preceding the festival and wrapped around the goddess on the day of her nativity.[72] In the Christian empire, the continual need to

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[69] Anonymous, *Nova Poemata ante hac nunquam edita* (Leiden, 1624; repr. Soest, 1972), cited in Stone-Ferrier, "Spun Virtue and the Lacework of Folly" (1989), 222.

[70] See Barber, "The Peplos of Athena" (1992). The Panathenaic festival was not unknown in the fifth century of the Christian era; cf. Theodoret, *Graecarum affect. curatio*, 1.21 (ed. Canivet, *SC* 57 [1958], 108, line 21); and below, n. 72. On the celestial clothing of the gods, see Eisler, *Weltmantel und Himmelzelt* (1910).

[71] On this practice, see Benko, *Virgin Goddess*, 95–108. Proclus' robing of Christ suggests a process in which the Christian male savior appropriated the attributes of some of his female predecessors, cf. Corrington, "The Milk of Salvation" (1989). The practice of clothing sacred statues survived through the Byzantine period, when it is attested, for example, in the *Life of Saint Euthymia*, where the emperor Alexander is said to have been persuaded by magicians to clothe the statues in the Hippodrome with costly vestments and burn incense before them, cited in Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder" (1963), 62. In the Islamic world, the Kabba is personified as a young virgin, who is modestly covered in black cloth, cf. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie* (1968), 171–72.

[72] A brief description of the Panathenaic festival may be found in Aristotle, *Ath.*, 49, 60. See also, Ziehen, "Panathenea" (1949); and Davison, "Notes on the Panathenea" (1958). In the fifth-century of the Christian era, Theodosius II brought the thirty-foot statue of Athena 'Promachos' from Athens to the forum of Constantine in Constantinople, where it stood until its destruction in 1204; cf. Jenkins, "The Bronze Athena at Byzantium" (1947); Linfert, "Keine Athena des Phidias in Konstantinopel?" (1989). In addition to the classical statuary, literature on Athena formed part of the standard curriculum of Byzantine education, and she was frequently compared unfavorably with

costume the members of the imperial court insured that the political dimensions of weaving and textile production would never be entirely forgotten. One of Proclus' distant Byzantine successors, the patriarch Michael Kerularios, was accused of treason for having set up looms in the cellars of Hagia Sophia in order to spin the exclusive imperial gold cloth for his own use.[73]

While the above remarks certainly help to explain the link between women and the activity of weaving, as well as the possible political empowerment of textile production, some important questions still remain. Why, at a pivotal moment in the christological controversy, did the textile-loom, an ordinary household item, become the subject of an extended theological metaphor? How would the development of such imagery have helped Proclus' campaign on behalf of the Theotokos? To whom was such a metaphor addressed? Finally, how does one account for the often meticulous detail of these descriptions that seem to presuppose some familiarity with the technical aspects of weaving? Was precise knowledge of 'woman's work' common among late-antique males who were career ecclesiastics?

Proclus and Pulcheria

In addition to the general background of fifth-century textile production and its symbolism, there is evidence to suggest that Proclus may have derived the image of the Virgin as a textile loom (and perhaps many of his other images of the Virgin) from his contact with the empress Pulcheria and her circle of prominent Constantinopolitan women. As mentioned above, Pulcheria had enjoyed an intimate alliance with the archbishops of the capital since the time of her childhood. For her consideration, Proclus' mentor Atticus held before her his treatise *On Faith and Virginity*, a mirror of virgin princesses, as it

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Mary. Such learned associations, however, were probably lost on all but the privileged few. In the ninth century, Arethas of Caesarea noted that in the Forum of Constantine there also stood an ivory statue of Athena next to another statue of Thetis with her hair bestrewn with crabs, as a result of which the 'ignorant' believed these sculptures to be personifications of the Earth and the Sea, cited in Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (1983), 124–25.

[73] The silk industry, a major element in the Byzantine economy, was controlled by the state which carefully regulated its manufacture and trade; cf. R. S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20 (1945), 1–42; and Muthesius, "Byzantine Silk Weaving" (1984). The charge against Kerularios is recorded in the *Accusatio* of Michael Psellos, ed. Kurtz (1936), 1:323–25.

were, and encouraged his royal ward to model herself after the image of Mary reflected therein.[74] Pulcheria apparently liked what she saw, and, in the ensuing christological controversy, aligned herself with Proclus who continued to develop the christology and mariology that he had earlier ghost-written for Atticus.[75]

Whatever she may have acquired from her catechism, Pulcheria was also an empress and had her own political agenda. In an attempt to enhance her position at the court, she personally appropriated the mystique of the newly-coined images of the Theotokos and deployed them within the ideological framework of the empire. She undertook, for example, the construction of three churches dedicated to Mary that emphasized in monumental architecture the association between the Virgin Theotokos and the virgin augusta.[76] Images of Pulcheria and the Theotokos were so close that an attack on the one could, and was perhaps intended to be construed, as an offense to the other. Anyone who challenged Pulcheria's legitimacy on the grounds that she was a woman risked insulting a woman who had redefined herself as the newest of the New Eves who by grace had become another 'Theotokos.'[77] That is exactly what happened to Nestorius.

In the sanctuary where Pulcheria was accustomed to receiving the sacrament of the eucharist, there stood a special altar table. This table,

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[74] Although the treatise has not survived, it may be surmised that its content was consistent with what Atticus said elsewhere on the subject: "And you women, who give birth in Christ and have cast off filth and have participated in the blessing of holy Mary, you too accept in the womb by faith Him who is born today of the Virgin; for holy Mary, having first purified by faith the temple of her womb, then accepted into the temple the king of the ages, having made her members worthy of the kingdom," trans. Thomson, "Slavonic Translation" 19; cf. Lebon, "Discours d'Atticus," 190; Briere, "Une homélie inédite," 181; and Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 139, who did not have access to the Slavonic version and provide slightly different translations of this passage.

[75] See above, chap. 1, p. 38.

[76] According to tradition, these churches were the church of the Theotokos at Blachernai; the church of the Theotokos of the Hodegoi; and the church of the Theotokos of Chalkoprateia; cf. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique* (1969), 1/3:161, 199, 237. According to Xanthopoulos, *H.E.*, 14.2, Pulcheria's church of the Hodegoi counted among its relics the Virgin's 'sacred spindle' (τὸ ἱερὸν ἄτρακτον) (*PG* 146.1061AB).

[77] Cf. Proclus, hom. 12, in which he exhorts the congregation to: "Marvel at the magnanimity (μεγαλοψυχία) of the empress which has provided spiritual blessings to all … she is a virgin who has consecrated herself to Christ (ἡ δὲ ἑαυτὴν τῷ Χριστῷ ἀναθεῖσα παρθένος), and through her piety she has distributed great wealth; she has mortified her flesh with respect to the passions, and contains the crucified one in the bridal chamber of her soul (τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐν ψυχῇ ἐθαλάμευσεν); and she herself marvels at the baptismal font that is both a virgin and the mother of many" (*PG* 65.788B); cf. Aubineau, "Ps.-Chrysostome, *in S. Stephanum*" (1989), 14–15.

which was of enormous value and something of a popular attraction, had been dedicated by Pulcheria during a public ceremony in which she took a solemn vow of virginity. The vow itself had been inscribed along the table's edge. Covering the surface of the table was one of Pulcheria's costly robes which now served as an altar cloth.[78] Is it possible that Pulcheria wove this robe herself? Sozomen, in his description of life in the women's quarters of the imperial palace, provides us with a number of interesting details. He notes that Pulcheria and her sisters avoided men, took their walks together, and passed their days and nights singing the praises of God. Sozomen further reports that they refrained from levity, ostentatious costume and cosmetics, and preferred to occupy themselves with weaving, embroidery, and similar activities.[79] If Pulcheria wove the robe used for an altar covering the parallel is indeed striking: like her exemplar the Virgin Mary who wove a robe of flesh that was draped around the divinity, the virgin empress wove a robe of cloth that served both as a covering for the body of the altar and a shroud for the symbolic body of Christ.

But even if Pulcheria did not make this particular cloth, she made others, and the activity of weaving may have provided the context in which the image of the Virgin as a textile loom was initially conceived and developed. In a study of violence in European folklore, Maria Tatar has traced the origins of folk literature to the figure of a legendary queen skilled in the art of spinning and weaving.[80] In a chapter entitled 'Spinning Tales,' Tatar argues that among the favored sites for

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[78] Sozomen, *H.E.*, 9.1.4 (ed. Bidez, *GCS* 4 [1995], 390–91; and Nau, *Héraclide*, 363–64). According to one of Pulcheria's contemporaries, such a covering symbolized the linen shroud that swaddled the crucified body of Christ, cf. Isidore of Pelusium, ep. 1.1.123 (*PG* 77.264–65), cited in Holum, *Empresses*, 144, n. 128.

[79] Ibid., 9.3.2: οἷος ἀξιαγάστων γυναικῶν νόμος, ὑφασμάτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ἐπεμελοῦντο (ed. Bidez, 395, lines 5–6). Pantelia, "Spinning and Weaving" (1993) posits a distinction between the activities of spinning and weaving in classical Greek literature 'signifying the particular status of the female practitioner.' Pantelia argues that "women who feel uncertain about their future or identity, especially in regard to their marriage, use the creativity of their weaving as an escape from reality or as the means through which their identity will be preserved beyond the physical limitations of their mortal existence." Conversely, women who are 'established in marriage,' and whose 'identity and future have been determined,' subsequently 'redirect their energies towards others by producing thread.' While these distinctions are not consistently adhered to in patristic literature, they seem particularly relevant in the case of Pulcheria, and help explain the shift in Byzantium from 'weaving' to 'spinning' in the literature and iconography of the Annunciation.

[80] Tatar, *Hard Facts of the Grimm's Fairy Tales* (1987), 107–108.

the composing and telling of folk-tales were women's workrooms where yarns were spun and woven. In many of these folktales, spinning is often the heroine's passport to success, usually through an important marriage. In order to prove effective, however, spinning and its implements must have a magical quality attached to them which elevates the heroine to a higher social rank.[81]

In a similar vein, Josef Lukas demonstrated that hundreds of such tales are explicitly affiliated with spinning and weaving and thus have thematized the very labor which produced them.[82] In other words, the activity of spinning and weaving has traditionally lent itself to a form of reflexive or self-referential story telling in which, for example, straw might be spun into gold, a kingdom lost by the prick of a finger, or the emperor appears with no clothes. The rhythmic activity of spinning and weaving also lent itself to singing and sacred chant, such as that performed by the Sirens and the Fates, mentioned above, or the female followers of Apollinarius: "men sang his strains at convivial meetings and at their daily labor, and women sang them while engaged at the loom."[83]

[81] Ibid., 106–33; esp. 113–33; cf. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (1967), 57–65.

[82] Lukas, *Die goldene Spindel* (1978); cf. P. de Man, *Blindness and Insight*, 17, who notes that Helen's weaving the story of the Trojan war onto a large cloth (*Iliad* 3.121), is a form of 'reflexion' characteristic of literariness: "When we first encounter Helen, it is as the emblem of the narrator weaving the actual war into the tapestry of a fictional object. Her beauty prefigures the beauty of all future narratives as entities that point to their own fictional nature. The self-reflecting mirror-effect by means of which a work of fiction asserts, by its very existence, its separation from empirical reality, its divergence, as a sign, from a meaning that depends for its existence on the constitutive activity of the sign, characterizes the work of literature in its essence," cited in Kennedy, "Helen's Web Unraveled," 6, n. 3.

[83] γυναῖκες παρὰ τοὺς ἱστοὺς τὰ αὐτοῦ μέλη ἔψαλλον, Sozomen, *H.E.*, 6.25.5 (ed. Bidez, 270–71); cf. Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos*: "Women while working at the loom (ἱστουργοῦσαι), blending together woof and warp, all sing the same melody … I say these things so that children and women may teach each other to sing songs, not only at the looms (οὐκ ἐν ἱστοῖς μόνον), or during other chores, but especially at the table" (*PG* 55.156–57); Ps.-Chrysostom, *De paenitentia et in lectionem de Davide et de uxore Uriae*: "At the singing of morning hymns, David comes first, in the middle, and last; he is first and last at burial services; and in the weaving workshops of the virgins (ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις τῶν παρθένων ἱστουργίαι), David is first, in the middle, and last. What a marvel! Many who have not even the rudiments of literacy know all of David by heart!" (*PG* 64.12); and Chrysostom, *De Anna*: "It is possible for a woman holding a distaff and working at the loom (ἠλακάτην κατέχουσαν καὶ ἱστουργοῦσαν) to look up to heaven with the eyes of her mind and to call with ardor upon God" (*PG* 54.668A).

Knowing that the empress and her circle of aristocratic spinsters spent their time at such tasks, one wonders if a similar dynamic did not produce, or at least encourage, the images of the Virgin as a textile loom, or the image of Christ's body as a supernatural garment or a sumptuous textile. One need only reconsider some of Proclus' rhetorical commonplaces such as 'I weave my discourse' (ὑφαίνω τὸν λόγον), or, 'I weave my anthem' (ὑφαίνω τὸν ὕμνον),[84] or, more broadly, the recitation of poetry as a ῥαψῳδία, which literally means a 'sewing' or 'stitching together of verses,' in order to appreciate the possible ubiquity of such thematization, and the wide-spread appeal of the virtuosic perfection of rhythms and symmetries in both the art and rhetoric of late antiquity.

Epilogue: Clothing the Naked God

> "My life was with me like cloth on the loom: whilst I was yet beginning, she that weaves drew nigh to cut off the thread; from morning even to night thou wilt make an end of me, for so has he broken all my bones" Isaiah 38.12

In the language of the New Testament, the formless God took on the 'form (μορφή) of a servant' (Phil. 2.7). While clearly an image of humiliation and obedient submission, the 'form of a servant' was nevertheless the epiphany of a divine being, the appearance of God in the flesh. The Greek word 'form' denotes the uniqueness of the individual, that which is objectively there.[85] In classical Greek philosophy, form was linked to content. It was seen as the fulfillment of material possibility and as a

[84] Homily 26.1 (ed. Leroy, 181); hom. 9: 'They weave together choirs of praises' (χορούς ἐγκωμίων συνυφαίνουσιν) (*PG* 65.773AB); hom. 36: "I ask the prophet Jonah: 'How did you weave an ode (ᾠδὴν ὕφαινες) in the belly of the whale'?" (ed. Amand, 241); cf. John Chrysostom, *hom.* 14.1 *in Gen.*: 'From what was said yesterday, permit me again to weave (ὑφάναι) for you a spiritual teaching' (*PG* 53.111A); id., *Expositiones in Psalmos*: 'Having made these points, David weaves a hymn (ὕμνον ὑφαίνειν) to God' (*PG* 55.488D); id., *De Lazaro*: 'Pay attention to this passage, for I have arrived at a critical juncture; permit me to weave my web' (ἄφες ὑφάνω τὸν ἱστόν) (*PG* 48.1040C); id., *De paenitentia*, 7: 'Paul, with divine and heavenly speech, and with great knowledge, weaves the word (ὑφαίνει τὸν λόγον) of the Gospel' (*PG* 49.323A). This was, of course, an ancient conceit, cf. Homer, *Iliad*, 3.212; and Pindar, *Nemean Ode*, 4, lines 44 and 94 (ed. Maehler, 134–35), which image the literary construction of 'logos' as 'weaving,' cf. Snyder, "The Web of Song" (1981).

[85] Cf. Sandoz, *Les noms grecs de la forme* (1972); and Galot, "La traduction et l'interprétation de Phil. 2.6–7" (1971).

concrete mode of manifestation through which the essence of things could be perceived.[86] For Greek Christian writers, the 'form of the servant' designated the fullness of Christ's humanity, it was 'not just the appearance (παρουσία) of the flesh but its essence' (οὐσία).[87] That very same human flesh, however, was the flesh of God, whose 'sympathetic' presence in the body transformed it into a robe of glory, for the 'form of the servant' assumed by God was 'liberated from death and clothed with incorruptibility' (τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν περιέθηκεν αὐτῇ).[88] In virtue of the incarnation, the density of matter became transparent to the light of divinity, and "on the day of the incarnation," according to Proclus, "the Virgin imitated heaven, and beams of light flashed forth from her womb; she shaped the light in human form, and a sun made flesh rose from her body, dawning on the world."[89] 'Shining like the sun' (cf. Mt. 17.2), the body of Christ was 'seen with the eyes and touched with the hands' (1 Jn. 1.1–2), and yet was bound to suffer and die. It was the form through which the uncreated God entered the space and time of the created world, revealing himself to it, and saving it from corruption and death.

As described above, the rich visual and tactile qualities of textiles, supported by an equally rich array of both learned and popular symbolic associations, were unsurpassed in their ability to express the con-

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[86] Aristotle, *Physica*, 1.7.190b; 2.7.198; cf. Hamblyn, "Aristotle on Form" (1985); Furth, "Aristotle on the Unity of Form" (1987); and Shields, "The Generation of Form in Aristotle" (1990). See also Runia, "Festugière Revisited" (1989); and Elders, "The Greek Christian Authors and Aristotle," (1990).

[87] Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (ed. Sagnard, *SC* 23 [1970], 96, line 5); cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eun.*, 3.2: "The one who was born in the 'form of a servant' was enformed in the essence of the servant (τῇ οὐσίᾳ τοῦ δούλου ἐνεμορφώθη), and not simply in a bare external appearance sundered from its essence (οὐ ψιλὴν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν μορφήν οὐδε τῆς οὐσίας διεζευγμένην), because 'essence' and 'form' mean the same thing (συσσημαίνεται)" (ed. Jaeger, *GNO* 2 [1960], 100, lines 9–11; cf. ibid., 3.3, p. 113, lines 19–26); id., *Adv. Apol.*, 3: τίς ἡ δουλικὴ μορφή; πάντως το σῶμα (ed. Mueller, *GNO* 3.1 [1958], 159, lines 14–15); Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 30.6: ὡς δὲ δούλου μορφή, συγκαταβαίνει τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις καὶ δούλοις, καὶ μορφοῦται τὸ ἀλλότριον (ed. Gallay, *SC* 250 [1978], 236, lines 10–12); Athanasius, *Tomus ad Antioch.*: ἔλαβε δούλου μορφήν, ἐκ τε τῆς Μαρίας τὸ κατὰ σάρκα γεγένηται (*PG* 26.804BC); John Chrysostom, *hom.* 2.2 *in Heb.*: ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ δούλου οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐμφαίνει ἢ ἄνθρωπον ἀπαράλλακτον· οὕτω καὶ ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐμφαίνει ἢ Θεόν (*PG* 63.22D); and id., *hom.* 6.1–2 *in Phil.* (*PG* 62.219–20).

[88] Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 3.2.1 (ed. Stählin, 14–16).

[89] Proclus, Homily 2.X, 139–42 (translation slightly modified); cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Adv. Arium et Sabellium*: "He emptied himself, taking on the form of a servant, so that we might thereby behold God" (ed. Mueller, *GNO* 3.1 [1958], 73, lines 14–15).

crete appearance and deportment of God in the world. The symbolism of cloth both intensified and lent profound continuity to the life of Christ. It swaddled him in the manger, united him to humanity like a groom to a bride, and at the end enshrouded him in death. After his resurrection, these same cloths, along with the veils of his mother, continued to transmit the aura of the sacred and perpetuated the church's tangible identification with the events of the Gospel.[90] Implicit in the cult of sacred clothing is the notion that garments absorb the power and personality of the wearer, transforming the abstract 'word' into palpable 'flesh,' thereby making it available for circulation, exchange and transference within the larger economy of the sacred.

In the cultural world of late antiquity, cloth and clothing were granted a significant role in the expression of social relations, the organization of political life, and in the presentation of values and beliefs.[91] In the form of costume, adornment, and economic exchange, cloth and clothing enabled men and women to define and reproduce themselves, as in the case of an army, a social class, or a bureaucratic or religious order. Through the medium of clothing, individuals could achieve relative autonomy or advantage in interaction with others.[92] Differences in sex, age, class, along with theories of dominance and servitude, expressions of opulence and poverty, and states of continence and sexuality all found ready expression through the nearly limitless variations in the construction, color, and patterning of cloth and clothing.[93] As a vehicle of identity, clothing functions as a 'second skin,' an extension of the

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[90] See, for example, Carr, "Threads of Authority" (2001).

[91] Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In s. pascha*: "By a mere change of clothes (τῇ ἐξαλλαγῇ τῆς ἐσθῆτος), a little child keeps the paschal festival by his appearance, since he cannot yet do so consciously" (ed. Gebhard, *GNO* 9.1 [1967], 249, line 17). See also the prologue to Evagrius' *Praktikos* which offers a symbolic interpretation of the monastic habit (σχῆμα), according to which the 'cowl' (τὸ κουκούλλιον) is a symbol (σύμβολον) of grace covering the intellect; the cruciform 'scapular' (ὁ ἀνάλαβος) a symbol of faith; the 'belt' (ζώνη) the rejection of impurity, and the 'sheep-skin garment' (μηλωτή, cf. 3 Kg. 19.13; Heb. 11.37) a sign of mortification in Christ. The monastic habit, the author concludes, is 'a symbol of realities' (σύμβολον τῶν πραγμάτων τὸ σχῆμα) (ed. Guillaumont, *SC* 171 [1971], 482–90).

[92] Muthesius, "Silken Diplomacy" (1992); Avery, "Adoratio Purpurae" (1940), 66–80; Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (1970).

[93] For a splendid survey of late-antique cloth, see Rutshowscaya, *Coptic Fabrics* (1990). Note that Theodosius II published several laws strictly forbidding the production and use of purple-dyed garments to all but the emperor and his household: "No threads dyed with purple dye shall be interwoven, nor spun out and made strong by the shrill sounding loom," *CTh* 10.21.3; cf. ibid., 10.20.18; and 15.7.11 (forbidding actresses to wear the purple), ed. Mommsen, 566; 565; 823–24; trans. Pharr, 288; 287–88; 434.

body that projects it into the space of culture and society. As Proclus is fond of reminding us, even God himself could not save the world 'in the nude,' and thus sought the apparel of the body in which to dwell, establish his station, and reveal his identity:

> Mary did not give birth to a mere man, nor to God in the nude (Θεὸς οὐ γυμνός) … The one who redeemed us was not a mere man. May this never be! But neither was he God denuded of humanity (οὐδὲ Θεὸς γυμνὸς ἀνθρωπότητος), for he had a body. And if he had not clothed himself (ἐνεδύσατο) with me, he could not have saved me, but in the womb of a virgin the one who pronounced the sentence against Adam clothed himself (ἐνεδύσατο) with me, who stood condemned, and there in her womb was transacted that awesome exchange, for taking my flesh, he gave me his spirit.[94]

As this passage indicates, the theological function of garments is not limited to positive self-disclosure and external social identification. Neither is it irrevocably bound within the dialectic of revelation and concealment, despite the importance of these functions within a theology of the incarnation. In his gesture toward the 'transaction' of an 'awesome exchange,' Proclus suggests that putting on the garments of the Other is also a way to gain access to the experiences of the Other. It enables the one who changes to acquire a privileged and otherwise inaccessible knowledge. Setting aside the radiant attire of divinity, Christ put on the fleshly clothing of Adam and thereby appropriated the life of humanity. In turn, humanity exchanged its mortality for the life of divinity through a ritual exchange of garments in the mystery of Christian baptism, a 'womb of rebirth' in which the faithful are 'clothed with Christ' (Gal. 3.27) and thereby gain access to the mysterious life of God.[95]

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[94] Homily 1.II, 27–28; 1.VIII, 122–27; translation slightly modified.

[95] A detailed discussion of the history and theology of the sacrament of baptism in the patristic period is beyond the scope of this chapter, even though that sacrament's ritual exchange of clothing provided the experiental and theoretical matrix from which many of the themes discussed here emerged. Baptism was itself referred to as the 'clothing of incorruption' (ἔνδυμα ἀφθαρσίας), a phrase used by virtually all of the writers cited above, cf. the important study of Quasten, "The Garment of Immortality" (1966). In his eleventh homily on the Song of Songs, Gregory of Nyssa discusses the theology of baptism in a comment on the bride's question that is worth citing at length: "I have taken off my garment, how shall I put it on again? (ἐξεδυσάμην τὸν χιτῶνά μου· πῶς ἐνδύσομαι αὐτόν;) I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them?" (Song 5.3). "Responding to the call of her heavenly bridegroom, the bride has 'removed her garment of skin' (ἐκδυσαμένη τὸν δερμάτινον χιτῶνα) (Gen. 3.21) with which she had clothed herself after her sin. From her feet she has washed off the dust, which she

These christological and sacramental notions are closely paralleled in the lives of the so-called 'transvestite nuns,' a category of female saints whose core narratives were formulated during the era of Proclus. Holy transvestites lived in male monasteries disguised as men. Many of these women were falsely accused of seduction and rape, refused to deny their alleged crimes, in consequence of which they endured extreme forms of ostracism and punishment. Creatures of the margins, their harrowing narratives unfold as a ritual of initiation, a rite of passage marked by the three characteristic stages of separation, liminality, and reaggregation, with particular focus on the experience of liminality. Their true identities, and with it their innocence, are disclosed only after their deaths, when their bodies are being prepared for burial. In the end, their suffering brings about the redemption of the community and subverts the accepted standards of dominance and hegemony. Clothing herself in the garments of the Other, descending into a realm of lust and violence, and freely assuming the sin of the world, the 'nun disguised as a monk' is a Christ figure engaged in a struggle of personal and communal transformation, a grand exchange of otherness.[96]

acquired when she 'returned to the earth' in death (Gen. 3.19). She thus removed the veil from her heart (τὸ τῆς καρδίας παραπέτασμα), that is, her flesh, by which I mean the 'old man' (Col. 3.9) … putting on, according to the Apostle, the new tunic (καινὸν χιτῶνα) created according to God in holiness and righteousness (Eph. 4.24). The Apostle says that Jesus is this garment (Ἰησοῦν δὲ λέγει εἶναι τὸ ἔνδυμα). The bride can no longer take up the rejected tunic, for the person who beholds himself clothed with the radiant tunic (ἡλιοειδῆ χιτῶνα) of the Lord, woven (ἱστουργηθέντα) through purity and incorruptibility, which is like the tunic Christ displayed in his transfiguration on the mountain (cf. Mt. 17.2), cannot but reject the poor, tattered garment (τὸ πτωχόν τε καὶ ῥακῶδες ἱμάτιον) with which a 'drunk and a harlot clothe themselves' according to the Proverb (23.21)," ed. Langerbeck, *GNO* 9.1 (1960), 327–29, lines 8–14; cf. id., *Sermon against those who put off their Baptism*: 'Take off the old man like a soiled garment; receive the garment of incorruption (ἔνδυμα ἀφθαρσίας) which Christ is offering to you' (*PG* 46.420C).

96 Constas, "Mary/Marinos" (1996). Transvestite nuns further suggest that, if garment's reveal one's identity, they also conceal it, mitigating the harsh encounter with the Other which is a symbol for the sacred: cf. Proclus, hom. 13: "How did God appear to those on earth? Was it without human nature? Without the flesh? Nonsense. Our eyes could not bear the direct light of the divinity, nor would the devil draw near to wrestle with such. Death shudders before the Creator, and would not have swallowed up the indigestible essence. Hades trembles seeing God in the nude (γεγυμνωμένον). Thus, the divine nature required a covering (κάλλυμα). Not the Mosaic covering, for that was a sign of ignorance and gloom. Not the covering that veiled the temple, for that was the product of colors and dyes. Not the covering of the golden mercy seat, for its beauty was material. Not the covering of the carved cherubim, for that was the work of human hands (χειροποιήτου). The covering that was required was the form of

Like the crossing of threads on a loom, cross-dressing nuns embody the paradoxical binding together of different and often contrary elements into a cohesive and powerful form. Beyond expectation, the subversive union of opposites engenders a redeeming life (and death) exemplary of the divine body. Similarly, the garment produced on Mary's loom crossed the hard, vertical (and masculine gendered) warp thread (ὁ στήμων) of divinity with the supple, horizontal woof thread (ἡ κρόκη) spun from virgin flesh.[97] More generally, the cultivation and transformation of raw materials into textiles are processes that have been described as a series of oppositions and unions: fleece is taken from sheep tended by male shepherds on the limits of the *oikos*, and from there brought within the confines of the home. As it makes the transition from outside to inside, the raw material changes hands, from the male responsible for producing it, to the female who is the agent of its metamorphosis. Thus finished cloth both embodies and bridges a series of sexual and spatial polarities.[98]

A closely related characteristic of cloth which further strengthens its social and political roles, is how readily its construction and appearance can evoke ideas of connectedness and tying. From classical Athens to Byzantine Constantinople and beyond, societies have frequently been described as fabrics, woven or knit together. Cyprian, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzus, and Basil all saw in Christ's 'tunic without seam' an image of the unity of the undivided church, that is, the body of Christ.[99] During the ultimately schismatic christological controversy, Proclus warned his adversaries not to "tear the tunic of the divine economy that was 'woven from above.' Do not sunder the union (of Christ's ecclesial body) lest you be sundered from God."[100] Paradoxically, the

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a lamb, in order to entice the wolf that devours humanity" (*PG* 65.792D); cf. id., hom. 23: "Because the light of the divinity is unapproachable, the Word concealed himself in the flesh as if it were a veil (ὥσπερ καταπετάσματι τῷ σαρκίῳ ἑαυτὸν κρύψας), truly becoming man" (ed. Martin, 53.4).

[97] Scheid and Svenbro, *Craft of Zeus*, 13.

[98] This has been argued by Jenkins, "Ambiguity of Greek Textiles," 119; cf. the remarks of Atticus, above, chap. 1, p. 32, n. 94.

[99] Cited in Aubineau, "La Tunique," 107.

[100] Homily 1.I, 131; cf. the vision of Peter of Alexandria, in which the anti-Arian bishop beheld a twelve-year old child radiant with light. The child was wearing a linen gown (κολόβιον λινοῦν), torn in two from neck to foot. Seeing the child 'drawing together the two torn halves of his gown in order to cover his nakedness,' the bishop asked him: 'Lord, who has torn your garment?' (τίς σου περιέσχισεν τὸν χιτῶνα;), to which the child replied, 'Arius has torn me' (περιέσχισέν με) (ed. Viteau [1897], 71–72); cf. the *sticheron* of the vespers for the Sunday of the Holy Fathers of the First Ecumenical

delicacy and ultimate fragility of cloth conveys equally well the vulnerability and transience of human bonds and society: they unravel, wear thin, and disintegrate.

If the crossing of threads is to couple them in a union generative of life, the completed cloth, cut from the loom, is a sign whose referent is death. Conceived by the spinning of a thread, the individual dies when the fabric of life is completed, crying out: 'It is finished' (cf. Jn. 19.30). In the ancient world, the activity of spinning symbolized not simply a mode of bodily generation, but the very means by which human destiny was apportioned and fixed.[101] The fundamental purpose of thread is for weaving and binding, and what is spun must be used. The fate which the gods spin for mortals is fastened upon them like a bond: it is 'bound' to happen. At the loom of birth, holy powers spin the strands of weal or woe which human beings must endure in the patterning of their lives. As the length of life is determined by the vertical threads of the warp, the intertwining woof represents the various phases of fortune, the last of which is death. In the workshop of Mary's womb, the vertical warp thread of divinity was bound to a weft of virgin flesh, winding up as a mortal body for an immortal being. As Mary 'draws out the thread' for the veil of the temple, she produces a web which hangs ominously over the life of her child. Hemmed in at birth by a purple thread, the divine subject will be cut like a fabric from the loom of the cross. With the thread of life, Mary binds her child unswervingly to death, for the point of her spindle hides the tip of a nail.

If two things needed to be joined together or fixed relative to each other, 'binding' was the obvious means for doing so. Closely identified with the activity of fixing and fastening, the language of 'binding' was extended to the use of hammers and nails,[102] an association which renders the beams of Mary's loom coextensive with the arms of the cross. In the mystery of divine kenosis, incarnation and passion coalesce into a single pattern emblazoned upon a red-tinged garment of flesh. The swaddling cloths of the cradle are the wrappings of the tomb: "My

Council: "Savior, who has torn your garment? You said that it was Arius, who divided the Persons equal in honor, and thus removed you from the Trinity. So, too, does Nestorius, who refuses to say 'Theotokos,' but the Council of Nicaea proclaimed you to be the Son of God, O Lord, co-throned with the Father and the Son" (*Πεντηκοστάριον* [Athens, n.d.], 178).

[101] Here I am helped by Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, 305–71.

[102] Onians, ibid., 371, citing *Iliad*, 18.379. The author further notes that magical effigies are both 'bound' with cords and 'pierced' with pins.

life was with me like cloth on the loom: whilst I was yet beginning, she that weaves drew nigh to cut off the thread: from morning even to night thou wilt make an end of me" (Is. 38.12). The self-emptying of God in the incarnation is the death of God, a voluntary crucifixion in which the divinity is 'nailed' to the flesh, the body of the Mother, and thus one of Mary's late-antique encomiasts confessed that "I call her a Cross, for the Lord was suspended on her outstretched holy arms."[103]

Finally, clothing meant the loom, and the loom was an object that could be found in every home, and that could now serve as an ever-present reminder of the incarnation and passion. Such mnemonic associations were part of the common homiletic tradition,[104] and if the finer points of the Theotokos controversy had been beyond the grasp of all but a few, the metaphor of the loom, and others like it, helped to clarify the issues by stating the objections to Nestorius' teachings in simple terms understandable to the public. Anyone seeing a woman (or a man) producing a piece of cloth could now see Divine Wisdom weaving together the body of God from the wool of humanity coiled together with virgin thread. Anyone seeing a loom could now see the womb of the Virgin, who had offered the 'inner workshop' of her body for the fabrication of the cultic veil that was God's mode of manifestation in the world. It was a veil which stood between creation and the Holy of Holies, like an iridescent silk in which the contrasting colors of divinity and humanity alternately shimmer and play. It was the glorious clothing of the naked God which covered the shame of humanity and granted access to the heavenly sanctuary "by the new and living way that Christ opened for us through the veil of his flesh" (Heb. 10.20).

[103] Ps.-Epiphanius, *Laudes s. Mariae*: λέγω γὰρ ταὺτην σταυρόν, τὰς γὰρ ἁγίας ἀγκάλας ἐκτείνασα τὸν δεσπότην ἐβάστασεν (*PG* 43.497C). It should also be stressed that the Word is 'bound' in order to 'bind' the devil, who is likewise ensnared in the mesh of Mary's cloth. Precisely because it is mortal, the divine body becomes a 'weapon,' a net, a snare, an instrument of chase and capture; cf. Proclus, hom. 1.III, 48, where the incarnate body is said to be 'the sword that defeated death,' and id., hom. 4.II, 45–47: "he forged his body into a weapon, and, whetting it upon his pure divinity, he slew our hidden enemy the devil in disguise." The devil's fate is bound to the earthly life of Christ, and both are dragged to their destinies by cords spun from Mary's womb. Like the *peplos* of Athena patterned with the battles of gods and giants (or the tapestry of Helen depicting the war of the Greeks and the Trojans), the garment woven for the body of God is decorated with the image of a Christian mythos: the gigantomachy of God, death, and the devil.

[104] John Chrysostom, *pecc.*: remarks that he draws his comparisons from everyday life, so that when his hearers go home, everything around them will remind them of what he said (*PG* 51.358).

APPENDIX

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Introduction

This appendix organizes the technical terms of Proclus' christological vocabulary within a number of key semantic and conceptual fields. While some of this vocabulary is necessarily drawn from the texts published in the main body of this book, an effort is made to survey the works of Proclus in their entirety. Two of Proclus' most important christological works, his first sermon on the Theotokos (Homily 1) and the *Tome to the Armenians*, are discussed in detail in chaps. 2–3, and this appendix is intended as an extended note supplementary to those discussions.

With the possible exception of the *Tome*, Proclus did not present his christology in anything corresponding to the generic expectations of modern systematic theology. This is not to say that his theological thinking was incoherent or lacking in precision. As we shall see, Proclus ventured a critical refinement of contemporary christological language that greatly clarified the burning issues of the day. As for the formal presentation of his theological thought, it would be more accurate and illuminating to understand it, not in categories derived from the scientific study of theology, but rather as an 'exegetical theology' adhering closely to the language and narrative patterns of scripture; or as a 'liturgical theology' birthed within the womb of the 'liturgy of the word' and organized around the great feasts of the church. Exegesis and liturgy are themselves differentiated aspects of a single practice or activity, because the interpretation of scripture in the patristic period was the work of bishops speaking within the context of the eucharistic assembly. Moreover, in order to understand and express the content of scripture and the experience of liturgy, late-antique bishops harnessed the power of contemporary rhetoric and exploited the literary and oratorical resources of the ancient world. Interest in narrative, ritual, and rhetoric has recently returned to the center of modern theology, promising the development of tools and methods directly apposite

to the letter and spirit of patristic theology.

To the reader who has traversed the entire course of this book, it will be obvious that for Proclus of Constantinople the discourse of 'christology' is inextricably intertwined with the veneration of the Virgin. There is no Christ without Mary and thus no christology without mariology. The reverse holds true as well. If the aim of the preceding chapters was to explore and study (with the tools of exegesis, narrative, liturgy, and rhetoric) the seamless web joining 'God' and the 'one who gave birth to God,' this appendix isolates and unravels some of its constitutent strands, arranging them according to a number of key christological categories. I draw some of these categories from the work of Grillmeier, being fully aware of their limited usefulness and conscious of the critical voices that have been raised against them: 'analytical,' 'schematic,' and 'extrinsic to the texts,' are among the more irenic charges that have been brought forward.[1] My use of these disputed categories is not intended as a further reification of a dubious interpretive framework, but rather to gesture toward a set of linguistic and intellectual contours enabling a summary glance at Proclus' christological semantics. While this concluding appendix is not the place for a major study employing the exegetical, liturgical, and rhetorical hermeneutics mentioned above, it will nevertheless demonstrate that, whatever degree of traction Grillmeier's categories may have with the sources, Proclus' political and christological agenda was to move the dialectic forward in the synthetic interests of the Great Church of Constantinople.

Proclus and the Formula of One Hypostasis in Christ

In the period before the Council of Ephesus, theological speculation was dominated by the question of the Son's relationship to God the Father, the so-called Trinitarian debate.[2] When this debate had been formally concluded at the Second Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 381), it was generally recognized that the Son exists on the same level of being as God, that he is, in the words of the Nicene creed, 'one

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[1] For critiques of Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, cf. Beinert, "Zur Logos-Christologie des Athanasius" (1989); McGuckin, *Cyril of Alexandria*, 182, n. 16, who rejects the "currently popular Grillmeier and Richard 'mythos' of Logos-Sarx Logos Anthropos schematisations, which have been so artificially imposed as a straightjacket on so much of the debate"; and Anatolios, *Athanasius* (1998), 70–71; 79–80.

[2] For a helpful survey of this debate, see Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God* (1988).

in essence with the Father' (ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί). However, according to the faith of the church, the one who was essentially identical to the Father "came down from heaven, became flesh, was crucified, suffered, and was buried." How could these apparently paradoxical affirmations be reconciled? How, in other words, could a divine subject appropriate human predicates? Was it possible that the one whom the creed affirmed to be the 'Only Begotten Son of God,' the one 'born from the Father before all ages,' the 'Light from Light,' and the 'True God from True God,' could become the subject of the human experiences predicated of Jesus of Nazareth in the New Testament? And if not the transcendent Word of God, who, then, or what was the proper subject of those experiences?[3]

Responses to these questions were varied and provoked the second great theological debate of the early church known as the christological controversy. Throughout the controversy, the lines of battle were drawn between the theological traditions generally associated with the schools of Antioch and Alexandria. For the Antiochenes, the immutable Word of God could not possibly be regarded as the immediate subject of the birth, growth, and death of Christ. For the Alexandrians, on the other hand, the subject of those experiences was precisely the Word of God whose voluntary assumption of such conditions was part of the innermost mystery of the Christian faith.

When the Antiochene presbyter Nestorius was appointed by Theodosius II to the see of Constantinople, a city whose chief theologians, including Proclus, were partial to the theological traditions of Alexandria, the two schools squarely confronted each other over the question of whether or not the Son of God had truly become the son of the Virgin. The confrontation began after Nestorius and his retinue, in a series of controversial sermons, insisted that "No one must call Mary 'Theotokos,' for Mary was but a human being and it is impossible that God could be born from a human being."[4] In his defense of the Marian epithet 'Theotokos,' Proclus was ultimately led to articulate and define

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[3] Note that similar questions were taken up by late-antique philosophers in their endeavor to understand the relationship between the immortal, impassible soul, and the mortal body and its passions and affections, see, for example, Plotnius, *Ennead* 1.1, trans. A. H. Armstrong, *LCL* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 1:94–121. See also the cognate discussions in Galen, *On Mixtures*, ed. G. Helmreich (Leipzig, 1969), 1–115; id., *On the Mixture of Soul and Body*, ed. J. Marquardt, I. Mueller, G. Helmreich (Leipzig, 1891), 32–79.

[4] The statement is recorded by Socrates, who attributes it to Anastasius, a presbyter who arrived from Antioch in the entourage of Nestorius, cf. above, chap. 2, p. 52.

the notion of a single incarnate subject or 'hypostasis' in Christ that alone could explain the Virgin as 'giving birth to God.' After his accession to the see of Constantinople in 434, Proclus continued to develop the christological formula of a single incarnate hypostasis, which his successors later conveyed to the council of Chalcedon.[5]

The word 'hypostasis' was a technical term derived from the theology of the Trinity, and was first introduced into the discourse of christology by Apollinarius of Laodiceia (d. ca. 390). Apollinarius believed that every intelligible entity, such as the Word of God or a human being, was an individual hypostasis with a unique set of individuating characteristics. At the same time, however, he believed that two hypostases (as in the case of two separate sources of mind, energy, and will) could not coexist without one hypostasis striving against the other. To eliminate the possibility of such a conflict taking place in the incarnate Word, Apollinarius found it necessary to deny the existence of a human soul (or mind) in Christ. Consequently, the combination of the intelligible Word with inanimate flesh formed a 'single hypostasis' or 'nature.' To the Antiochenes, the Apollinarian Christ was a heretical monstrosity, and they developed a christology of their own in response. Theodore of Mopsuestia, a major architect of Antiochene christology and the alleged teacher of Nestorius, interpreted the concept of hypostasis as an irreducible natural quality, a form or mode in which natures subsist, and argued that if Christ had two complete natures, then he necessarily had two complete hypostases.[6] The divergent christologies of Apollinarius and Theodore, described here in the barest of outlines, represent the extreme positions that have come to be associated with the so-called 'schools' of Alexandria and Antioch.

Proclus' contribution to this debate was the development of a *via media* between these rival traditions of thought.[7] Drawing on the chris-

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[5] See Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 520, who notes that the "word 'hypostasis' was finally to find a way into the Chalcedonian Definition and thus into church terminology generally through two Bishops of Constantinople, Proclus and Flavian who deliberately sought a *via media* between the two opposing terminologies as embodied in Cyril and his Antiochene opponents." On the christological work of Proclus' successors Flavian (*sed.* 446–49) and Anatolius (*sed.* 449–58); cf. Gray, *Defense of Chalcedon* (1979), 7–16.

[6] The best treatment of this question remains that of Richard, "L'introduction du mot 'hypostase'" (1945); see also the remarks of Hanson, *Christian Doctrine*, 181–90. On Theodore of Mopsuestia, see above, pp. 51–52.

[7] On the mediating character of Proclus' christology, see above, chap. 3, p. 109, n. 57.

tology of Alexandria, Proclus affirmed a 'single hypostasis' in response to the christological dualism of the Nestorians. Retrieving the christology of Antioch, Proclus advocated a 'duality of natures' ruling out the reductive monophysitism of the Apollinarians. Proclus was the first to propose such a solution which he arrived at in his defense of Mary as 'Theotokos.' When properly understood, the confession of the Marian epithet is a confession of faith in a single hypostasis in a duality of natures. In a homily on the incarnation, Proclus notes that

> the same one (ὁ αὐτὸς) is God and man, truly with the Father with whom he is consubstantial, and alike in all ways (ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα) unto his mother, sin excepted. The divine nature is uncreated, and the nature that he assumed from us is unadulterated (ἀνόθευτος). And he is the Son, because his two natures are not divided into two hypostases (οὐ τῶν δύο φύσεων εἰς δύο ὑποστάσεις διαιρουμένων), but (his) awesome dispensation has united the two natures in a single hypostasis (τὰς δύο φύσεις εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἑνωσάσης ἑαυτόν).[8]

In this passage, Proclus carefully balances the unity of Christ's person with the duality of his natures. The 'same one,' that is, the same subject or person, is said to be both 'God and man.' Moreover, the two natures of divinity and humanity are presented in their full integrity, intact and unimpaired by their union in the incarnation. The divine nature is 'uncreated' and 'consubstantial with the Father,' whereas the human nature is 'unadulterated,' having been assumed in its entirety (sin excepted) from the humanity of the Virgin. The dualism of 'two hypostases' is explicitly rejected, and both natures are said to be united in the 'one hypostasis' of the Son of God, who is '(one) with the Father.' The affirmation of a 'single hypostasis' appears again in Proclus' *Tome to the Armenians*, where it has attained the level of a doctrinal formula:

> knowing and having been reverently taught only one Son, I confess only one hypostasis of God the Word made flesh (μίαν ὁμολογῶ τὴν τοῦ σαρκωθέντος Θεοῦ Λόγου ὑπόστασιν), the same one who in truth endured the passion and worked miracles.[9]

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[8] Hom. 23.11 (ed. Martin, 46).

[9] *ACO*, IV, 2, p. 190, line 20. Recent scholarship has uncovered further occurrences of the word 'hypostasis' in the Proclan corpus, see Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 214–15; and Proclus, hom. 27: "I confess the difference in natures, and proclaim the uniqueness of the person (ὁμολογῶ τῶν φύσεων τὸ διάφορον, τοῦ προσώπου τὸ μοναδικὸν ἀνακράζω" (ibid., p. 192); cf. Aubineau, "Citations de l'homélie de Proclus" (1991). Homily 30, extant in Syriac and Arabic versions, contains several affirmations of a 'single hypostasis in two natures' (4, 5, 9, 13); and a 'single hypostasis in two perfect natures' (14), clearly aimed at a form of Apollinarian monophysitism; cf. the commentary by Leroy, ibid.,

The conceptual framework for this formula was implicit in Proclus' understanding of Mary as 'Theotokos.' At the same time, the terminology of a 'single hypostasis' had been promoted by Cyril of Alexandria, who used it in his 'Third Letter to Nestorius':

> All the sayings contained in the Gospels must be referred to a single person (ἑνὶ προσώπῳ), to the one incarnate hypostasis of the Word (ὑποστάσει μίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένῃ), for according to the Bible there is one Lord Jesus Christ.[10]

With Proclus, however, the formula of a 'single hypostasis' has been slightly modified and consequently takes on new shades of meaning. As noted in chap. 3, Cyril's christological language was often ambiguous, susceptible of different interpretations, and resisted reduction to a closed system. Preferring expansive credal-type formulas and kerygmatic narrative patterns,[11] Cyril does not seem to have worked out a consistent terminology for christology and as a result often identified 'hypostasis' with 'nature.' That identification led Cyril to affirm a 'single incarnate nature,' as well as a single 'incarnate hypostasis,' steering a verbal course which to many came dangerously close to the christology of Apollinarianism.

Proclus, on the other hand, clearly affirms a single incarnate hypostasis in two natures, namely, the 'hypostasis of the Word made flesh,' and in his extant writings the word 'hypostasis' is never identified with the word 'nature' (φύσις). In Cyril's formula, the word 'incarnate' is an adjective describing the word hypostasis (ὑποστάσει σεσαρκωμένῃ), a relatively abstract-sounding phrase that, given Cyril's equivocation, was susceptible of several interpretations, tendentious or otherwise. Proclus recasts the formula so that the adjective 'incarnate' is predicated directly to the person of the Word (ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένου) who now appears as the concrete personal subject of the incarnation.

Proclus' modification of Cyril's formula successfully distinguishes between person and nature, a distinction that Cyril had not articulated with any clarity or precision, and which had greatly confused the christology of the period. In the context of Trinitarian theology, the distinc-

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who provides a French translation of the Arabic version.

[10] Cited in Wiles, *Select Letters*, 24.16, who notes that "the phrase (one hypostasis) is equivalent to μία φύσις," although this seems to contradict the letter's identification of that word with 'prosopon.' Note that Cyril's second anathematism speaks of a union 'according to hypostasis,' while the third and fourth condemn the division of the one Christ into 'two hypostases.'

[11] On which, see Norris, "Christological Models in Cyril of Alexandria" (1975).

tion between 'person' and 'nature' was a revolution of thought set in motion by the Cappadocians. However, a similar revolution had not yet taken place in the discourse of christology. Some of the conceptual issues behind Proclus' modification of Cyril's ambiguous language are evidenced in a lengthy passage from the *Tome to the Armenians*, where Proclus attempts to synthesize the christological formulas of Jn. 1.14, and Phil. 2.7:[12]

> The 'Word became flesh' (Jn. 1.14), he did not change (οὐ τραπείς) into flesh, for the divinity transcends change, which is a condition (πάθος) of transient nature. But that which is eternal and eternally the same possesses immutability as its natural attribute. We speak, therefore, employing both expressions of scripture, saying that he 'became flesh' (Jn. 1.14), and that he 'assumed the form of a servant' (Phil. 2.7). When both expressions are grasped in piety, they become the seeds of our salvation. With the phrase 'he became,' the Evangelist points to the indivisibility of radical oneness (τὸ ἀδιαίρετον τῆς ἄκρας ἑνώσεως) (of the divine subject). For in the same way that a monad (ἡ μονὰς) cannot be divided into two monads (because if it could, it would not be a monad, but a dyad), so too that which is one with respect to its radical oneness cannot be divided into two. On the other hand, the phrase 'he assumed' points to the immutability of the (divine) nature (τὸ ἀναλλοίωτον τῆς φύσεως). For everything that comes into existence does so either out of complete non-existence (as the heavens which once were not), or as the result of a change from a pre-existing substance (as the Nile changed from water into blood). But neither of these cases can be applied to the divinity, for the One eternally without beginning was not created out of nothing, nor was the immutable Word begotten by change. Thus through the phrases 'he became,' and 'he assumed,' sacred scripture proclaims the immutability of the divinity (τὸ ἄτρεπτον τῆς θεότητος) and the indivisibility (τὸ ἀδιαίρετον) of the mystery (of the incarnation), in order to set forth both the uniqueness of the person (τὸ ἑνικὸν τοῦ προσώπου) and the immutability of the nature (τὸ ἀναλλοίωτον τῆς φύσεως).[13]

Proclus' interpretation of these two passages is an attempt to articulate a distinction between person and nature grounded in the language of scripture. On the level of nature, the Word of God is said to transcend all change, and to be incapable of any mutation or alteration,

[12] These two scriptural passages had already been linked by Athanasius, *Ep. ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* (*PG* 25.577); Gregory of Nyssa, *De deitate filii et spiritus sancti* (*PG* 46.564); and John Chrysostom, *in Jo.* (*PG* 59.79), although none of them saw in these passages the distinction that presented itself to Proclus.

[13] *ACO* IV, 2, p. 190, lines 1–16.

for immutability is an inalienable attribute of the divine nature. As a result, the identity of the incarnate Word cannot be attributed to an act of creation *ex nihilo*, neither is it the result of a change in substance or nature.[14] Instead, the Word can only 'appropriate' or 'assume' (λαμβάνειν) a new reality in the sense of an addition, as in the assumption of a new 'form' (the μορφὴ of Phil. 2.7), understood as a new state or natural mode of existence. On the level of personhood, Proclus sees in the 'becoming' (ἐγένετο) of Jn. 1.14 a continuity of subject, the 'uniqueness of the person,' for in the Johannine prologue it is the same Word of God who, although 'with God in the beginning,' nonetheless 'became flesh.' And if the 'Word' and the 'flesh' of John's Gospel had the potential to represent two autonomous realities, such an identification is ruled out by the 'radical oneness of the monad' which provides the narrative subject for the Gospel's prologue. Proclus conceives of the 'person' as an irreducible unit, a 'monad' that cannot be divided or otherwise compromised. Just as the divine nature transcends all change, so too does the divine hypostasis of the Word transcend all division and duplication.

For Proclus, the 'person' of Christ, that is, the grammatical and experiential subject of the incarnation, is necessarily the 'second person' of the Trinity, the Word of God. We have already indicated the extent to which Proclus arrived at this notion through his defense of Mary as 'Theotokos.' In addition, he found additional support for his position by reconciling christological terminology with that of Trinitarian theology. While both sides in the christological controversy agreed that the Trinity was composed of three hypostases (or persons) (ὑποστάσεις, πρόσωπα), and one nature (or essence) (φύσις, οὐσία), there does not seem to have been any sustained or systematic effort to make these Trinitarian distinctions normative for christology. As a result, Apollinarius (and Cyril) could speak of the incarnate Word as a 'single nature' (μία φύσις), which to many suggested a confused monophysitical mixture of divinity and humanity. Theodore of Mopsuestia (and Nestorius), on the other hand, asserted that Christ not only had 'two natures' but

[14] That Christ owed his origin to an act of creation or change was among the charges brought against the Marian epithet 'Theotokos.' To Nestorius, the notion that Mary 'gave birth to God' suggested that Christ's divinity had its origin in the womb of the Virgin, or that it had somehow become confused with the flesh during its passage through her body.

also 'two hypostases (or persons)' (δύο ὑποστάσεις, πρόσωπα). To their Alexandrian opponents, this seemed to posit a personal dualism in the incarnate Word which the Antiochene 'prosopon of union' (a functional composite of the two hypostases) could not overcome. In the writings of Proclus, however, Trinitarian theological terminology is aligned with and consistently governs the language of christology, a critical development which precluded both the Antiochene affirmation of two persons or 'subjects' in Christ, and the Apollinarian formula of a 'single nature.' Moreover, inscribing christological terms into the language of Trinitarian theology allowed for a theological arithmetic reducing the christology of Nestorianism to an absurdity. In the presence of Nestorius, Proclus stated that "if Christ is one and the Word of God is another, there is no longer a Trinity, but a quaternity."[15] In another homily, Proclus noted that "one form assumed another form, but the Trinity did not increase to a quaternity."[16] Similarly, Proclus stated in the *Tome* that "there is but one Son, and worshipping the consubstantial Trinity, we do not introduce a fourth in number."[17] At the same time, these calculations affirm that the 'single hypostasis' is precisely that of the divine Word, the second person of the Trinity.

As noted above, Proclus' affirmation of a single hypostasis in Christ should be seen in close connection with his teaching on the Virgin Mary 'Theotokos.' This emerges with particular clarity in Proclus' first sermon on the Theotokos.[18] In a sermon on the Nativity, Proclus recites the text of Jn. 1.14, "The Word became (ἐγένετο) flesh and dwelt among us," and adds that

> because of this the virgin is 'Theotokos' … see how (the Word) remained what he was and became (γέγονεν) that which he was not. Impassible, and yet passible according to his visible (nature), consubstantial with the Father with respect to his divinity, and consubstantial with us with respect to his humanity, sin excepted. For this reason the Virgin is also a mother, because for our sakes she blossomed forth without seed the embodied Word. Why is she a virgin? Because of the paradoxical birth of the one who deigned (to be born). And she is a mother because from her Christ was made flesh … And the one born is neither a mere man nor God denuded of flesh, for if Christ was a mere man, how did the Virgin remain a virgin after she gave birth? Thus we know one Christ,

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[15] Hom. 1.VIII, 129; cf. the note on the text, above, p. 155.

[16] Hom. 3.V, 41–42.

[17] *ACO*, IV, 2, p. 190, line 23. Subsequent references to this work will be given in the body of the text as '*Tome*' followed by page and line numbers.

[18] See the introduction to Homily 1.

> confessing him to be in two natures after the union (ἐν δύο φύσεσιν μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν), divinity and humanity, having soul and body, one and the same, the only begotten Son, the Lord Jesus Christ.[19]

For Proclus, the one born from the Virgin was the Word who 'remained what he was and became that which he was not,' a single impassible divine subject who personally assumed visible human nature subject to suffering and change. The Virgin gave birth to the 'embodied Word,' the 'Only begotten Son,' the 'Christ made flesh.' For Proclus, calling Mary the 'Theotokos' was to confess that Christ is a single divine hypostasis in two natures.

A Christology of Mediation

Proclus put forward a clear christological formula: "I know and have been reverently taught only one Son, and I confess only one hypostasis of God the word made flesh" (*Tome*, 190, 20). This statement can be taken as Proclus' christological motto or slogan, and one can characterize the christology of Proclus as a christology of union: a union of divinity and humanity, and a union of the various christological vocabularies and models that were then available.

The 'Word Became Flesh'

For Proclus, the unique divine hypostasis of the Word became 'flesh' (Jn. 1.14), a word which appears with great frequency in his writings. Central to Proclus' thought, and a direct challenge to the position of Nestorius, is the affirmation that 'we do not preach a divinized man, but confess a God made flesh' (οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀποθεωθέντα κηρύττομεν, ἀλλὰ Θεὸν σαρκωθέντα ὁμολογοῦμεν) (1.IV, 60–61). Proclus can thus speak of a 'God enfleshed' (Θεὸς σαρκωθείς) (697D[20]); a 'God made flesh' (Θεὸς σαρκούμενος) (792C); a 'flesh-bearing God' (Θεὸν σαρκοφόρον) (hom. 23.19, ed. Martin, 47); the 'enfleshed Logos' (Λόγος σαρκωθεὶς) (704B); or the 'enfleshed Christ' (Χριστὸς σαρκωθεὶς) (789C). In Christ, according to Proclus, God has been born 'according to the flesh' (κατὰ σάρκα) (696B; 697D; 704A; 708A; 708B; 792B; hom. 23.14, ed. Martin, 47; hom. 35, ed. Rudberg, 321); or the 'sun has become flesh'

[19] Hom. 24.17–22 (ed. Martin, 42–43).

[20] This is a reference to column and section number in *PG* 65; subsequent references to works in *PG* will provide only column and section numbers.

(700BC); or the 'light has become flesh' (700C). Similarly, the Word has 'made himself flesh' (696C; 704A; 704B); was 'made flesh in the Virgin' (717B; 804D); and thus has a 'mother according to the flesh' (717C), together with whom he 'fled to Egypt in the flesh' (804B). It is precisely the flesh, or the state of being 'in the flesh,' that is the sole difference between the pre-incarnate Word and Christ (cf. hom. 33, ed. Leroy, 248).

Man, But Not 'Mere Man'

Whereas the union of the Word with the 'flesh' generally typifies the christology of Alexandria, Proclus is careful to point out that the 'flesh' is not simply a mass of inanimate tissue, but signifies the full and perfect humanity of the Savior. This is primarily attested by Proclus' insistence that the Word became a human being, or ἄνθρωπος, a concession to the christological language of Antioch. For Proclus, the Word 'became man' (γέγονε ἄνθρωπος) (1.IV, 59; 1.VI, 84; 1.IX, 143; 792D; 804D), and in addition to speaking of an 'enfleshment' (σάρκωσις), Proclus also speaks of the Word's 'inhumanization' (ἐνανθρώπησις) (693C; 700BC; 704B; 708A; 717C; 761AB; 789B; 792B). Proclus notes that the 'friend of man became a man' (ἄνθρωπος ὁ φιλάνθρωπος γενόμενος) (792C; cf. 804D; hom. 24.23, ed. Martin, 43), and that 'God the Word became a man' (Θεὸς Λόγος ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος) (792D). In a further clarification, Proclus states that the humanity of the Word is not a docetic facade (ἄνθρωπος οὐ φανταστός) (*Tome*, 193, 8); the incarnate Word 'did not present himself as an illusion' (ὅ δὲ γὲγονεν οὐκ ἐπεφάντασεν) (hom. 23.10, ed. Martin, 46); and that when the Word assumed 'flesh,' he assumed a 'body, soul, and mind' (σῶμα, ψυχὴν καὶ νοῦν ἀνέλαβεν) (Martin, 47.18). Proclus further notes that the incarnate Word necessarily assumed all the physiological and emotional characteristics natural to human life (ἀναγκαίως γὰρ τῇ φύσει παρέπονται αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ τὰ πάθη) (*Tome*, 189, 30), and thus accomodated himself to the 'very beginning and root' of human existence, "retracing" (ἀναδραμών), as it were, conception, birth, and physical and intellectual maturation.[21]

[21] *Tome*, 189–90, 33–36/1: "For just as a man who is naturally born does not come forth complete in the perfection of active power all at once, but rather the seed of nature first becomes flesh, and then afterwards gradually attains the faculties of sense and active powers in their completion, so too God the Word shot up from ['retracing'] the very beginning and root of human existence" (ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τικτόμενος κατὰ φύσιν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐυθὺς τέλειος ταῖς ἐνεργείας πρόεισιν, ἀλλ' ἡ καταβολὴ τῆς φύσεως πρῶτον

Proclus' use of the the word *anthropos* and its cognates is something of a counterweight to the christology of Alexandria and is a clear example of his mediating christology. However, in the same way that Proclus qualifies the Alexandrian preference for the language of the 'flesh,' so too does he qualify the Antiochene model of the 'assumed human being.' According to Proclus, 'John the evangelist did not say that the Word entered into a perfect man' (ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τέλειον ἄνθρωπον) (*Tome*, 189, 31), and he consistently rejects the notion that the figure of Jesus described in the New Testament was a 'mere man' (ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος). In his sharp rebuttal to the christology of Nestorius, Proclus affirmed that 'from the Virgin was born neither God in the nude nor a mere man' (1.II, 27–28); and that a 'mere man could not save us' (1.VII, 100; 1.VIII, 122; 1.IX, 142). In one of his paschal homilies, Proclus engages in an imaginative dialogue with creation, interrogating the elements as to whether or not the crucified Christ was a mere man:

> Tell me, O sun, why did you withdraw your rays when the Lord was crucified? Was it because the one crucified was a mere man? (ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ σταυρούμενος;) Why then did you not withdraw them when the righteous Abel was killed? Tell me, O heaven, why were you clothed with darkness at mid-day, when the Jews pierced the Lord's side? Was it because the one crucified was a mere man? Why then did you not lament when the righteous Naboth was stoned? Tell me, O earth, why did you shudder when the God-fighters dared these things? Was it because the one crucified was a mere man? Why then did you not shudder when you saw Isaiah burned by Manasses? Tell me, O temple, why did you rend your veil when Christ was crucified? Was it because the one crucified was a mere man? Why then did you not rend it when the blood of Zechariah was poured out in your midst? But all creation silently cries out, 'The incarnate one was God, crucified in the flesh' (Θεὸς ἦν ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας καὶ σαρκὶ σταυρωθείς) (793BD).

The 'Form of the Slave'

As the above passages indicate, the words 'flesh' and 'human being' in the writings of Proclus signify the perfect human nature that the Word of God assumed in the incarnation. Although Proclus uses many words and images to describe the incarnation of the Word, he seems to have had a preference for the image of the Word's 'assumption of

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γίνεται σάρξ, εἶτα τῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ μικρὸν προσλαμβάνει τὰς πρὸς ἀπαρτισμὸν τῶν αἰσθήσεών τε καὶ ἐνεργειῶν συντελούσας δυνάμεις, οὕτως ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ῥίζαν τῆς ἀνθρωπείας ἀναδραμών).

human shape and form,' apparently under the influence of Phil. 2.7. Proclus frequently cites this passage which states that the Word 'took the form of a slave' (μορφὴν δούλου ἔλαβεν) (cf. 700D; 769C; 840C), and he speaks of the Word's 'self-emptying in the form of a slave' (εἰς δούλου μορφὴν ἐκένου) (708AB). In addition to these relatively verbatim citations, there are many allusions to this passage, as when Proclus notes that the Word 'was seen in the form of a slave' (ἐν δούλου μορφῇ ὤφθη) (696C); 'appeared in the form of a slave' (ἐν δούλου μορφῇ ἐφάνη) (hom. 35, ed. Rudberg, 321); 'assumed the form of a slave' (δούλου μορφὴν ἀνέλαβεν) (792A); or that the divinity added a human form to its divine form (μορφῇ μορφὴν προσέλαβεν) (hom. 3.V, 41); or assumed the 'form of the lamb' (μορφὴ προβάτου) (793A).

Related to Proclus' use of the word form (μορφὴ) is his use of the word 'shape,' or 'form' (σχῆμα), also taken from Phil. 2.7. In a homily delivered on Thomas Sunday, Proclus has Thomas say to Christ that 'you are without form and yet in this form' (σὺ ἀσχημάτιστος καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι) (hom. 33.44, ed. Leroy, 246). In another homily, Proclus notes that the Lord 'took shape as a human being,' and was 'born in the shape of a human being' (σχηματίζεσθαι ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου γεννᾶσθαι) (704B); and that the 'king clothed himself in the form of one condemned' (βασιλεὺς καταδίκου σχῆμα ἐφόρεσεν) (708A). These passages suggest that for Proclus, 'form' and 'shape' are synonymous, and he occassionally uses the two words together, as when he states that a '(created) form gave shape to the creator" (μορφὴ τὸν κτίστην ἐσχημάτισεν) (hom. 2.IV, 41), or that the Word 'took shape in human form' (ἐσχημάτισε ἐν ἀνθρωπείᾳ μορφῇ) (700BC).[22]

The Union of Divinity and Humanity

The result of the Word's investment in the garments of human nature is that the Word now exists in two forms: the form of divinity and in the form of humanity. Probably as a reaction to the christological dualism of Antioch, Proclus seems to prefer the abstract substantives 'humanity' and 'divinity,' as opposed to the personal nouns 'God' and 'man' which tend to divide the unity of natures in the 'one Son.' This is, moreover, consistent with Proclus' notion of a single concrete subject in two relatively abstract natures: "We therefore understand one Christ confessing him to be in two natures after the union, divinity

[22] Cf. the introduction to Homily 3; and chap. 6, pp. 351–52.

and humanity" (ἕνα οὖν νοοῦμεν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ὁμολογεῖν μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος) (hom. 24.22, ed. Martin, 43). In his first sermon on the Theotokos, Proclus asserted that 'I behold the miracles and proclaim the divinity (θεότητα); I see the passion and I do not deny the humanity' (ἀνθρωπότητα) (1.IX, 155–56). Proclus speaks of the 'unexplainable mystery of divinity and humanity' (θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος ἀνερμήνευτον μυστήριον) (hom. 3.V, 38), a mystery that he describes as a "beginning, but not the beginning of the one born, for although it was the beginning of the humanity (τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπότητος γέγονεν ἀρχή), the divinity remained without beginning" (ἡ δὲ θεότης ἔμεινεν ἄναρχος) (ibid., 40–41). As this last citation suggests, Proclus sees a single concrete subject to whom two natural conditions, or states of being, are predicated, evidenced again when Proclus says that the incarnate Word is 'consubstantial with the Father in divinity, and consubstantial with us in his humanity, save sin' (ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ ὑπάρχων κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας) (hom. 24.18, ed. Martin, 43); and again when he notes that 'there is one Son known in divinity and humanity, one Son impassible in divinity, and suffering in his humanity' (εἷς υἱὸς ἐν θεότητι καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι γνωριζόμενος, εἷς υἱὸς ἀπαθὴς ἐν θεότητι, παθητὸς ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι) (hom. 27.40, ed. Leroy, 192).

Proclus was a highly trained rhetor, and he made the paradoxical juxtaposition of divinity and humanity in Christ the subject of extended rhetorical antitheses. In addition to the examples cited in the notes to Homilies 1–5, there is a particularly striking instance in Proclus' homily on Thomas Sunday:

> Thomas said: "You are 'my Lord and my God' (Jn. 20.28). You are both eternal and temporal; you are both heavenly and earthly; you are both invisible and visible; you are both without form and in my form; you are both without shape and in this shape; you are truly God and truly man; you are in heaven together with the Father, and on the cross for our sake; you are seated upon the royal throne before the ages, and yet fixed by nails to the cross; you are impassible according to the spirit, and suffer according to the flesh; you are immortal as one in essence with the Father, yet for a time you were made mortal as one in essence with us; you the same were buried in the grave while resting upon the cherubim; you were in death as the giver of life; you were among the dead as the liberator of the dead; you were dead for three days and coeternal with your begettor; you raised up the temple of your body by your own power; you are with us in the flesh and you exist with the Father before the ages,

> you are in the heavens, you are upon the earth, you are everywhere filling all things. You who hold all things in the hollow of your hand are held by me. I see you with the eyes of the body, but I understand you with the eyes of faith" (hom. 33.44–46, ed. Leroy, 246–47).

Characteristic of Proclus' theology and rhetoric, the centrality of the single subject ('you') is artfully balanced by a series of striking antithetical predicates. There is a similar passage in the *Baptismal Mystagogy* where Proclus makes use of the personal pronoun ὁ αὐτὸς:

> As a disciple of Paul, I offer you the passage that says "Jesus Christ, yesterday and today, the same (ὁ αὐτὸς) unto the ages" (Heb. 13.8). The same (ὁ αὐτὸς) is before the ages, the same (ὁ αὐτὸς) in these latter days. The same (ὁ αὐτὸς) from the Father, the same (ὁ αὐτὸς) from his mother. The same (ὁ αὐτὸς) again fatherless, and the same (ὁ αὐτὸς) again motherless. I do not overturn the former with the latter, but by the deeds I confirm the truth. For he is God from the Father, and man from his mother. Fatherless in time, and before time without mother; as 'yesterday and today' he is man; as 'unto the ages' he is eternal; as 'the same' he is proclaimed in a single person (ὡς 'ὁ αὐτὸς' ἐν μονάδι προσώπου καταγγελλόμενος) (hom. 27.37–39, ed. Leroy, 192).

The same construction can be found in Homily 1:

> The same (ὁ αὐτὸς) in the Father's bosom and the Virgin's womb, in his mother's arms and on the wings of the winds; he is worshipped by angels and is seated with publicans; he upon whom the Seraphim dare not gaze is interrogated by Pilate. He is struck by the servant and all creation trembles; he is transfixed to the cross while seated upon his throne; he is sealed within a tomb while stretching out the heavens like a tent; he is reckoned among the dead but he despoils Death itself; on earth he is condemned as a fraud but in heaven he is glorified as the Holy One (1.IX, 148–55).

The Union of God and Man

While the relatively abstract notions of 'divinity' and 'humanity' dominate Proclus' christological model, he nonetheless occasionally makes use of the words 'God' and 'man.' Proclus states that 'I know the Son to be God and man' (οἶδα Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον τὸν υἱὸν) (hom. 27.31, ed. Leroy, 191); and that Christ is 'truly God and truly man' (Θεὸς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀψευδῶς) (ibid., 246.45); or that "being God (αὐτὸς ὢν Θεός), he became man (γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος), and in what he was, he saved, and in what he became, he suffered" (1.IX, 143–44). Proclus also writes that "there (i.e., in the womb of the virgin), time vouches for his birth, that he is a man (ὅτι ἄνθρωπος); here (i.e., in the grave), the tomb

vouches for his power, that he is God (ὅτι Θεός)" (792AB). However, despite Proclus' use of two grammatical subjects in these passages, it is clearly the single subject of the incarnate Word who stands at the center, and for whom the words 'God' and 'man' function as qualities or aspects. This is apparent when Proclus notes that "the same one is God and man; the Word was united to clay without confusion, and God took form in the flesh without change" (Θεὸς ἀτρέπτως γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ Λόγος ἀσυγχύτως ἡνώθη τῷ πηλῷ, καὶ Θεὸς ἀπαθῶς ἐμορφώθη σαρκὶ) (hom. 23.10, ed. Martin, 46).

The Impassible God

Probably in view of Antiochene criticisms that the christology of Alexandria was Apollinarian, Proclus lays great stress on the Word's immutability, despite the assumption by the Word of all incarnate experiences. Such a position was also firmly established through the church's formal response to Arianism. Proclus notes that the 'divine nature is incapable of change' (τὸ ἄτρεπτον τῆς φύσεως) (*Tome*, 190, 9), and that the 'divinity is incapable of change' (τὸ ἄτρεπτον τῆς θεὸτητος) (*Tome*, 190, 13). Proclus states that Christ is the 'God who cannot change' (τὸν μὴ τραπέντα Θεόν) (704B), and that 'to God was united flesh without change' (Θεῷ σάρξ κατ' οὐσίαν ἀτρέπτως ἡνώθη) (hom. 3.V, 46–47). Proclus consistently affirms that the incarnation did not result in a change in the divine nature (οὐ τροπὴν φύσεως) (708B), saying that the 'friend of man became man without change' (ἄνθρωπος ὁ φιλάνθρωπος γενόμενος καὶ μὴ τρεπόμενος) (792C); and that the 'mystery (of the incarnation) took place without change or mutation' (μυστήριον Θεοῦ τροπῆς καὶ ἀλλοιώσεως χωρίς) (804B). Proclus notes that the 'Word became flesh, he did not change into flesh' (οὐ τραπεὶς εἰς σάρκα) (*Tome*, 190, 1); that 'God became man without change' (Θεὸς ἀτρέπτως γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος) (hom. 23.10, ed. Martin, 46); that the incarnation occured impassiby (σάρκωσις ἀπαθῶς) (705D); and that whereas the Word is said to have become a 'man,' the 'son of man,' the 'way,' the 'door,' the 'shepherd,' the 'light,' the 'lamb,' and the 'fountain,' his 'essence remained unalterable' (ἡ οὐσία ἀναλλοίωτος) (hom. 23.18, ed. Martin, 47). In a similar passage, Proclus notes that

> our Lord, one in essence with the Father, the eternal Word, the co-beginningless branch of the root, the all-mighty one who is and remains God, 'bent the heavens and came down' (2 Kg. 22.10). He sanctified the virginal gates, he dwelt without constriction in the womb, and the one

> without beginning was born of a woman remaining what he was and yet becoming a small child. And he became all things, except for what he was. He became flesh, he became a lamb, he became man, he became a rock, he became a rod, he became a door, he became all things. But he did not become God, for what he was, he did not become (hom. 26.16, ed. Leroy, 182).

The qualification regarding the immutability of the divine nature is further stressed with respect to the passion of Christ, a subject which was particularly vexing to the Antiochenes. Proclus states that 'God became man and was crucified in the flesh' (Θεὸς ἦν ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας καὶ σαρκὶ σταυρωθείς) (793CD), but he adds that 'the passion did not touch the divinity' (τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ πάθος οὐχ ἥψατο) (697A), and that the 'divinity is indestructible, and with respect to what it suffered, it did so in the flesh' (ὃ οὖν πάσχει, σαρκὶ πέπονθε) (785BC). Rejecting the Antiochene notion of 'two Sons,' only one of whom suffered, Proclus notes that 'there is only one Son, impassible in his divinity, and suffering in his humanity' (εἷς υἱὸς ἀπαθὴς ἐν θεότητι, παθητὸς ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι) (hom. 27.40, ed. Leroy, 192), and that the 'passion was of the flesh, but the power was of the divinity' (σαρκὸς μὲν τὸ πάθος, θεότητος δὲ τὸ κράτος) (792D). Proclus maintains that the 'Word is alien to suffering … and the divine nature did not undergo change' (πάθους ὁ Λόγος ἀλλότριος … μεταβολὴν ἡ θεία φύσις οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν) (717C), and that because the 'divine nature is not susceptible to suffering' (ἀνεπίδεκτος ἡ θεία φύσις παντὸς πάθους) (*Tome*, 192, 6), the Word suffered 'not in what he was, but in what he became' (ἔπαθεν, οὐ καθὸ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καθὸ γέγονεν) (777BC). Proclus urges his hearers to 'fear the passion of the one who suffered voluntarily in the flesh, being the impassible Word of God' (φρίξον τὸ πάθος τοῦ ἑκουσίως παθόντος σαρκὶ, ἀπαθοῦς ὄντος Θεοῦ Λόγου) (784C). He notes that Christ 'worked miracles as God and endured sufferings as man in the flesh. What he was, he remained, and what he took pity on, he became' (τὰ θαύματα ἐνήργησεν ὡς Θεὸς καὶ τὰ πάθη ὑπέμεινεν ἐν σαρκὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος. ὃ ὑπῆρχεν ἔμεινεν, ὃ ᾤκτειρεν γέγονεν) (hom. 23.16, ed. Martin, 47). In the Thomas homily, Christ invites Thomas to

> touch my body which suffered as I willed . . . and learn through this experience which (of my natures) is touchable, and which (one) you cannot touch; learn which (of my natures) suffers and which (nature) does not (ἅψαι τοῦ σώματός μου τοῦ παθόντος κατὰ γνώμην ἐμήν … καὶ διδάχθητι διὰ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς τί τὸ ψηλάφητόν μου τί τὸ ἀψηλάφητόν μου, τί τὸ παθητόν μου τί τὸ ἀπαθές μου) (hom. 33.38, ed. Leroy, 245).

To this invitation, Thomas responds saying: 'You are impassible according to the spirit, and suffer in the flesh' (σὺ ἀπαθὴς κατὰ πνεῦμα, σὺ παθητὸς κατὰ σάρκα) (hom. 33.45, ed. Leroy, 246).

Conclusion

The christology of Proclus of Constantinople is a conscious and significant attempt to mediate between the rival positions of Alexandria and Antioch. With his emphasis on a 'single hypostasis in two natures,' Proclus stands mid-way between a monophysitical confusion and a dualistic separation of divinity and humanity in the one person of Christ. Steering a course between these two extremes, Proclus was the first to affirm a unity of hypostasis while maintaining the fullness and integrity of the two natures. In an effort to build ecclesial consensus, Proclus employed the canonical language of fourth-century Trinitarian theology as a template for christology. The alignment of christology with the theology of the Trinity directly guided Proclus' interpretation of scripture, a critical ecclesial practice for which agreement also had to be secured. In his reading of the prologue to the Gospel of John, Proclus argues that the sole subject (hypostasis) of the incarnation is the pre-existing Word of God who 'became flesh.' Time and eternity are thus bridged by the continuity of subject implicit in the grammar of the sacred narrative. The identification of that subject with the second person of the Trinity is balanced by Proclus' clear and sustained argument for two complete and perfect natures in the one person of Christ. In such a framework, he was able to make abundant use of the christological insights and vocabularies of both Antioch and Alexandria without lapsing into their respective problems and contradictions. Further refinements were needed, but Proclus had defined the basic linguistic solution to the question of the savior's identity. Through his successors in the see of Constantinople, the language of a 'single hypostasis in two natures' entered and greatly enriched orthodox christology. If the problematic language of 'one nature' promoted by the see of Alexandria had brought the churches of the east to the brink of schism, the more judicious diction of Proclus' *Tome to the Armenians* found wide acceptance among the Antiochenes, who unhesitatingly subscribed to its christological formula. The *Tome* was thus a major step in the direction of church unity and toward the christology of Chalcedon. Central to Proclus' christology of a 'single hypostasis' was his teaching on the Theotokos, for it was only the personal unity of the Word as the unique

subject of the incarnation that could explain the proper sense of the controversial Marian epithet. For Proclus, to call Mary 'Theotokos' was to confess a unity of hypostasis in a duality of natures. Here too Proclus had shown the way, for his enthusiastic devotion to the Virgin not only transformed the discourse of fifth-century christology, but proved to be a defining moment in the larger cultural and religious history of Christianity.

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De virginitate (*CPG* 3165), ed. M. Aubineau, *SC* 119 (Paris, 1966).
Contra fornicarios (*CPG* 3172), ed. E. Gebhardt, *GNO* 9.1 (Leiden, 1967), 211–17.
De tridui inter mortem et resurrectionem domini (*CPG* 3175), ed. Gebhardt, ibid., 273–306.
Oratio in diem natalem Christi (*CPG* 3194), *PG* 46.1128–49; ed. F. Mann, *GNO* 10.2 (Leiden, 1996), 235–69.

Ps.-Gregory Thaumaturgus

Homilia i in annuntiationem (*CPG* 1775), *PG* 10.1145–56. Unanimously ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus in the manuscript tradition, this sermon has been variously dated from the late fourth to the early sixth century, cf. Caro, *La homilética mariana*, 2:481–93. The anonymous author draws freely on Ps.-Gregory of Nyssa (*CPG* 3214) and Chrysippus (*CPG* 6705); cf. Datema, "Acrostic Homily." See also Gallico, "La prima omilia."
Homilia ii in annuntiationem (*CPG* 1776), *PG* 10.1156–69 (as above).
Homilia iii in annuntiationem (= Ps.Chrysostom, *CPG* 4519) = Proclus, see below, Marx, no. **27**.

Hesychius of Jerusalem

Sermones (*CPG* 6565–79, 6586–90), ed. M. Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 59, 2 vols (Brussels, 1978–1980).

Hippolytus of Rome
De Christo et Antichristo (*CPG* 1872), ed. H. Achelis, *GCS* 1 (Leipzig, 1897), 3–47.

Ignatius of Antioch
Epistulae (*CPG* 1025), ed. T. Camelot, *SC* 10 (Paris, 1969).

Irenaeus of Lyon
Adversus haereses (*CPG* 1306), ed. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau, *SC* 264 (Paris, 1979) (= Book 1); id., *SC* 293 (Paris, 1982) (= 2); id., *SC* 210 (Paris, 1974) (= 3); A. Rousseau, B. Hemmerdinger, L. Doutreleau, C. Mercier, *SC* 100 (Paris, 1965) (= 4); A. Rousseau, L. Doutreleau, C. Mercier, *SC* 153 (Paris, 1969) (= 5).

Isidore of Pelusium
Epistulae (*CPG* 5557), *PG* 78.177–1645; P. Évieux, *SC* 422 (Paris, 1997) (= Letters 1214–1413).

James Kokkinobaphos
Oratio in ss. deiparae annuntiationem, *PG* 127.631–60.

John Cassian
De incarnatione domini contra Nestorium libri vii, ed. M. Petschenig, *CSEL* 17 (Prague, Vienna, and Leipzig, 1888), 235–391.

John Chrysostom
De virginitate (*CPG* 4313), ed. H. Musurillo and B. Grillet, *SC* 125 (Paris, 1966).
De sacerdotio (*CPG* 4316), ed. A.-M. Malingrey, *SC* 272 (Paris, 1980).
Epistulae ad Olympiam (*CPG* 4405), ed. Malingrey, *SC* 13 (Paris, 1968).
Homiliae 1–67 *in Genesim* (*CPG* 4409), *PG* 53.21–54.
Sermones 1–9 *in Genesim* (*CPG* 4410), *PG* 54.581–630.
Expositiones in psalmos (*CPG* 4413), *PG* 55.39–498.
In Iohannem homiliae 1–88 (*CPG* 4425), *PG* 59.23–482.
In epistulam ad Philippenses homiliae 1–15 (*CPG* 4432), *PG* 62.177–298.
In epistulam ad Hebraeos homiliae 1–34 (*CPG* 4440), *PG* 63.9–236.
Ps.-Chrysostom, *In annuntiationem b. virginis* (*CPG* 4519), *PG* 50.791–96; cf. *PG* 10.1171–73 (= Ps.-Gregory Thaumaturgus); see below, under 'Proclus' (Marx, no. **27**).
Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi nativitatem oratio* (*CPG* 4560), *PG* 56.385–94 (cf. above, Ps.-Athanasius, *CPG* 2270). Marx, *Procliana*, 51–52, no. **46**, attributes this sermon to Proclus. Martin, *Muséon* 54 (1941), 48–52, upholds the Chrysostomic attribution; although Caro, *La homilética mariana*, 2:373–77, is inclined to ascribe it to Proclus.
Ps.-Chrysostom, *Contra haereticos et in s. deiparam* (*CPG* 4603), *PG* 59.709–14. This sermon shares verbatim material with *In Salvatoris nostri Iesu Chrsti* (above; cf. *PG* 56.387, lines 43–57, with *PG* 59.711, lines 25–36; and 56.393, line 9/394, lines 1–2, with 59, 712, lines 58–59). Marx, ibid., 64–65, no. **61**, ascribes this sermon to Proclus; cf. Caro, ibid., 2:388–98.

Ps.-Chrysostom, *In annuntiationem s. deiparae* (*CPG* 4628), *PG* 60.755–60. Marx, ibid., 68–69, no. **72**, ascribes this sermon to Proclus; Caro, ibid., 2:523–31, to a period after the fifth century.
Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Herodem et infantes* (*CPG* 4638). Marx, ibid., 23–24, no. **9**; and Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 272, ascribe this work to Proclus; Sauchot, "Les homélies Léonce," to Leontius presbyter of Constantinople (*CPG* 7900, 17).
Ps.-Chrysostom, *In Christi natalem diem* (*CPG* 4650), *PG* 61.737–38; see below, under 'Proclus.'
Ps.-Chrysostom, *In annuntiationem deiparae* (*CPG* 4677), *PG* 62.763–70; cf. Voicu, "Basilio e Pseudocrisostomo," and id., "Ancora due omelie," 469, n. 2.
Ps.-Chrysostom, *In s. pascha* (*CPG* 4751), ed. C. Baur, "Drei unedierte Festpredigten aus der Zeit der Nestorianischen Streitigkeiten," *Traditio* 9 (1953), 108–110.
Ps.-Chrysostom, *Oratio de hypapante* (*CPG* 4756), ed. Bickersith, "Edition with a Translation of a *Hypapante* Homily ascribed to John Chrysostom," *OCP* 32 (1966), 53–77.

John Geometres
Sermo in ss. deiparae annuntiationem, *PG* 106.811–48.

John of Antioch
Ep. ad Cyrillum Alexandrinum de pace (*CPG* 6310), *ACO* I, 1, 4, 7–9.
Ep. ad Proclum (*CPG* 6317), *ACO* I, 4, 208–10.
Ep. ad Taurum praef. (*CPG* 6320), *ACO* I, 4, 154.
Ep. ad Proclum (*CPG* 6356) (fragment), ed. Clément and Plaetse, 6 (= Facundus).
Ep. totius synodi orientalis (*CPG* 6357), *ACO* I, 4, 208; F. Nau, *PO* 9 (Paris, 1913), 573–75 (Syriac).
Ep. ad Theodosium imperatorem (*CPG* 6358) (fragment), ed Nau, ibid., 576–78.

John of Damascus
Ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Iohannes von Damaskos*, 5 vols (Berlin and New York, 1969–1988).

John Rufus
Plerophoriae (*CPG* 7507), ed. F. Nau, *PO* 8.1 (Paris, 1912).

Justinian
Contra Monophysitas (*CPG* 6878), ed. E. Schwartz, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Justinians* (Munich, 1939; repr. Milan, 1973), 7–43.
Epistula contra tria capitula (*CPG* 6882), ed. Schwartz, ibid., 47–69.
Confessio rectae fidei (*CPG* 6885), ed. Schwartz, ibid., 72–111.
Contra Anthimum, Severum, Petrum et Zoarum, ed. M. Amelotti and L. M. Zingale, *Scritti teologici ed ecclesiastici di Giustiniano* (Milan, 1977).
Basilicorum libri LX, ed. H. J. Scheltema, N. van der Wal, and D. Holwerda, 8 vols (text), 9 vols (scholia) (Gronigen, 1953–1988).

Justin Martyr

Apologia (*CPG* 1073), ed. A. Wartelle, *Saint Justin. Apologies* (Paris, 1987).

Dialogus cum Tryphone Iudaeo (*CPG* 1076), ed. M. Marcovich, *Iustini Martyris. Dialogus cum Tryphone* (Berlin and New York, 1997).

Mark the Hermit

Adversus Nestorianos (*CPG* 6101), ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας* 1 (St. Petersburg, 1891; repr. Brussels, 1963), 89–113.

Methodius of Olympus

Symposium (*CPG* 1810), ed. H. Musurillo and V. H. Debidour, *SC* 95 (Paris, 1963).

Narsai of Edessa

Homiliae de creatione, ed. P. Gignoux, *PO* 34.3–4 (Paris, 1968).

Metrical Homilies on the Nativity, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, trans. F. G. McLeod, *PO* 40.1 (Turnhout, 1979).

Nestorius

Ad Celestinum papam (*CPG* 5665), *ACO* I, 2, 12–14; cf. Loofs, 165–68.

Ad Cyrillum Alexandrinum i (*CPG* 5666), *ACO* I, 1, 1, 25, lines 6–16.

Ad Cyrillum Alexandrinum ii (*CPG* 5669), *ACO* I, 1, 1, 29–32.

Ad imperatorem Theodosium (*CPG* 5672), *ACO* I, 1, 5, 13–15.

Sermo ix. Principium dogmatis (*CPG* 5698), ed. Loofs, 250–64; cf. *ACO* IV, 3, 1, 362, no. 23.

In commemoratione sanctae Mariae, cum prius concionatus esset Proclus (*CPG* 5716), *ACO* I, 5, 37–39.

Liber Heraclidis (*CPG* 5751), ed. P. Bedjan, *Nestorius, Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas* (Paris, 1910); trans. F. Nau, *Nestorius, Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas* (Paris, 1910); G. R. Driver and L. Hodgson, *Nestorius, The Bazaar of Heracleides* (Oxford, 1925).

F. Loofs, *Nestoriana* (Halle, 1905).

Nicholas Cabasilas

Sermo in annuntiationem deiparae, ed. Jugie, *Homélies mariales*, 456–95.

Origen

Comentarii in Lucam (fragments) (*CPG* 1452), ed. M. Rauer, *GCS* 49 (Berlin, 1959), 227–36.

Contra Celsum (*CPG* 1476), ed. H. Borret, *SC* 132 (Paris, 1967) (= Books 1–2); id., *SC* 136 (Paris, 1968) (= 3–4); id., *SC* 147 (Paris, 1969) (= 5–6); id., *SC* 150 (Paris, 1969) (= 7–8).

Disputatio cum Heracleida (*CPG* 1481), ed. J. Scherer, *SC* 67 (Paris, 1960).

Epistula ad Iulium Africanum (*CPG* 1494), ed. M. Harl, *SC* 302 (Paris, 1983).

Palladius

Dialogus de vita Iohannis Chrysostomi (*CPG* 6037), ed. A.-M. Malingrey, *SC* 341 (Paris, 1988).

Pelagius the Deacon

In defensione trium capitulorum, ed. R. Devreese, *Pelagii Diaconi Ecclesiae Romanae.* In Defensione Trium Capitulorum. *Texte Latin du manuscrit Aurelianensis 73 (70)*, *ST* 37 (Rome, 1932).

Photius

Bibliotheca, ed. R. Henry, 8 vols (Paris, 1959–1977).

Proclus of Constantinople

Homily 1, *De laudibus s. Mariae* (*CPG* 5800), ed. Schwartz, *ACO* I, 1, 1, 103–107 (above, pp. 136–47).

Homily 2, *De incarnatione domini et de infusoris* (*CPG* 5801), ed. Constas, above, pp. 164–79. Caro, *La homilética mariana*, 1:94–100, is reluctant to ascribe this work to Proclus, although there is no compelling reason to deny its authenticity.

Homily 3, *De incarnatione domini* (*CPG* 5802), ed. Constas, above, pp. 198–203.

Homily 4, *In natalem diem domini* (*CPG* 5803), ed. Constas, above, pp. 226–37.

Homily 5, *In s. virginem ac Dei genetricem Mariam* (*CPG* 5804), ed. Constas, above, pp. 256–65.

Homily 6, *Laudatio s. Dei genitricis Mariae* (*CPG* 5805), ed. Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 299–324. Only portions of this work, which underwent several different redactions, can be attributed to Proclus, cf. Aubineau, "Bilan d'une enquête," 589–92; and Leroy, ibid., 292–94, on the state and structure of the text.

Homily 7, *In s. theophania* (*CPG* 5806), *PG* 65.757–64.

Homily 8, *In transfigurationem domini* (*CPG* 5807), *PG* 65.764–72. This sermon is also published in *PG* 61.713–16 among the *spuria* of Chrysostom; cf. Aubineau, "Un inédit fantôme," 423–24.

Homily 9, *In ramos palmarum* (*CPG* 5808), *PG* 65.772–777.

Homily 10, *In s. quintam feriam* (*CPG* 5809), *PG* 65.777–781.

Homily 11, *In s. parasceven* (*CPG* 5810), *PG* 65.781–88.

Homily 12, *In resurrectionem* (*CPG* 5811), *PG* 65.788–89. Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 114–16, suggests that this sermon may in fact be the conclusion to Homily 11.

Homily 13, *In s. pascha* (*CPG* 5812), *PG* 65.789–96.

Homily 14, *In s. pascha* (*CPG* 5813), *PG* 65.796–800; cf. Martin, "Hippolyte de Rome et Proclus"; Nautin, *Homélies pascales*, 47; and Aubineau, "Un Recueil," 393–94, n. 12, who demonstrate that Proclus borrowed portions of this sermon from a paschal homily attributed to Hippolytus (*CPG* 1925).

Homily 15, *In s. pascha* (*CPG* 5814), *PG* 65.800–805; cf. Aubineau, *Homélies pascales*, 181–86, who demonstrates that extensive passages from this sermon were adapted by Basil of Seleucia, *homilia in s. pascha* (*CPG* 6664).

Homily 16, *In pentecosten* (*CPG* 5815), *PG* 65.805–808.

Homily 17, *In laudem s. Stephani* (*CPG* 5816), *PG* 65.809–17.

Homily 18, *In laudem s. apostoli Pauli* (*CPG* 5817), *PG* 65.817–21.

Homily 19, *In s. Andream apostolum* (*CPG* 5818), *PG* 65.821–28.

Homily 20, *In s. Iohannem Chrysostomum* (*CPG* 5819) (Latin), *PG* 65.827–34; cf. Halkin, "L'éloge de Jean Chrysostome," 20; and Baur, *Iohannes Chrysostomus*, 2:132, who questions the attribution of this work to Proclus.

Homily 21, *De ascensione domini* (*CPG* 5820), *PG* 65.833–3.

Homily 22, *De circumcisione domini* (*CPG* 5821), ed. M. Aubineau, "Proclus de Constantinople, in illud: 'Et postquam consummati sunt dies octo' (Lc. 2,21), édition critique, traduction et commentaire" in *Antiquité païenne et chrétienne. Mémorial Andre-Jean Festugière*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme, 10 (Geneva, 1984), 199–207; cf. Voicu, "Note su un'omelia pseudocrisostomica," 355, n. 1, who doubts the attribution of this sermon to Proclus.

Homily 23, *De dogmate incarnationis* (*CPG* 5822), ed. C. Martin, "Une florilège grec d'homélies christologiques du IVe et Ve siècles sur la Nativité (Paris. Gr. 1491)," *Muséon* 54 (1941), 44–48; cf. Aubineau, "Citations de l'homélie de Proclus," 211–13, for parallels between Martin's 'florilegium' and Ps.-Chrysostom, *In nativitatem salvatoris* (*CPG* 5068).

Homily 24, *De nativitate domini* (*CPG* 5823), ed. Martin, ibid., 40–43; cf. Voicu, "Textes peu connus," 474–75.

Homily 25, *De s. Clemente* (*CPG* 5824) (Syriac), ed. Chabot, "Trois homélies de Proclus," 183–90; cf. *PG* 65.845–50 (Latin).

Homily 26, *De caede innocentium et de vidua* (*CPG* 5825), ed. Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 181–83; cf. Aubineau, "Textes chrysostomiens," 86–87, 89–90, on the lacuna in Leroy's edition (p. 182, IV.12, n. a), and the relation of Homily 26.III.9-IV.12 with the verbatim passage in Ps.-Chrysostom, *In saltationem Herodiadis* (*PG* 59.525, lines 1–16 + 526, lines 4–5).

Homily 27, *Mystagogia in Baptisma* (*CPG* 5826), ed. Leroy, ibid., 188–94.

Homily 28, *In theophania* (*CPG* 5827), ed. Leroy, ibid., 197–204; cf. Aubineau, "Bilan d'une enquête," 584, who questions the attribution of this sermon to Proclus.

Homily 29, *In crucifixionem* (*CPG* 5828), ed. Leroy, ibid., 208–12; cf. Aubineau, ibid., 581–83, who raises a number of questions regarding the attribution of this sermon to Proclus.

Homily 30, *In s. parasceven et s. Trinitatem* (*CPG* 5829); extant in Syriac and Arabic, Leroy, ibid., 217–23, provides a French trans. of the Arabic version.

Homily 31, *In resurrectionem* (*CPG* 5830), ed. Leroy, ibid., 224–25.

Homily 32, *In s. pascha* (*CPG* 5831), ed. Leroy, ibid., 228–30; cf. Aubineau, "Bilan d'une enquête," 583, who questions the attribution of this sermon to Proclus; and the more forceful rejection by Voicu, "Textes peu connus," 474–75.

Homily 33, *In s. apostolum Thomam* (*CPG* 5832), ed. Leroy, ibid., 237–51; cf. Aubineau, ibid., 593–94.

Homily 34, *Encomium in omnes sanctos* (*CPG* 5833), ed. Leroy, ibid., 254–56.

Homily 35, *Homilia consolatoria* (*CPG* 5834), ed. S. Y. Rudberg, "L'homélie pseudo-basilienne 'consolatoria ad aegrotum'," *Muséon* 72 (1959), 301–22.

Homily 36, *De incarnatione domini* (*CPG* 5835), ed. D. Amand, "Une homélie grecque inédite antinestorienne du cinquième siècle sur l'Incarnation du Seigneur," *Revue Bénédictine* 58 (1948), 223–63; cf. the corrections made to

Amand's edition by S. Y. Rudberg, "Le texte de l'homélie pseudo-basilienne sur l'Incarnation du Seigneur," *RBén* 62 (1952), 189–200; and the response by Amand, "A propos d'une édition princeps," *RBén* 62 (1952), 300–301. Caro, *La homilética mariana*, 2:427–30 questions the attribution of this work to Proclus.

Homily 37, *In assumptionem Iesu Christi* (*CPG* 5836), *PG* 62.727–30.

Homily 38, *In s. Stephanum homilia* (*CPG* 5837= Ps.-Chrysostom, *CPG* 4692), ed. M. Aubineau, "Ps.- Chrysostome, *in S. Stephanum* (PG 63, 933–34): Proclus de Constantinople, l'impératrice Pulchérie et saint Étienne," in *Fructus Centesimus. Mélanges offerts à Gerard J. M. Bartelink à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, Instrumenta Patristica 19, ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen, A. Hillhorst, and C. H. Kneepkens (Steenbrugge, 1989), 5–7.

In nativitatem salvatoris (= Ps.-Chrysostom, *CPG* 5068), ed. M. Aubineau and F.-J. Leroy, "Une homélie grecque inédite pour le jour de Noël attribuée à Jean Chrysostome (*BHG* 1920q, *CPG* 5068)," *Orpheus* 10 (1989), 392–403; cf. Aubineau, "Restitution d'un Ps.-Chrysostome"; and Voicu, "Note su un'omelia pseudocrisostomica," who argues against the attribution of this sermon to Proclus.

In Christi natalem diem (= Ps.-Chrysostom, *CPG* 4650), *PG* 61.737–38. Marx, *Procliana*, 30–31, no. **18**; and Leroy, *L'Homilétique*, 272, attribute this sermon to Proclus, cf. Caro, *La homilética mariana*, 2:398–410. On the Greek text, see Aubineau and Lemarié, "Une adaptation latine inédite et une version arménienne, attribué à Proclus, du Ps.- Chrysostome, *In Christi natalem diem* (*PG* 61, 737–738. *CPG* 4650)," *Vetera Christianorum* 22 (1985), 259–60; on the Syriac version, see Sauget, "Deux homéliaires syriaques"; for the Armenian version, see M. Van Esbroeck, "Une courte homélie mariale de Proclus conservée en arménien," *Bazmavep* 135 (1977), 718–27.

In oraculum Zachariae redditum (= Ps.-Chrysostom, *CPG* 4517), *PG* 50.787–92. Marx, ibid., 38–39, no. **26**; and Leroy, ibid., 272, ascribe this sermon to Proclus.

In annuntiationem b. virginis (= Ps. Chrysostom, *CPG* 4519), *PG* 50.791–96; cf. *PG* 10.1171–73 (= Ps.- Gregory Thaumaturgus). Marx, ibid., 39–40, no. **27**, ascribes this sermon, extant in various recensions (cf. Leroy, ibid., 270–71), to Proclus, as do Baur, La Piana, Jugie, Montagna, Del Fabro, Laurentin, and Leroy (ibid., 272), cited in Caro, *La homilética mariana* ibid., 2:511–14. See also, Leroy, "Une homélie mariale," 375–76.

In ascensionem (= Ps.-Chrysostom, *CPG* 4531), *PG* 52.791–94. Marx, ibid., 45, no. **35** ('43' is a misprint); and Leroy, ibid., ascribe this sermon to Proclus.

In ingressum sanctorum ieiuniorum (*CPG* 4665), *PG* 727–28. Marx, ibid., 70–71, no. **74**; and Leroy, ibid., ascribe this sermon to Proclus.

De sacerdotio liber septimus (*CPG* 4503), *PG* 48.1067–70. This short homily on the nature of the priesthood has been tentatively attributed to Proclus by Ogara, "La homilia initulada *De sacerdotio*."

In natale domini et in s. Mariam genitricem (*CPG* 4726), ed. F. J. Leroy, "Une novelle homélie acrostiche sur la nativité," *Muséon* 77 (1964), 155–73. Leroy expresses uncertainty regarding the authorship of this work, and only reluctantly ascribes it to Proclus.

[Ep. 1], *Libellus ad Proclum* (*CPG* 5896), *ACO* IV, I, 83–85.
Ep. 2, *Tomus ad Armenios* (*CPG* 5897), *ACO* IV, 3, 1, 187–95; cf. Rist, "Proklos" (1993).
[Ep. 2a], *Epistula episcoporum et presbyterorum Magnae Armeniae ad Proclum* (*CPG* 5898), ed. Bedjan, *Nestorius*, 594–96 (Syriac); *ACO* IV, 2, xxvi-xxviii (= Schwartz, Greek retroversion); cf. above, chap. 3, n. 74.
[Ep. 2b], *Epistula Sahak, patriarchae Armenorum ad Proclum* (*CPG* 5899), cf. Vardanian, "Ein Briefwechsel," 415–41.
Ep. 3, *Proclus ad Iohannem Antiochenum* (*CPG* 5900), *ACO* IV, I, 140–43 (Latin); for a Greek fragment of this letter, see Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus*, 268, n. 35.
Ep. 4, *Proclus ad Iohannem Antiochenum* (*CPG* 5901); a Greek fragment of this letter survives under the name of Cyril, cf. Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum*, 48.
[Ep. 5], *Iohannes Antiochenus ad Proclum* (*CPG* 5902); a Latin fragment of this letter is preserved by Facundus, *Ad Iustinianum*, ed. Clément and Plaetse, 6.
[Ep. 6], *Iohannes Antiochenus et synodus ad Proclum* (*CPG* 5903); Latin version in Facundus, ed. Clément and Plaetse, 228–29.
[Ep. 9], *Cyrillus ad Proclum* (*CPG* 5906), ed. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus*, 17–19.
Ep. 10, *Proclus ad Iohannem Antiochenum* (*CPG* 5907); Latin fragment in Facundus, ibid., ed. Clément and Plaetse, 231; and Pelagius the Deacon, *In defensione trium capitulorum*, ed. Devreese (1932), 24, lines 9–20.
Ep. 11, *Proclus ad Maximum diaconum* (*CPG* 5908); Latin version in Facundus, ibid., ed. Clément and Plaetse, 232–33; and Pelagius, ibid., ed. Devreese, 24–25, lines 30/13.
Ep. 13, *Proclus ad Domnum Antiochenum* (*CPG* 5910), *ACO* II, 3, 1, 67–68.
Ep. 17, *Epistula synodica* (*CPG* 5914); Latin fragment in *ACO* I, 4, 173–74.
Ep. 18, *Epistola uniformis ad singulos Occidentis episcopos* (*CPG* 5915); Latin version in *ACO* IV, 2, 65–68.
Ep. 19, *Epistula ad universos episcopos Orientis* (*CPG* 5916). A fragment of this letter survives in Cyril of Alexandria, ep. 55 (*ACO* I, 1, 4, p. 60, lines 15–18); and Severus of Antioch, *Liber contra impium Grammaticum*, 3.41, ed. J. Lebon, *CSCO*, ser. 4.6, vol. 102 (Paris, 1933), 247, lines 21–28.

Protoevangelium Jacobi

Ed. C. Tischendorff, *Evangelia Apocrypha* (Leipzig, 1876; repr. Hildesheim, 1966); cf. E. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 33 (Brussels, 1961).

Romanos the Melodist

Cantica (*CPG* 7570), ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *SC* 99 (Paris, 1964); id., *SC* 110 (Paris, 1965).

Socrates Scholasticus

Historia ecclesiastica (*CPG* 6028), ed. G. C. Hansen, *GCS*, Neue Folge, 1 (Berlin, 1995).

Sozomen
Historia ecclesiastica (*CPG* 6030), ed. J. Bidez, *GCS*, Neue Folge, 2 (Berlin, 1995).

Sophronius of Jerusalem
Homilia in annuntiationem (*CPG* 7638), *PG* 87.3217–288.

Theodore Anagnostes (Lector)
Historia ecclesiastica (*CPG* 7503), ed. G. C. Hansen, *GCS* 54 (Berlin, 1971).

Theodoret of Cyrrhus
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